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Publications
of the
Catholic Record Society

Vol. II

THE Catholic Record Society was founded June 10, 1904, for printing and distribu ting to its Members original Records, both historical and genealogical, relative to English Catholics since the Reformatior

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Ego [illegible]

Ego Hieronimus Hungerford affirmo vt supra.

Ego Henricus Kneyvet affirmo vt supra.

Ego Thomas Kyrton affirmo vt supra.

Ego Robertus Dalcarnus attestor

Ego Edmundus Daniel affirmo vt supra

Ego Gregorius Robertus affirmo vt supra

Ego Nicholaus Morton affirmo vt supra

Ego Guliel[illegible]mus Knott affirmo vt supra.

Ego Edouardus Aspinet affirmo vt supra

CATHOLIC
RECORD SOCIETY

Publications
v. 2

MISCELLANEA · II

LONDON
PRIVATELY PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
AT THE ARDEN PRESS
1906

Illustrissime Domine observandissime,

Quoniã ut accepimus quidã falso retulerũt Illme D. V: Illustrem Dominũ Richardũ Sackuillũ et D: Thomã eius filiũ in Anglia apud suos nullius esse nobilitatis, et exiguas admodũ possessiones et facultates habere: Nos igitur ne calũnia uexitati prejudicaret, singuli testamur dictũ Dominũ Richardũ Reginæ consanguineũ esse cui etiã est hoc tempore a consiliis. Et q̃ sit fere omniũ sui ordinis ditissimus, tũ in pecunia numerata tũ in redditibus, quorũ suma duodecim aureorũ millia annuati superare dicitur. Est vero iste D: Thomas, filius eius unicus et omniũ possessionũ Deo propicio futurus heres, qui in Anglia semper adeo modeste et honeste se gessit ut nonnulli illius Regni proceres, eius conuersatione pluximũ delectarentur. Datũ in Hospitali Anglicorũ die xix mensis Januarij: 1564.

Ego Thomas Golduellus Anglus, eps Asaphen affirmo ut supra.
Ego Joannes Setonus sacræ theologiæ pfessor affirmo ut supra.
Ego Mauritius Chenorus affirmo pdicta publice in Anglia dici.
Ego Edwardy Tailorus affirmo ut supra.
Ego Henricus Hornsbeus affirmo ut supra.
Ego Henricus Alwaye affirmo ut supra.
Ego Thomas Kyrton affirmo ut supra.
Ego Robertus Talcarnus attestor
Ego Edmundꝰ Daniel affirmo ut supra
Ego Gregorius Sobrinus affirmo ut supra
Ego Nicolaus Wardo affirmo ut supra
Ego Guilielmus Knott affirmo ut supra.
Ego Edouardus Aspinet affirmo ut supra

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This Volume is
Issued to the Members for 1905-6

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No. I

FOUR PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE VISIT OF THOMAS SACKVILLE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF DORSET, TO ROME IN 1563-64

FROM a religious point of view the year 1564 was more peaceful and hopeful for Europe than any other in Elizabeth's reign. Profiting by the opportunity, many young Englishmen made the tour of Europe, either to finish their education or to practise a little economy, and the latter was perhaps the chief motive in the case of the youthful and attractive Thomas Sackville, whose wanderings had brought him to Rome before Christmas, 1563 (*Foreign Calendar 1564*, p. 34). Though he had in Parliament voted for the laws which had caused the downfall of the old Church and the life-long exile of the English Catholics who were living in Rome, the chief of these fugitives, that is to say, the warden and chaplains of the ancient English hospice (or hospital) there, invited him to dinner at their board. This hospitality, however, was not approved by every one, and before Christmas the young man was imprisoned on suspicion of being a dangerous heretic, together with Mr William Travers and two servants.

His friends at the hospice, however, soon procured his liberty, and an influential testimonial was drawn up on 19 January (Document A here reproduced in facsimile) to attest his high position and reputation in England. It is addressed to the *Governatore*, or civic prefect of Rome, which shows that Sackville had fallen under his jurisdiction, not under that of the Inquisition, and we gather from it that the prisoner was either already out of restraint, or would be released as soon as evidence was forthcoming as to his identity and character. In fact, he was not only set free, but introduced to the Pope himself, and seems to have made some offers of interceding with Elizabeth on the religious question. The negotiation was not hurried. Our second document (B), dated four months later, shows the very moderate and amicable position which the Pope actually took in regard to Elizabeth, and his promises of further friendliness leave nothing to be desired. It is true that there is no pretence of renouncing the rights which the Middle Ages had given to the papacy, but it is clear that the desire for peace altogether outweighs the wish to exercise those rights.

Of course, this indicated a policy on which opinions might differ. Many men of that day thought that the reform of the Church could only be secured by the vigorous exercise of rigorous discipline against all enemies, great as well as small, that attempts to secure toleration from Elizabeth were a loss of time and dignity, that the right course was to excommunicate and depose her. This policy had many favourers then, and was actually put into practice under the next Pope a few years later. But this far from neutralizing the value of the present declarations on a policy of moderation makes them all the more important. It shows that the Pope decided on his policy in the face of a certain amount of opposition.

That there was opposition to the course adopted with Sackville is stated in the petition, and is further illustrated by an anonymous paper, but one evidently drawn up by a person who knew the English hospice at the time. It contains a series of fifty-two articles which in the writer's opinion required investigation. None of them concern us except the nineteenth, in which it is asked whether "Thomas Sachfield" and "Gulielmus Trevers," a heretic and a schismatic, who voted against papal authority in England, had not been invited to dinner at the hospice; and the twentieth, which inquires the names of the Englishmen by whose help Sackville was freed from prison. (The paper has strayed into Archives S.J., *Fundationes Collegiorum, Anglia*, I, pp. 3-9.)

I do not think this complainant can have known how influential the names of Sackville's assistants really were, or he would not have called for them. They damage, nay ruin, his case. But however this may be, the material point for us is the fact that there was some opposition to the course taken with Sackville. It was a deliberate act, not a piece of unreasoning good nature.

After his interviews with the Pope, Sackville continued his tour, and towards the close of the year he found himself in Flanders, and at this point the Spanish diplomatic papers give us some further light. The ambassador, Guzman de Silva, writes on November 4 that Thomas had lately communicated with his father, Sir Richard, giving him an account of his adventure and of the Pope's commission. Sir Richard had laid the matter before the Queen, with this good result, that the Queen answered him (not indeed in favourable terms, as we shall see, but at least in confidence), without referring the matter to Cecil. "This would be the most hopeful part of the negotiation," added the ambassador, "if the treaty is to lead to any good result; but indeed I fear it is all words and talk, as they say. This is her manner of negotiating."—Fuensanta del Valle, *Documentos inéditos para la historia di Espagna,* 1887, vol. LXXXIX, p. 52; an almost full English translation in the *Spanish Calendar 1558-1568,* p. 391.

Thomas Sackville received his father's answer at Antwerp, just as he was about to cross into England, and in it the old courtier strongly dissuaded his son from returning (see below, D), being afraid, we may conjecture, that Cecil's party would turn his dealings with Rome to the disadvantage both of himself and of his family. So young Sackville went on to Paris, and sent from thence to Rome, on 20 November, an account of his journey and of the check to his plans. This we know through the notes prepared for answering it. We have first an Italian draft (C), perhaps by Parpaglia, of what might be said in reply, and (D), a Latin draft for the letter of Morone, the Cardinal to whom the ordinary care of English affairs was entrusted, and who was officially called the "Protector" of England. The Italian draft insists very strongly on the pacific intentions of the Pope, to neglect which would not only be a provocation of divine punishments, but also a political blunder. The second, a Latin draft, was more pacific still. With greater insight it devotes itself to urging the young man to courage in the good cause, and is itself full of liberality and zeal.

Thomas remained on in Paris for some time, until his father died in 1566, and the greedy courtiers began to petition the Queen for shares in the emoluments which he had enjoyed (*Foreign Calendar 1566,* no. 395), when he returned. He was at once received into favour, and prospered exceedingly.

Nothing more was heard of his amiable intentions of witnessing to the friendliness of the Pope. Lord Buckhurst, as he soon became, supported Elizabeth's ministers in their persecution of Catholics, and took his turn among the commissioners appointed to condemn Queen Mary. Yet when we compare him with the rest, we see that the kindness shown him was surely not wasted. He remained a moderate man for his times, and Father Persons (as we shall see below) praised the honour and honesty shown him after his conversion. He was received into the Church before his sudden death at the Council board in 1608 (Morris' *Troubles,* I, 197), and catholicism survived for a long time in his family. During his life Father Southwell's *Funeral Tears* were dedicated to his grandchildren, and after his death his son Thomas became well-known as a zealous Catholic (Foley, *Records,* VII, 1068), and suffered exile on that account. He went, as his father had done, to Rome, and enjoyed the hospitality of the English hospice from January 3 to April 22, 1616 (ibid. VI, 594). Before this he had been the founder of Arras College (Tierney-Dodd, *Church History,* IV, 136, cclxix), and had distinguished himself in fighting against the Turks. Eventually, however, he reverted to Protestantism in 1625 (*Catholic Record Society,* I, 101).

The series of documents opens with a paper which, even apart from its historical value, is an autograph of the highest interest to Catholics, because of the important parts played by so many of the signatories in the events of those days. It is contributed, with notes, by Mr Hartwell D. Grissell, whose collection is so rich in remarkable pieces of this kind, and by his liberality a facsimile of the document will be found prefixed to this volume. I have added three other documents from the Vatican Archives.—J.H.P.

(A) Testimonial in Favour of Thomas Sackville. Jan. 19, 1564

From Mr Grissell's Collection, Oxford. See Frontispiece.

Illustrissime Domine obseruandissime:

Quoniam, vt accepimus, quidam falso retulerunt Ill^smae D: V: Illustrem Dominum Richardum Sackuillum et D: Thomam eius filium in Anglia apud suos nullius esse nobilitatis, et exiguas admodum possessiones et facultates habere: Nos igitur, ne calumnia ueritati præiudicaret, singuli testamur dictum Dominum Richardum Reginæ consanguineum esse, cui etiam est hoc tempore a consilijs. Et quod sit fere omnium sui ordinis ditissimus, tum in pecunia numerata tum in redditibus, quorum summa duodecim aureorum millia annuatim superare dicitur. Est vero iste D: Thomas, filius eius vnicus et omnium possessionum Deo propicio futurus heres, qui in Anglia semper adeo modeste et honeste se gessit, vt nonnulli illius Regni proceres eius conuersatione plurimum delectarentur. Datum in Hospitali Anglicorum, die xix mensis Januarij: 1564.

Ego Thomas Golduellus, Anglus, eps Asapheñ, affirmo vt sup^ra.[1]

Ego Joannes Setonus, sacræ theologiæ professor, affirmo vt supra.[2]

Ego Mauricius Clenocus, affirmo p^rdicta publice in Anglia dici.[3]

Ego Eduardus Tailerus, affirmo vt supra.[4]

Ego Henricus Henshaw, affirmo vt sup^a.[5]

Ego Henricus Alwaye, affirmo vt sup^a.[6]

Ego Thomas Kyrton^s, affirmo vt supra.[7]

Ego Robertus Talcarnus, attestor.[8]

[1] Thomas Goldwell, B.D. of All Souls, Bishop of St Asaph and Bishop nominate of Oxford, the last survivor of the ancient English Hierarchy, in 1561 succeeded Sir Edw. Carne as Warden of the English Hospice at Rome.—See Gillow's *Dictionary of English Catholics,* II; G. Phillips' *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy,* 1905; Mazière Brady's *Episcopal Succession,* I & II.

[2] John Seton, D.D., St John's College, Cambridge, formerly chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, died at Rome, July 20, 1567.—See *Dictionary of National Biography,* LI.

[3] Maurice Clenock, D.D. and B.C.L. Oxon., subsequently Warden of the English Hospice, and first Rector of the English College at Rome.—See Gillow's *Dictionary of English Catholics,* I.

[4] Edward Tailer succeeded Goldwell as Warden of the English Hospice in 1567.—See Tierney's Dodd, II, 169, and Bridgewater's *Concertatio,* ed. 1594.

[5] Henry Henshaw, D.D., of Magdalen College, and afterwards Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford, succeeded Kirton as Warden of the English Hospice. He was in prison in the Fleet in 1560 (*Catholic Record Society,* I, 48). He was one of those who gave evidence at Rome in the process of the Queen's deprivation; also one of the six first named in 1598 as assistants to the archpriest (*Catholic Record Society,* I, 112). He died about the same time, perhaps even before the appointment was made.—See Dodd, II, 99; Tierney's Dodd, II, 169; *Douay Diaries;* Foley's *Records S.J.,* vol. VI; *Concertatio,* 1594, p. 3, f. 403; Phillips' *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy,* pp. 125-127, 131, 132; *Athenæ Oxonienses.*

[6] Henry Allwaye, priest, was in the Tower in 1572 (*Catholic Record Society,* I, 60), and subsequently in other prisons, being finally banished.—See *Concertatio,* 1594, f. 407; Foley, *Records,* III, 290.

[7] Thomas Kirton, priest, succeeded Tayler as Warden of the English Hospice.—See *Concertatio,* 1594; Foley, *Records,* VI; Tierney's Dodd, II, 169.

[8] Robert Talkerne, priest, probably brother to John Talkerne of Talkerne, Cornwall.

Ego Edmundus Daniel, affirmo vt sup[a].[1]
Ego Griphidus Robertius, affirmo vt sup[a].[2]
Ego Nicholaus Morton, affirmo vt supra.[3]
Ego Gulielmus Knott, affirmo vt supra.[4]
Ego Edouardus Aupart, affirmo vt supra.[5]

[Endorsements] Gub[re] | [pro] Nob. D. Thoma Sackville, Anglico etc. | Fiscum et quocunque | Die xx Januarii, 1564.

TRANSLATION

MOST Illustrious and Worshipful Lord,—Whereas some persons, as we hear, have falsely informed your Lordship, that the illustrious Sir Richard Sackville and Master Thomas his son are not of noble birth in England, and have but small possessions and wealth, we, therefore, lest calumny should prejudice truth, do each of us bear witness that the said Sir Richard is related in blood to the Queen, and is, moreover, at present one of her councillors. Of all knights of his rank he is perhaps the richest, both in ready money and in rents, the total of which is said to exceed twelve thousand gold pieces a year. This Master Thomas is his only son, and will inherit, with God's favour, all his possessions. In England he has ever borne himself so well and so honestly, that some of the leading men in the kingdom have taken much pleasure in his company. Given in the Hospice of the English, the 19th day of January, 1564.

I, Thomas Goldwell, Englishman, Bishop of St Asaph, affirm as above.

I, John Seton, Professor of Theology, affirm as above.

I, Maurice Clenock, affirm that the aforesaid is publicly reported in England.

I, Edward Tailer, affirm as above.
I, Henry Henshaw, affirm as above.
I, Henry Alwaye, affirm as above.
I, Thomas Kyrton, affirm as above.
I, Robert Talcarne, add my witness.
I, Edmund Daniel, affirm as above.
I, Griffith Roberts, affirm as above.
I, Nicholas Morton, affirm as above.
I, William Knott, affirm as above.
I, Edward Aupart, affirm as above.

[1] Edmund Daniel, D.D., of Merton College, formerly Subdean of the Royal Chapel, and Dean of Hereford, after imprisonment was exiled, and was one of those examined at Rome in 1570 by St Pius V with reference to the charges against Queen Elizabeth.—See Phillips' *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, pp. 58, 125, 126, 133-145; Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses;* Dodd, II, 95; *Concertatio*, 1594, p. 3, f. 403.

[2] Griffith Roberts, D.D., formerly Archdeacon of Monmouth.—See Dodd, II, 124; Gillow's *Dictionary*, V, 430.

[3] Nicholas Morton, D.D., formerly Prebendary of York.—See Gillow's *Dictionary*, V, 136; Phillips' *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, p. 327; *Concertatio*, 1594, p. 4a, f. 403; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* II.

[4] William Knott, D.C.L., Fellow of New College, Oxford, said to have resided at Brussels in 1575.—See Dodd, II, 172; *Concertatio*, 1594; *Douay Diaries.*

[5] Edward Alport is described in the *Concertatio*, 1594, as "Nobilis Exul." He was therefore probably not a priest.

H.D.G.

Vatican Documents

(B) Parpaglia's Note of the Commission given to Sackville

Vatican Archives, arm. 64, tom. xxviii, fol. 202. It is an unsigned contemporary draft of 3 pp., and endorsed. A second copy, also contemporary, in every respect corresponding with the above, occurs in the same vol. at fol. 203.

D. Thomas Sackfildus ad reginam suam serenissimam hæc poterit referre quæ ipse ex ore Pii iiij Summi Pontificis viva voce accepit, idque duobus diversis temporibus quibus sua Sanctitas benigne illi [aures] præbuit.

Suam San^tem^ mirari, quid reginæ majestatem et eos qui illi a consiliis erant moverit, ut liberum Nunciis suis in Angliam aditum negarent, quos Sua S^tas^ bis in Flandriam usque miserat, tantum ut apud ejus Majestatem per illos omne officium boni et pii principis faceret, quæ ad publicam pacem et quietem ejus regni pertinere viderentur; neque unquam S. S. desiderarat quicquam ex eo regno præter animarum, quas Christus Jesus preciosissimo suo Sanguine redemit, salutem.

Ad hæc S. S^tem^ intellexisse, posse fieri ut hæ causæ sint ejus regni ab obedientia Sedis Apostolicæ et unione Ecclesiæ Dei separandi, nempe sententia lata, aut declaratio facta a Clemente Papa vij. de secundo matrimonio Henrici octavi, patris Ser^mae^ reginæ, atque alienatio bonorum ecclesiasticorum per eundem regem facta, quæ restitui sine magno periculo et reipublicæ perturbatione non possunt. Ad quæ sua S^tas^ hunc in modum responsum dedit, se non velle ullo modo tantam rationem et curam rerum temporalium et humanarum haberi, ut animarum salus impediatur; atque ideo si quando Ser^ma^ regina ad unionem Ecclesiæ et obedientiam hujus S^ae^ Sedis reverti voluerit, S. S^tas^ pollicetur se paterno affectu et quanto amore desiderari possit eam recepturam. Et illis difficultatibus quas supra dixi ea remedia adhibituram quæ reginæ Majestas, Parliamentum generale et totius regni consensus judicaverint ad coronam stabiliendam et pacem atque quietem totius populi confirmandam esse aptissima, et in omni re quod justum piumque judicabitur confirmaturam.

Quæ omnia D. Thomas se audivisse poterit affirmare non solum ab ipso Pontifice, verum etiam bis ab Ill^mis^ Cardinalibus Morono et Boromeo, qui Papæ a consiliis intimi sunt, et in administratione rerum summæ auctoritatis.

Dicet præterea reginæ Majestati, sicut Pontifex ipsi commisit, suam S^tem^ rogare ut benigne et sine acerbitate ulla tractentur episcopi et cæteri Catholici qui in vera religione Christiana perseverant, non alia causa ducti quam salutis animarum suarum desiderio et debito tum erga Deum, tum erga Ecclesiam officio.

Quod si reginæ Majestas videatur velle pium institutum Pontificis et omne ejus consilium erga se suamque rempublicam plenius intelligere, si miserit aliquem qui vel publice vel privatim suæ Majestatis voluntatem Summo Pontifici exponat, non solum excipietur humaniter, et libenter audietur a Sua S^te^, sed etiam in omnibus piis et honestis postulatis quantum fieri possit illi satisfiet

Et quia ego Vincentius Parpaglia, abbas S^ti^ Solutoris, Turini, interfui omnibus quæ supra dicta sunt colloquiis, tam iis quæ Sua S^tas^ quam illis quæ Ill^mi^ Moronus et Boromeus cum prædicto D. Thoma habuere, volui in ejus rei testimonium subscribere mea propria manu.

Romæ, 3 Maii, MDLxiiij.

TRANSLATION

Mr Thomas Sackville will be able to report to Her Serene Highness his Queen these things which he has himself heard from the lips of the Sovereign Pontiff Pius IV, and that on two different occasions on which His Holiness graciously gave him an audience.

HIS HOLINESS wonders what has moved the Queen's Majesty and her counsellors to refuse a free passage to his Nuncios into England. These Nuncios His Holiness had sent twice as far as Flanders for the sole purpose of doing with Her Majesty through their agency the duty of a good and pious prince in all things that seemed to appertain to the public peace and tranquillity of her kingdom. Never had the Holy See desired of that kingdom anything else beyond the salvation of souls whom Christ Jesus redeemed with His precious Blood.

Moreover His Holiness has understood that the causes of the separation of that Kingdom from the obedience of the Apostolic See and union with the Church of God were possibly these—the sentence passed, or declaration made, by Pope Clement VII concerning the second marriage of Henry VIII, the Most Serene Queen's father, and the alienation of Church property effected by the same King, which cannot be restored without great danger and disturbance of the Commonwealth. To that His Holiness has given the following reply, that he does not wish in any way such regard and care to be had for temporal and human things as to prove a hindrance to the salvation of souls; and therefore if ever the Most Serene Queen shall be willing to return to union with the Church and the obedience of this See, His Holiness promises that he will receive her with fatherly affection and with all the love that she can desire. And as for the above-mentioned difficulties, he will apply to them such remedies as the Queen's Majesty and Parliament and the united will of the entire realm shall judge most fit for the stability of the throne and assurance of the peace and quiet of the whole people, and that in every particular he will confirm whatever shall be judged just and pious.

All these things Mr Thomas will be able to affirm that he has heard not only from the Pontiff himself, but twice also from the Illustrious Cardinals Morone and Borromeo, who are the Pope's intimate counsellors and of chief credit in the administration.

He shall further say to the Queen's Majesty, as the Pope has commissioned him, that His Holiness begs that the Bishops may be treated kindly and without any severity, as also the other

Catholics who persevere in the true Christian religion, moved by no other motive than desire of the salvation of their souls and their duty to God and to the Church.

But if the Queen seems to wish for a fuller understanding of the pious purpose of the Pope and all his mind in regard of her and her State, if she will send any one to expose Her Majesty's wishes either publicly or privately to the Sovereign Pontiff, he shall not only be courteously received and readily listened to by His Holiness, but satisfaction also shall be given him, so far as may be, in all pious and virtuous demands.

And because I, Vincent Parpaglia, Abbot of S. Solutore, Turin, was present at all the conversations above-mentioned, as well those of His Holiness as also those of the Illustrious Morone and Borromeo with the aforesaid Mr Thomas, I have wished in testimony thereof to subscribe with my own hand. Rome, 3 May, 1564.

(C) First Draft for a Letter to Sackville

Undated, probably December, 1564.
Vatican Archives, arm. 64, t. xxviii, fol. 142.

Al Sig^r Thomaso Sackville, Inglese, V. S. Ill^ma piacendo à S. S^ta potra responder:—

Como si sono havuto le lettere sue datte in Parigii li vinti di Novembre et si è fatto rellatione alla S^ta dil Papa dil continuto in esse, et perseverando S. S^ta nella sua ottima mente di voler giovare alla salute delle anime di quel regno, ogni volta che s'offerira l'occasione di poterlo fare, ha commesso à V. S. Ill^ma di doverli rispondere, che quando S. S^ta sara certificata che mandando lui un Nuncio suo à quella Ser^ma regina che tal cosa sia per poter giovare alla reconciliatione di quel regno con la Santa Chiesa, ch'in tal caso non mancara S. S^ta di mandare il detto Nuntio et di fare tutti altre officii paterni et amorevoli, per li quali essa regina et tutti li principali dil regno potrano esser certificati che S. S^ta non desidera niuna altra cosa da luoro salvo che l'honore di Dio et la salute di quelle anime, et il stabilimento della pace et quiete di quelli populi, senza disegno di volerni cavare alcuno particolare utile ne commodo.

Impero esso Sig^r Thomaso il quale ha inteso presentialmenti dalla bocca di S. S^ta la medema buona mente sua, postponendo ogni timore et ogni rispetto humano, deve far penetrare alle orrechie d'essa Ser^ma regina et di tutti principali dil regno, quello che lui ha oldito essendo qua, accioche per diffetto di non esser essa regina et quelli Si^ri bene informati della verità, habbiano da multiplicare li errori, per li quali facilmenti ne possa succedere maggiori inconvenienti, in pregiudicio della salute di quelle anime et della successione di quella Corona, con la divisione delli popoli, como si deve credere che la giusticia di Dio vorra permettere che succedi, si non voranno ricognoscere la misericordia sua, la quale si li offerisci per la benignità dil presente Pontifice, il qual si mostra tanto desideroso dil beneficio luoro, come lui sa, et perho non accade dirli altro.

[Addressed] A mons^r Ill^mo et R^mo Morone, sopra il negotio d'Inghilterra.

TRANSLATION

To Signor Thomas Sackville, Englishman, your Eminence, if it pleases His Holiness, might answer.

That his letters, dated at Paris the 20th of November, have been received, and that the Pope has been informed of their purport. His Holiness, persevering in his good purpose of desiring to aid the salvation of souls in that kingdom on any occasion for so doing that shall present itself, has given you commission to send him this answer, that—whenever His Holiness is assured that the mission of an envoy to that most serene Queen would be a thing which might aid the reconciliation of that realm to holy Church—that in such a case His Holiness will not fail to send the said envoy and to perform all other paternal and loving offices, [in return] for which the Queen and all the chief persons in the kingdom may be assured that His Holiness does not desire any other thing whatsoever from them, except honour for God, salvation for souls, and peace at home and abroad for the people. He has no designs of gaining therefrom any particular profit or convenience.

Wherefore he, Signor Thomas, who has been informed of the same good intentions by the mouth of the Pope himself in special audience—putting aside all fear and all human respect—should cause that which he himself heard when here, to reach the ears both of the most Serene Queen and of all the chief persons of the kingdom. This would prevent the Queen and the lords there, in their want of knowledge of the truth, from multiplying mistakes, through which greater inconveniences might ensue to the prejudice both of the salvation of souls there, and of the succession to that crown, and also to the disruption of the people. One should fear that the justice of God may permit these evils to ensue, if they will not acknowledge His mercy, which, through the gentleness of the present Pope, is offered to them. How desirous His Holiness is for their good, he (your correspondent) knows, and therefore there is no occasion to say more.

(D) SECOND DRAFT FOR A LETTER FROM CARDINAL MORONE TO SACKVILLE

Undated, probably December, 1564.

Vatican Archives, arm. 64, vol. XXXIV, fol. 425. Draft with corrections in another hand, the chief of which are here marked by daggers (††).

†MAGNIFICE domine.† Ex his litteris quas ad me Lutetiæ dedisti de tota itineris tui ratione certior sum factus, vidique uti cum iam esses Antuerpiæ in Angliam traiecturus, ibi te patris tui clarissimi viri litteras accepisse, quæ te ab illa traiectione dissuaderent, eamque parum fructuosam fore ostenderent. Doleo sane, et reditum tuum in patriam fuisse interruptum, teque ea quæ a summo pontifice in mandatis habebas, ad reginam perferre non potuisse. Tamen ea quæ accidunt, æquo animo sunt ferenda, et temporibus omnino est cedendum. Quare fecisti tu quidem prudenter cum patris consilio paruisti; non solum quia incolumitati, et rationibus tuis consuluisti, sed etiam quia prospexisti, ne quid causa publica

detrimenti acciperet. Nam cum spes fere omnis tuæ huiusce negociationis in tui patris authoritate posita sit, illi omnino parendum fuit. Quod si tu contra eius consilium in Angliam redijsses, et in aliquam reginæ offensionem incidisses, aliquamue accepisses iniuriam, non potuisset fieri, quin et pater ipse tuus in aliquam suspicionem incidisset, quæ sane publicæ causæ plurimum obfuisset. Nunc vero re salua, atque integra, poteris tu, quæ de summi pontificis voluntate, et benignitate (425^{v}) Ser^{mae} reginæ eras explicaturus, ea curare, ut per patrem tuum ipsi reginæ, et principibus regni viris referantur, atque explicentur, ut illi re bene perspecta, et eam quam debent de summi pontificis voluntate, et paterna charitate opinionem induentes, sibi ipsis et regni saluti prospicere possint, nec dubitent S^{tem} suam ulla in re ipsorum commodis defuturam, sed certo sciant, omnibus quibus poterit modis, et reginæ, et regno consulturam: et quod maximum est, ad omnia quæ erunt peragenda ipsius reginæ, et parlamenti consilio, et votis, quantum salua religione poterit, se accomodaturam. Quod vero adscribis videri tibi delegandum hinc esse aliquem, qui aut publice, aut privatim hæc omnia regiæ Maiestati nunciet, atque addis, non dubitare te, quin ille libenter, et humaniter admittatur, et audiatur, et fore affirmas, ut luce clarius appareat suam Celsitudinem, veram dei gloriam, cultum, et honorem ante omnia cupidissime amplecti. Id sane est eiusmodi,† ut nihil gratius aut optatius summo pontifici possit accidere, atque ut ita fiat,† S^{tas} sua, non unum modo, sed mille libenter delegaret nuncios, nulloque labori, nullis expensis parceret,† et quamvis ita fore non desperamus, (426) tamen cum† duobus iam suæ Sanctitatis nuncijs aditus in Angliam abnegatus fuerit, nihil de tertio statuendum videtur, nisi ipsius reginæ animo, atque voluntate prius explorata. Quod tu facile medio patris tui explorare poteris; atque ut explices nomine suæ S^{tis} et meo, te etiam, atque etiam rogo, et moneo. Si vero tu, vel pater tuus effecerit, ut ad reginam tuto aditus pateat, ne dubites, quin summus pontifex statim ut suades nuncium non deleget, nec quin ipse nuncius reginæ, et regni commodis, quantum salua ut dixi religione fieri poterit, satisfaciat. Tu vero qui nunc times (ut scribis) ne in lapidem illum impingas, de quo acerbissime vestris legibus cautum est, sperare potes (dummodo regina quam speras pietatem amplexa fuerit) fore etiam ut te quoque benignissime amplectatur, maximasque habeat, et referat gratias hac ipsa de re, ob quam nunc pater tuus ne in patriam redires, tibi persuasit.

Hæc sunt quæ me tuis literis respondere summus iussit pontifex qui te paterne amat, seque ait, quomodocunque poterit, curaturum, ut te patremque tuum, pietatis vestræ non pœniteat. Vale, meque tui amantissimum esse confidito.

[Addressed] †Mag^{co} amico nostro carissimo, domino Thomæ Sackevillæ Anglo, Lutetiæ.†

Translation

Illustrious Sir,—Your letter to me, dated Paris, informed me of the whole course of your journey, and I saw how, when you were

at Antwerp ready to pass over into England, you received there a letter from your illustrious father, dissuading you from the passage and showing you that it could be fertile of no good result. Of course I am sorry, as well for the breaking off of your return home, as also for your inability to carry to the Queen the message that you had from the Sovereign Pontiff. Nevertheless we must put up with what happens and altogether yield to the times. You acted prudently in obeying your father's advice, not only because you have consulted your own personal safety and interests, but also because you have provided for the common cause taking no harm. Well nigh all the hope of this business in which you are engaged rests upon the influence of your father, and therefore it was quite necessary to obey him. Had you returned to England contrary to his advice, and incurred any displeasure of the Queen, or met with any injury, it would have been impossible for your father to have escaped falling under suspicion, to the great prejudice of the common cause. Now that all is safe, you will be able to get your father to relate and explain to the Queen and to the chief men of the kingdom what you had to tell Her Serene Highness of the Sovereign Pontiff's good will and bounty towards her. When they understand the situation, and conceive that notion which they should have of the Sovereign Pontiff's good will and fatherly affection, they will be able to take thought for themselves and for the welfare of the kingdom, without fear of His Holiness in any way failing to serve their interests, knowing full well that in all ways open to him he will act for the advantage of the Queen and of her realm, and above all that, so far as the maintenance of religion shall allow, he will lend himself to the accomplishment of whatever shall need doing in order to meet the wishes of the Queen and the advice of Parliament.

Now to your postscript. You think some accredited agent should be sent from here to make report of all these facts either publicly or privately to the Queen's Majesty. You have no doubt, you say, of his finding a willing and gracious admission and audience. You declare that the result will be to make clear as day Her Highness's earnest and intense desire above all things for the true glory, worship and honour of God. Now the case stands thus. No event could be more grateful or desirable to the Sovereign Pontiff; and for the bringing it about His Holiness would willingly dispatch not one but a thousand Nuncios, and would spare neither labour nor expense. We are not without hope of the thing coming about; nevertheless, seeing that entrance into England has been already refused to two Nuncios from His Holiness, it seems not well to decide anything about a third until the Queen's own mind and will has been first ascertained. That you can easily find out through your father. In His Holiness's name and my own I ask you again and again, and admonish you to lay the matter before your father. If you or your father can open a safe means of communicating with the Queen, doubt not but that the Sovereign Pontiff will immediately dispatch a Nuncio, as you advise, and that the Nuncio himself will satisfy the requirements of the Queen and the realm, as

I have said, so far as may be without prejudice to religion. As for what your letter says of your present fear of striking on the rock of the severe enactments sanctioned by your laws, there is ground for you to hope that, once the Queen has embraced that pious course which you expect of her, she will also most bountifully take you into her favour, and will feel and express gratitude and thanks for this service, in the prosecution of which your father has persuaded you at present not to return home.

This is the answer which the Sovereign Pontiff has commanded me to return to your letter. His Holiness has a father's love for you, and says that he will do everything in his power that you and your father may never have cause to repent your loyalty to religion. Farewell, and believe me your most affectionate friend.

[Addressed] To our illustrious and dear friend, Mr Thomas Sackville, Englishman, at Paris.

No. II

THE MEMOIRS OF FATHER ROBERT PERSONS

On November 22, 1593, Father Claudius Aquaviva ordered Father Persons in in the name of the 5th general congregation of the Society to write the life of Father Edmund Campion; not in the form of a panegyric, but as fully and as accurately as possible (Archives S.J., *Letters to Toledo,* fol. 116). Want of documents prevented the completion of this order, but a commencement was made in 1594, and the unfinished work was privately printed in the Manresa Press *Letters and Notices* for 1877, 1878. This was Father Persons' first historical memoir. During the next few years many violent controversies occurred, which diverted his attention in other directions, but the idea of memoir-writing was by no means given up. On the contrary his attempts became more frequent than ever, though for various reasons none of these compositions eventually saw the light.

He commenced (1) an autobiography; (2) a "Storie of Domesticall Difficulties"; (3) certain "Notes of Memory" concerning the first Jesuit mission to England, and afterwards continued this much more fully in his (4) "Punti per la Missione d'Inghilterra." He also wrote one or two slighter essays in the form of letters; (5) his "Certaine Apparent Judgments of God against such as have been seditious," and (6) a Retrospect of Spanish policy towards England addressed to Father Rivers. With the exception of No. 4, which will appear in a future volume, all these memoirs are here printed for the first time.—J.H.P.

MEMOIR I

Father Persons' Autobiography

After Cardinal Allen's death, October 16, 1594, there was much debate as to who should be the next "Cardinal of England" (Knox, *Douay Diaries,* pp. ciii, 394). Father Persons being then the most prominent man among the English Catholics, it was inevitable that his character and career should have been much discussed. Controversy at that time was generally carried on at fever heat, and passionate attacks were made upon the Jesuit, which culminated in a paper drawn up by Mr Charles Paget. This was primarily intended to curry favour with Elizabeth's officials, and to procure his recall from banishment. But they soon put his slanders into circulation on the continent; and in fact there is now one copy of them in the Record Office (*Domestic Calendar 1598,* p. 68), and another, which has been through Persons' hands, is among the Stonyhurst MSS. (*Anglia,* II, no. 46). The Record Office Calendarer assigns this paper to June, 1598. Though the Autobiography is not in any sense an answer to Paget's attacks (which apparently did not reach Persons' hands till after he had begun to write, see also *Domestic Calendar 1598,* pp. 187, 234 and esp. 218), we may well conjecture that the whole discussion had impressed on Persons the idea that an account of his life would clear up many debated points, and might some day be called for.

However this may be, he began to write on August 6, 1598, as Father Christopher Grene, the diligent archivist of the English College, Rome, has noted on his transcript now preserved at Stonyhurst, *Collectanea P,* vol. I, ff. 222-233. This is now our principal authority for the text, but an Italian translation of portions of it also exists, which was made by the same Father Grene at an earlier date for the use of Father Daniel Bartoli, when the latter was writing his *Inghilterra,* Rome, 1667. This paper still exists among Bartoli's papers (Archives S.J., *Anglia, Historia,* IX), and enables us to fill up some small omissions in the Stonyhurst MS.

NOTÆ QUÆDAM PRO SCRIBENDA VITA SUA

Incœptæ Neapoli, Aug. 6, 1598

[Fr Grene—*Vel, ut in alia pagina adnotatur,* '3 Septembris.' The same Father prefixes the note, *Ex libro quodam manuscripto, in 4to, P. Roberti Personii autographo, transcripta sunt sequentia.*

MISERICORDIAS Domini in æternum cantabo. Sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est, opera autem Dei revelare et confiteri honorificum est. Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi, suscitanti de terra inopem et de stercore erigenti pauperem? Non nobis Domine sed nomini tuo detur gloria,* nobis autem confusio facierum, quod beneficiis tuis tam male responderim, quæ nunc aliquatenus recensere incipiam, ea rerum veritate quam labilis memoria mihi subministrabit, ea gratiarum actione quam sterilis devotio ex intimo cordis affectu poterit exhibere.

Natus est indignissimus servus tuus R^s P^s in villa quadam Stoa dicta ad partem Angliæ occidentalem, sita in comitatu Somersetano; cumque duæ villulæ sint eiusdem nominis inferior ac superior superiorem [*sic*] habuit patriam (Nether Stoway). Parentes vero secundum sæculum humiles, honestos tamen, et qui meliori fere inter vicinos non nobiles viverent conditione, religione etiam Catholicos. Pater Henricus nomine sacramentis omnibus Catholico ritu ab Al. Brianto sacerdote postea martyre perceptis mortuus est ad annum Domini 1577,† triennio post egressum R^i ex Anglia. Mater Christina pia fœmina etiam hodie vivit,§ dum hæc scriberem, fere nonagenaria multis persecutionibus ab hæreticis agitata et fuga tandem elapsa, a Roberto primum Sotuello Societatis presbytero nunc martyre quæsita atque inventa, eoque sublato ab Henrico Garnetto eiusdem Societatis in Anglia superiore studiose culta humanissimeque tractata est.¶

* Ps. lxxxviii, 2; Tob. xii, 7; Ps. cxii, 7; cxiii, 1; Bar. i, 15.

† Fr Grene has written $\frac{1577}{1577}$, and in margin adds, "Briantus intravit in Angliam anno 1579."

§ Fr Grene notes: "Obiit 26 Aprilis, 1600." News of her health, etc., is frequently sent in Garnet's letters to Persons, where she is given the code name of "the old woman."—Infra, p. 36.

¶ During the bitter controversies before referred to, it was alleged (but only by Watson and two or three others of Persons' most scurrilous opponents) that he was of illegitimate birth. No proof for this imputation was ever alleged, and it is clear that it arose from the form of his name. To be called Persons was to these coarse-minded men a sufficient indication that he must be son of the parson (p. 37).

Father Persons' defence, considering the circumstances, is remarkably strong. The honour of his father and the high character of his mother are vouched for by Protestants as well as Catholics (infra, pp. 37, 44). His birth was duly entered in the registers of Nether Stowey (infra, p. 46), while the vicar, Hayward (there was no "parson" of the place), did not come to that diocese and parish until nearly a year after Robert's birth, as the episcopal registers still show (p. 14, n. †); perhaps he did not begin to reside till later still. An inquiry was made into the slander, as soon as it was circulated, by the Protestant Earl of Bath, the most powerful nobleman in the neighbourhood of Nether Stowey, and the charge was pronounced "a lewd slander" (p. 43).

It is possible that the imputation originated as early as the expulsion from Oxford, but of this there is no first-hand evidence; and no allusion to it has been

Erat X^{i} annus cum nasceretur 1546, mensis vero Junii dies 24, Johanni Baptistæ sacer. Hic vero annus erat regni Henrici 8^{i} trigesimus septimus, schismatis ab eo inchoati 17, vitæ vero penultimus, sextus autem post confirmatam Romæ Societatem Jesu, quam postea summo (Domine) beneficio tuo ingressus est R^{s}.

Habuit Christina mater undecim liberos quorum medius fuit R^{s}, qui statim e prima pueritia vix egressus traditus est fratri maiori natu mercatori ut mercaturam addisceret: sed Dei providentia factum esse videtur, ut is, bonorum fere omnium iactura facta, R^{m} domum ad parentes remitteret, quo tempore præerat Stoanæ Ecclesiæ sacerdos quidam pius ac Catholicus, Johannes Hawardus, qui aliquot ante annis ex ordine Canonicorum regularium* Henrici regis mandato eiectus hanc parœciam tanquam tabulam quandam post rerum suarum naufragium obtinuerat.

Is R^{i} indole delectatus, nonnihil etiam inde motus quod primum omnium illum baptismo sacro post aditam parœciam tinxerat, † hortari cœpit parentes ut literarum studiis illum fratremque alterum, Joannem nomine, ætate proximum, quem hæreticorum post-

found in the many books written against Persons during the next five-and-twenty years. But in October, 1591, the English Government put out a proclamation (Strype, *Annals,* IV, 78, n. 56), in which Allen and Persons were scornfully spoken of as poor and ignoble. This was a temptation, too strong to be resisted by Persons, to remark in his reply upon the plebeian extraction of Elizabeth and her new-made courtiers (*Philopatris*, pp. 178, 179), but it does not seem that recrimination went further then.

The charge was first "glanced at" in print by Matthew Sutcliffe in December, 1600 (p. 37), and he afterwards stated that it had been "charged on the Jesuit first of all by the Seminaries, which was the only thing that hindered his ambitious course to be a Cardinal" (p. 46). If this spiteful statement has any truth in it, it would place the origin or revival of the report between 1596 and 1598, but Garnet says the "tale was divulged by some hereticks" (ibid.)

During the Archpriest controversy the imputation was several times repeated by Watson (*Sparing Discoverie,* pp. 29, 40; *Quodlibets,* 108, 109, 236, 238), who introduced several mistakes into the story, as that Persons was born at Stogursey. But A. C[opley] went further in scurrility (*Second Letter to a Friend,* pp. 34, 38; *Third Letter,* pp. 50, 78. See the passages reprinted in T. Bell, *Anatomie of Popery,* p. 69; T. James, *Life of Parsons,* p. 52; M. Sutcliffe, *Full and Round Answer,* p. 220; H. Foulis, *Popish Treasons,* p. 500). Both Watson and Copley afterwards asked Persons' pardon. The more respectable appellants (except Mush, *Declaratio Motuum,* pp. 23, 58), bitter against Persons though they were, seem to have been careful to keep clear of the subject.

* Hayward is the fourth of the 11 monks of Taunton who received the pension of cvi shillings after the Dissolution, February, 1539.—Dugdale, *Monasticon,* vol. VI, p. 167; *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII,* vol. XIV, n. 276.

† F. W. Weaver, *Somersetshire Incumbents,* p. 448: "April 5, 1547. John Hayward, Incumbent at Nether Stowey, vacant *per mortem* Roberti Smith, *see* Episcopal Registers 'Knight, 33.'" The next entry is, "May 20, 1575, Paul Busshe [on the vacancy caused] per mortem J. H.; see Episcopal Register, 'Bark. 44.'" John Hayward also became rector at Fiddington on July 8, 1559, the patron being Sir Edward Waldegrave "Bourne 37." Here the next incumbent came in on the 10th of February, 1577 (ibid. p. 369).

John Persons (p. 41) says that Hayward did not come into residence until "long" after Robert's birth; but Robert himself (below, p. 46) says he came "soon after his byrth out of Devonshire to be vicar there."

From the dates above given it seems clear that Hayward must have been something of a Vicar of Bray. Persons calls him "pius et Catholicus," but we must evidently understand this as "Catholic at heart" only.

ea fraude (proh dolor!) in errores pertractus est, addicerent; in partem quoque sumptuum se venturum promittens, quod et re præstitit dum viveret. Itaque ambo anno 1560 ad grammaticæ studium in vicinum oppidum Stogursæum primo per integrum plus minus annum deinde Tantoniam celebrius longe oppidum ad scholam publicam per triennium missi sunt, atque inde R^{s} ætate ac studio nonnihil maturior (habebat iam annos 18) ad universitatem profectus est Oxoniensem, ubi biennio in Collegio quod S^{ae} Mariæ aula dicitur, in rebus logicis transacto ad Collegium Baliolense (id nominis a Joanne Baliolo Scotorum Rege fundatore inditum est) transiit, ubi post alterum biennium, anno 1568, in Sociorum numerum adscriptus, artium primum gradum suscepit. Ac quarto dein anno ex legum Academicarum præscripto magister factus.

Sed cum in primo gradu accipiendo præsideret Comitiis pro more Edm. Campianus qui universitatis procurationem eo anno obibat (et insigne postea martyrium ob religionis Catholicæ confessionem pertulit), agere cœpit R^{s} per amicos cum Campiano (uterque enim animo Catholici erant), ut impium illud iuramentum contra Pontificem Romanum, quod ex hæreticorum legibus unicuique gradum aliquem literarium suscipienti proponendum erat arte aliqua vitaretur, quod se facturum Campianus pro virili recepit, quia tamen officii socium rerum omnium exploratorem habebat, resque ipsa publico in conventu præstanda erat, effici non potuit quod postulabatur. Itaque (proh scelus!) bis iuramentum illud nequissimum iuvenis ambitiosus ne gradum amitterem labiis pronunciavi, licet animo detestarer. Parce mihi misericors Deus! ac grande hoc iuventutis meæ delictum condona: nondum enim noveram quid esset te super omnia diligere, et honorem tuum rebus anteferre mundanis.

Interea tamen tu servum hunc te etiam negantem non dispexisti, sed multis modis a graviori quoque lapsu custodisti, et a fortiori vinculorum nexu removisti: multis enim illecebris agebatur, ut vel ad hæresis professionem traheretur vel matrimonio vel beneficio aliquo Ecclesiastico illigatus sæculo inserviret: sed tu mirabiliter Domine vincula eius dirupisti, ut perpetuam laudis tibi sacrificaret hostiam.

Habuit ut fieri solet dum Collegii Balliolensis socius esset nonnullorum iuvenum peculiarem tutelam, quorum aliqui viri optimi postea evaserunt, ex quibus erat Alexander Briantus Martyr, Richardus Yeomans et Simon Fenellus * Sacerdotes Catholici et alii nonnulli. At horum nihil mihi, Domine, sed gratiæ tuæ sanctissimæ totum tribuendum, qui tum illis tum mihi lucem ostendisti veritatis tuæ Catholicæ inter medias funestissimarum hæresum tenebras illecebrasque mundi; ego autem illis neque exemplo neque verbo profui eo tempore ad vanitatem totus ipsemet compositus: postea vero cum a te pulsus sæculo renunciavi, si quid eis exemplum meum contulerit id summæ bonitati tuæ ipsorumque virtuti, non ulli meo merito adscribendum est. Sed intueamur reliquas misericordias tuas Domine.

* The *Douay Diaries* (ed. F. Knox, 1878, p. 192) record the advent of William Yeomans on January 7, 1583. Simon Fennell was ordained deacon on April 7, 1583 (ibid.)

Non defuerunt occasiones multæ dum Oxonii studeret a studiis literarumque cursu eum avocandi sæculoque inserviendi, quibus forsan in æternum periisset, nisi singulari tua gratia adiutus evasisset. Unum illud erat non mediocre periculum, quo cum anno 1569 primates hæreticorum qui Londini erant multorum relatu intellexissent fidem catholicam magnas habere Oxonii radices neque facile evelli ex studiosorum animis vel eius memoriam vel affectum, statuerunt diligentiam omnino augendam esse, et inquisitionis cuiusdam tribunal magno terrore contra Catholicos Oxonii erigendum: quod cum summa quadam celebritate factum esset et in studiosos inquisitum, captus est carcerique traditus inter alios ob confessionem nominis tui Ricardus Garnettus, R° intimus et eiusdem Collegii Balliolensis socius, qui plurima deinde ab hæreticis passus primum Universitati Oxoniensi constantiæ ac fortitudinis exemplum præbuit, et licet coniugio inexpectato postea præpeditus sacros ordines suscipere pro desiderio suo non potuerit, coram multis tamen tribunalibus religionis Catholicæ confessionem edidit.*

Hoc ergo viro comprehenso et in custodiam dato, Rob^s^ cui tantum adhuc virium, Domine, nondum tribueras ut eius exemplum sequeretur, valde sibi timere cœpit, et in provinciam Somersetanam recessit, ✝ ubi ab amicis ac patronis, maxime vero a Joanne Stono Bristoliensi homine divite (qui R° cognatus erat et eo anno civitatis gubernator) tantum subsidii annui obtinuit quo Londini ad studium Juris municipalis regni (quod Jus commune vocant) non male se sustentare posse videretur; quo si semel profectus fuisset, odor forsan lucri inextricabilibus illum laqueis ac laberynthis involvisset: sed Dei beneficio hoc etiam periculum evasit; et alia non minora, tum uxoris ducendæ tum etiam beneficii ecclesiastici obtinendi, quorum alterutrum si incurrisset, nunquam fortasse Angliam reliquisset.

Neque postea cum Oxonii sedem fixisset facile mihi fuisset inde exire, nisi tu Domine vincula mea abrupisses, et tanquam e Sodoma eiecisses; cum enim summa pace non tam animæ quam substantiæ fruerer, multis etiam fortunæ commodis nobiliumque amicitiis quorum filii meæ tutelæ commissi erant, abundarem; accidit mihi quiddam, ut inexpectatum ita eo tempore valde insuave, tamen salutare et singularis tuæ providentiæ opus salubre; nimirum

* The Register of Balliol College, though it does not mention the time when Richard Garnet's troubles began, records the date at which his fellowship was taken from him. The Visitors had required the Master and Fellows of Balliol to remove him from the college, because he had not appeared to answer charges on July 6, 1570. This was not done till October 8. The signatures (autograph) in the Register are John Piers, Robert Benson, John Tunkis, John Willson, Adam Hill, Robert Persons.

Richard Garnet is believed to have been the father of the Ven. Thomas Garnet, who was martyred in 1608.

✝ The occasion of this retreat to Somerset may have been the outbreak of plague at Oxford in May, 1571. The whole college then broke up, and went "home or where they could." On February 3, 1571-2, the college reassembled, and a new distribution of rooms was made, when Mr Stankliffe's room was conceded to Mr Persons, "ad collocandos ibi scholasticos suos, cum non pauciores quam tres ibi collocet."—Balliol College Register, fol. 122.

ut quidam collegii socii hæresis ardore accensi in me ex collegio exturbandum nihil tale suspicantem conspirarent, quorum operâ tu ad me castigandum uti volebas, quo maioribus postea me afficeres beneficiis. Occasio hæc fuit. Contulerat se R^s^ Londinum negotiorum quorundam causa anno 1573 ipsis festis natalitiis, diverterat autem ad ædes cuiusdam primarii viri nomine Hallæi,* cuius filium, elegantem sane puerum qui Jacobus dicebatur, R^s^ Oxonii curæ suæ commissum habuit. Hic argumentum dedit comediæ: nam cum R^i^ æmuli eo absente puerum hunc ad nocturnos nescio quos ludos intempestive eduxissent e collegio, eidem postea persuaserunt tantopere rem hanc offensuram esse R^m^, ut impunitam nullo modo velit prætermittere, qua formidine perculsus Jacobus R^m^ domum redeuntem adire non est ausus, sed remansit apud Christopherum Bagshaum, qui hujus negotii actor a complicibus constitutus videbatur, licet Adamus Squierus Collegii Rector seu magister et Thomas Hidus eo anno Bursarius ambo hæretici, eo nomine R^o^ forte infensiores, præcipui stratagematis hujus authores existimentur. Bagshaus vero licet nullam fortassis in partem religionis studio tunc movebatur, ea tamen esca maxime videtur inductus ut hujus pueri tutela frueretur.

Hoc autem ipsum cum R^s^ animadverteret, et ut collegii eo anno Decanus potestatem haberet cogendi Bagshaum ut pupillum redderet, perspecto tamen quod res ad tumultum spectaret, noluit iure suo agere, sed ad Rectorem primo et deinde ad sociorum capitulum rem detulit; ibique statim erupit facta in eum conspiratio: nam prætermisso de quo convenerant negotio de R^o^ eijciendo vota inter se contulerunt: cumque iam maiorem suffragiorum partem (quæ tamen opinor numerum sextum vel quintum non excessit) ex composito protulissent, duarum rerum R^o^ optionem proposuerunt, nimirum ut vel sponte soc^tis^ iuri cedat vel eiectionem presentem e Collegio expectet, priorem conditionem si accipiat, amicissime ab omnibus habitum iri, et quot vellet mensium moram se esse concessuros, si non accipiat ea ipsa nocte illum omniaque sua extra Collegii mœnia exturbaturos.

His auditis cum multa questus esset de oblata iniuria, perpendens tamen temporum hominumque rationes, et quod reluctando maioribus se indies difficultatibus implicaret, nisi in religionis negotio aliquid hæreticis cederet, repetens etiam animo antiqua peregrinandi desideria statuit hac occasione eadem exequi, et hæreticorum iniuria ad compendium suum uti.

Itaque pactis quibusdam cum adversarijs initis, Soc^tis^ Juri atque emolumentis cessit, ita tamen ut ad menses aliquot, libera sibi manendi ac more suo vivendi facultas foret, quod ita se illi secreto servaturos iureiurando promiserunt, ut nullo modo res ante tempus constitutum evulgaretur: sed promissis minime steterunt, nam paulo post cum R^s^ quosdam ex eorum familiaribus in quæstionem vocandos curasset, quod contra leges carnes Quadragesimæ Tempore intra Collegii parietes comedissent, illi in novas erumpentes inimicitias,

* In the *Apologie*, p. 195, the name is printed Hanley; but Bagshaw (in his *Answear* printed with Ely's *Brief Notes*) calls him Hauley.

seu veteres potius renovantes, campanarum etiam publico pulsu e Collegio eum excluserunt. Atque hæc causa profectionis ultramarinæ quam tu clementissime Domine pro tua consuetudine, qui mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo educis, in non mediocrem ei utilitatem convertisti.

TRANSLATION

THE mercies of the Lord I will sing for ever. It is good to hide the secret of a king, but honourable to reveal and confess the works of God. What shall I render to the Lord for all that He has rendered to me, raising the needy from the earth and lifting up the poor from the dunghill? Not to us, O Lord, but to Thy name be glory given, but to us confusion of face, that I have so ill responded to Thy benefits, which now I will begin in some measure to recount with such accuracy as a fallible memory shall afford me, with such thankfulness as a barren devotion shall be able to yield from the depths of my heart.

Thy unworthy servant R. P. was born in a village called Stowey in the west of England, situated in the county of Somerset. There are two little villages of the same name, Upper and Lower Stowey. He was born in [Lower], i.e., Nether Stowey. His parents were of humble worldly condition but honourable and of somewhat better rank than their neighbours around, likewise Catholics in religion. His father, named Henry, died A.D. 1577 fortified with all the sacraments according to the Catholic rite by Al. Briant, priest, afterwards martyr. That was three years after Robert's departure from England. His mother, Christina, pious woman, still lives while I write this, now nearly ninety years old, harassed by many persecutions of the heretics, from which she at last escaped. She was first sought and found by Robert Southwell, priest of the Society, now martyr. After his death she was diligently attended and most kindly treated by Henry Garnet of the same Society, superior in England.

R. P. was born A.D. 1546 on St John Baptist's Day, June 24. This was the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII, the seventeenth of the schism that he began, the last but one of his life, also the sixth after the confirmation of the Society at Rome, which the writer afterwards entered by Thy blessing, O Lord.

His mother Christina had eleven children, of whom Robert was the middle one. Scarcely was he out of childhood when he was given over to an elder brother, a merchant, to learn business. But it happened by the seeming providence of God that this brother lost nearly the whole of his fortune, and sent Robert back home to his parents. At that time the church of Stowey was under the care of one John Hayward, a pious Catholic, who some years before, by command of King Henry, had been ejected from a house of Canons Regular, and had got this cure as a sort of plank from shipwreck. He was pleased with Robert's disposition, and somewhat also moved by the consideration that this was the first child that he had baptized after his entry into the parish. So he began to exhort his parents to apply him to literary studies along with

his brother John, who, sad to say, was afterwards drawn into error by the fraud of the heretics. He promised that he would pay part of the expenses; and so he did while he lived. Accordingly in the year 1560 they were both sent to study grammar in the neighbouring town of Stogursey for a whole year more or less. Then they were sent for three years to a public school at Taunton, a much more celebrated town. Thence Robert, as being somewhat riper in age and studies (for he was now 18), went to the University of Oxford, where he resided, studying logic in the college that is called St Mary Hall. Thence he migrated to Balliol College, so called from John Balliol, King of the Scots, its founder. There after another two years he was enrolled in the number of Fellows in the year 1568, and took his first degree in Arts ; and in the fourth year following, according to the prescription of the statutes of the University, he was made Master.

In the taking of his first degree, Edmund Campion, who was Proctor that year, and who afterwards endured an illustrious martyrdom for the confession of the Catholic religion, presided as usual at Congregation. Robert began through his friends to deal with Campion (for they were both Catholics at heart) how to contrive some scheme of avoiding that impious oath against the Roman Pontiff, which by the laws of the heretics had to be proposed to every one taking any degree in Letters. Campion promised to do his best to that effect. However, as he had a companion in office who watched all his proceedings, and the affair had to come off in a public assembly, the thing could not be managed. Accordingly, wicked and ambitious youth that I was, not to lose my degree, I twice pronounced with my lips that abominable oath, though at heart I detested it. Spare me, merciful God! and pardon this great sin of my youth ; for I did not yet know what it was to love Thee above all things, and to prefer Thy honour to all worldly gains.

Meanwhile Thou didst not despise this Thy servant, but in many ways didst guard him from an even graver fall, and didst remove him from stronger fetters. Much persuasion was brought to bear either to draw him to the profession of heresy or to bind him to the service of the world by marriage or some ecclesiastical benefice. But Thou, O Lord, didst wonderfully break his bonds that he might offer Thee a perpetual sacrifice of praise.

While he was Fellow of Balliol College he was according to custom tutor of sundry youths, some of whom afterwards turned out excellent men. Among them were Alexander Briant (martyr), Richard Yeomans, Simon Fenell (Catholic priests), and some others. But nothing of this is to be attributed to me, O Lord ; it is all due to Thy holy grace, who didst show to them and to me the light of Thy Catholic truth in the midst of the darkness of deadly heresies and the allurements of the world. I did them no good either by word or example, as at the time I was myself wholly given over to vanity. If afterwards, when moved by Thee I renounced the world, my example availed them anything, that is to be ascribed to Thy

Sovereign bounty and to their own virtue, not to any merit of mine. But let us consider the rest of Thy mercies, O Lord.

While the writer was studying at Oxford there were not wanting many occasions to call him away from studies and the pursuit of letters, and to attach him to the world, occasions to which perhaps he would have succumbed and perished for ever had he not escaped by the signal aid of Thy grace. One no slight danger arose in the year 1569, when the ringleaders of the heretics in London, hearing by the testimony of many that the Catholic faith was strongly rooted at Oxford, and that its memory and charm could not easily be plucked from the students' minds, resolved upon a decided increase of effort and the erection at Oxford of a tribunal of inquisition to terrorize Catholics. So the inquisition was set up with great pomp and parade. Upon examination there was seized and imprisoned, among others, Richard Garnet, the intimate friend of Robert, and Fellow of the same College of Balliol. He subsequently suffered much at the hands of the heretics, and gave the first example of constancy and fortitude to the University of Oxford. And though, becoming afterwards unexpectedly entangled in matrimony, he was not able to receive Sacred Orders according to his desire, nevertheless he has made confession of the Catholic religion before many tribunals.

When, then, this man was arrested and taken into custody, Robert, to whom, O Lord, Thou hadst not yet given the strength to follow his example, began to fear greatly for himself, and went down into the county of Somerset, where he obtained such yearly assistance from friends and patrons, especially from John Stone, a rich man of Bristol, who was a relation of Robert and mayor of the city that year, that there seemed every prospect of his being able to support himself not badly at London in the study of the municipal law of the kingdom, which they call common law. If once he had gone to London perhaps the scent of gain would have involved him in inextricable nets and labyrinths. But by the bounty of God he escaped this danger also, and others not less, as well of marrying a wife as also of obtaining an ecclesiastical benefice. Had he fallen into either of these snares probably he would never have left England.

Nor when afterwards he had settled down to residence at Oxford, would it have been easy for me to go out thence, hadst not Thou, O Lord, broken my bonds and in a manner cast me out of Sodom. For while I was enjoying perfect peace, not so much of soul as of bodily substance, and abounded in many advantages of fortune and the friendships of noblemen whose sons were entrusted to me as tutor, there befel me something as unexpected as it was at that time exceedingly unpleasant, wholesome nevertheless, and a singularly salutary work of Thy Providence. It happened thus: Certain Fellows of the College fired with ardour of heresy conspired to turn me out of the College, little as I suspected anything of the sort. Thou, O Lord, didst use their hands to chastise me to the end that afterwards Thou mightest bestow on me greater benefits. This was the occasion. Robert had gone to London on some

business at the Christmas of 1573. He lodged in the house of a distinguished man called Hawley, whose son, a handsome boy called James, was at Oxford under Robert's care. This boy supplied the argument for the comedy. Robert's rivals, in his absence, conducted this boy out of the college at an unseasonable hour to an evening performance, and afterwards persuaded him that Robert would be so offended at this, as on no account to let the offence go unpunished. Struck with this fear, James did not dare to go near Robert when he returned home, but remained at the house of a certain Christopher Bagshaw, who seemed to have been appointed by the conspirators chief actor in this plot, although Adam Squire, the Master of the College, and Thomas Hyde, who that year was Bursar, both heretics, and on that account, perhaps, more hostile to Robert, are thought to have been the chief authors of this stratagem. As for Bagshaw, though perchance he was not moved by any religious bias at the time, he seems to have been led by this bait of wishing to enjoy the charge of this boy.

When Robert got wind of this, although, being Dean of the College for that year, he had the power of compelling Bagshaw to return his pupil, nevertheless, seeing that a disturbance threatened, he would not act upon his right, but brought the matter first to the notice of the Master and afterwards before a College Meeting; and there the conspiracy against him straightway burst into light. The meeting passed over the business on which they had been convened, and proposed a vote for the expulsion of Robert; and when the majority, which however I think did not exceed the number of five or six, appeared in favour of the motion, as had been arranged, they proposed to Robert the option of two alternatives—either spontaneously to resign his fellowship or expect immediate expulsion from the College. If he accepted the former alternative they promised that he should have the most friendly treatment from them all, and that they would allow him to stay in the College as many months as he liked, living at his own discretion. If he did not accept it, they declared that they would turn him and all his belongings outside the College walls that very night. On hearing this, he complained loudly of the injustice done him. Reflecting however on the state of the times and the dispositions of men, and how by withstanding the powers that were, he was likely to involve himself daily in greater difficulties, unless he would consent to make some concession to the heretics in matter of religion, considering too his own desires of travelling abroad, he resolved to carry his purpose out on this occasion, and to turn the wrong done him by the heretics to his own profit. Accordingly he made a bargain with his adversaries, and resigned his fellowship and emoluments, but on condition that he should have free permission to stay in the College for some months and be allowed to live there after his own fashion. They bound themselves by private oath to allow him this, wishing the arrangement by no means to be made public before the time. But they did anything but stand by their promises, for a little time after, when Robert had called to account some of their friends for eating meat

in time of Lent within the College bounds contrary to the statutes, they broke out into new enmities, or rather renewed the old, and even with public ringing of bells shut him out from the College.* And these were the causes of his journey beyond the seas, which Thou, O merciful Lord, whose wont it is to draw honey from the rock and oil from the hardest stone, hast turned to his no small profit and utility.

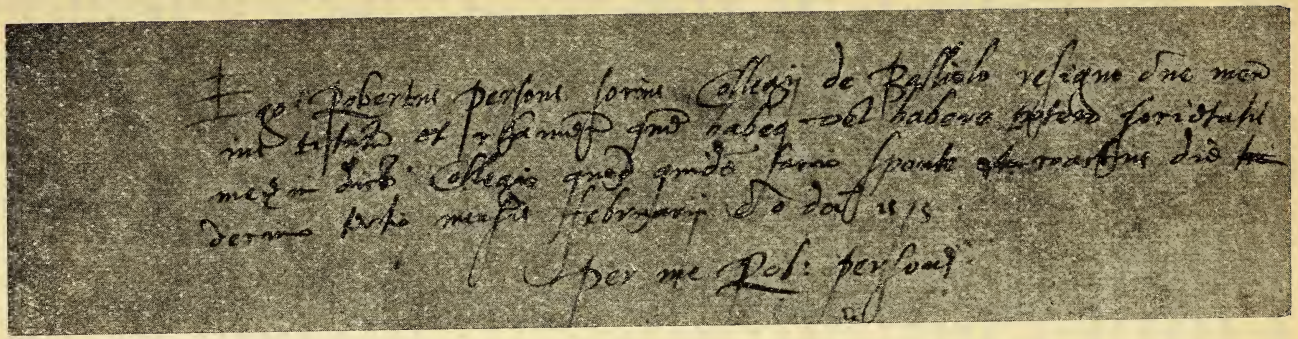
* The Balliol College Register is, of course, the most authentic record that we have for this episode. It is written in Persons' own firm hand, and, so far as it goes, it exactly corresponds to what is here set down. The remarkable feature is that he states that he resigned "sponte & coactus"—"both freely and perforce." The writing of these words clearly shows that he still retained his independence and some command over the situation. The entry is printed in Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses,* ii, 67, n.

A paper on "the unsoundness of Balliol colledge in relligion," ascribed to 1580, states "that Balioll Colledg hath not bin free from the suspicion of papistrie this long time; it appeareth by the men that have bin of the sayd house, namely Brian and Parsons. With Parsons and since his *departure* from the colledge hath Turner, Bagshaw &c bin fellowes," etc. Here from a Protestant source Persons is regarded as a supporter of papistry and as having departed from, not as having been expelled the college (Knox, *Douay Diaries,* 363). In the acrid disputes of 1601, 1602, the story of the resignation was of course re-told in hostile form. John Mush, in his *Declaratio Motuum,* p. 57, says that Persons was expelled from the University for sedition, faction, etc. To this Persons replied in the *Apologie,* p. 193, giving the story as told here. This book came into circulation in January, 1602, and in the February following we find George Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, writing to one Dr Hussey, who wants "to know what is on record any way against Mr Parsons." There being nothing "on record any way against him," Abbott has to content himself with such hearsay accounts as he can gather. He had matriculated more than seven years after Persons left (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*); he only knew of two surviving witnesses of the scene, and neither was at Oxford. It is therefore impossible to admit that the authority of this letter is so overwhelming as Bliss considers (Wood-Bliss, *Athenæ Oxonienses,* II, 65-67), but of course it is by no means to be neglected.

While Abbot was writing this letter, Father Persons' Catholic adversary, Dr Christopher Bagshaw, was composing a vindication of his conduct (*Answear,* pp. 33-35, in an appendix to H. Ely's *Brief Notes*), which Persons had so confidently condemned. There is no reason why we should not accept his disclaimers in his own regard, but his counter-accusations must be read with due caution. These hostile witnesses have this advantage over our autobiography, that they describe the faults and charges formally alleged against Persons, while his own account is concerned with other points, and silent on this. From our friend the enemy, therefore, we learn that the main allegation was that of having mismanaged the college accounts, and Abbot says, "he was thought to have purloined 100 marks." Both agree that there were many minor accusations, Bagshaw stating that 29 or 30 scholars were brought in to make complaints. Though he does not mention the imputation of illegitimacy, he states that there were charges as to which he will keep silence. Abbot states that assertions were made about his illegitimacy, and something similar is stated by the Appellant, W. C[larke?] in his *Reply to Persons' Libel,* p. 91. See below, pp. 39, 44.

When we remember that Persons, aware that he was suspected of papistry, durst not appeal to the higher powers, we can well imagine what a sore trial that meeting in Balliol College chapel was. To have come out from it as well as he did was certainly no small success.

FACSIMILE OF THE ENTRY IN THE BALLIOL REGISTER



FATHER PERSONS' RESIGNATION OF HIS FELLOWSHIP

Ego: Robertus Persons socius Collegij de Balliolo resigno oñe meũ
ius titulũ et clameũ quẽ habeo vel habere potero societati
meæ in dicto Collegio quod quidẽ facio sponte [et *cancelled*] coactus die
decimo tertio mensis februarij. Ao dõi 1573.
Per me Rob: Persons.

Under this follows, in another hand, the unanimous permission of the Master and Fellows for him to retain his rooms and his scholars as long as he wishes, and to draw his commons from the College until Easter next. This has been subsequently cancelled.

It will be noticed that there is over the cancelled "et" a blur and an ink mark. Dr George Abbott, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, in the letter alluded to on the opposite page, says that he thinks he could recollect the word "et" still uncancelled; that it must have been struck out lately (he was writing February 1, 1601-2), and that the word "non" had been set over the cancellation. The facsimile shows, what Bliss had already remarked in his edition of Wood in 1815, that the word "non" is not there now. But whether the blur over the "et" is an erasure of the word "non," as Bliss thought, or whether it is merely a blot misunderstood by Abbott, can hardly now be settled definitely.

To face p. 22

[Father Grene:—*Hæc narratio continuari Romae cœpta est Anglice 8 Maij*, 1601, *prout sequitur.*]

Notes for memory's sake to continue
the former narration when time shal be.

(225) After my departure from Oxford I went to London (1573) and there God had provided that Sir Rich. Baker (whose son Thomas had bin my scholler) should offer me unasked a lease of certain lands fallen of late to his eldest son in Somerset-shire, which I took, and going downe into the country I sold it for a hundred pounds and more to James Clark,* Pophams Secretary, and with this and other help of friends I was able to goe over to travaile.

After Easter I returned to London and putting myself under the protection of my Lord Buckhurst by meanes of the Culpepers and Sydneys (of whome I had had 2 or 3 for my schollers in Oxforde) I departed England in May or June 1574, leaving all that ever I had in England in confidence with the sayd Lord, who dealt honorably with me afterward when in Italy I entred Religion, for he delivered all left to his custody unto the persons I assigned.

I came over to Cales and from thence to Antwerp, where having to stay for company to goe to Frankford faire, I went in the meane space to see Louain in the company of two godly men one M^r^ Tho ✠ Yates (afterwards of the Society and now in Brasil), the other John Slade afterward priest, and by these two mens vertuous example and exhortations I resolved in Louaine seeing I had time to stay there 8 or 10 daies, to make the exercises under f. W^m^ Good for 8 daies, which did move me so much as to leave the world and enter into religion, or at leastwise to change my studies of Physick into Divinity, that if I had not made my mony over to Venice before, it may be I should have remained in Louain.

My companions from Antwerp to frankford and to Padua were Mr George Lewkner [afterwards doctor of medicine], and Mr Luke Atslow [who died in Padua the year following].§

We arrived at Padua in the end of September, and soon after I went to Rome, being desirous to finde Mr John Lane there ¶ [my

* During the Appellant controversy Clarke seems to have been asked to state whether Persons left England for religious motives. He made a declaration, June 7, 1601, which is still extant, and in which he states that Persons affirmed he was not a *papist;* and says that he could detect no sign of papistry in Persons' conversation (Inner Temple MSS., see *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 2nd Rep., pp. 153-154). This was apparently published by one of the controversialists, for Persons in his *Manifestation,* 1602, p. 90, notices it, and in his answer says that, as the word "papist" is used in different senses by Catholics and Protestants, Clarke may have misunderstood him.

James Clarke describes himself in the declaration as "of the Middle Temple," and says that he was with Persons at the free school of Taunton, and "we both departed thence neere about his age of nineteene yeeres, and aboute the ende of the seaventhe yeare of the Quenes Maiesties raigne that now is."

✠ Persons should have said, John Yates (*alias* Vincent), and William Slade.

§ The Italian adds "poi dottore di medecina" and "che mori in Padova, l'ano seguente."

¶ Father Grene here makes a sign of omission, but in his Italian translation the lacuna is filled up,—"mio grand' amico, andato in la poco primo con il Sgr. Doctor Odoeno Ludovico (poi Vescovo di Cassano), e questo fu poco avanti l'anno Sancto.'

great friend, who had gone there alittle before with Mr Doctor Owen Lewis (afterward Bishop of Cassano), and this was a little before the Holy Year.] I was at the opening of the Holy Gate by Pope Gregory the 13 in the beginning of the holy yeare 1575, and very soon after gott me away againe in the company of the sayd m^r^ John Lane [fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford], * and God knoweth I carryed little devotion out of Rome with me, for I had attended more to see profane monuments of Cesar, Cicero and other such like then to places of devotion, which yet I think the goodnesse of God did use to my great profitt afterward, afflicting my minde so much with the shame and remorse of this negligence as it made me leave Padua againe.

At my returne to Padua we ioyned together, mr Atslo, mr Lane and I, and took a very commodious house of our own, they two studying law and I Physick, and finding ourselves very wel setled I bought good store of books for my faculty as also provision of apparell [which had belonged to the Lord Windsor, then dead in Venice] † but the mercy of God would not permitt me to rest long in these trifles, but soe vexed my minde with continual torment for that I had come from Rome without taking the commodity of the Jubily and without confessing myself, as methought I must needes take some great revenge and satisfaction of myself.

This torment I had in my minde diverse daies together without revealing it to my two companions, & many cogitations passed my minde, what course it were best for me to take sometimes thinking to steale away out of Padua & to goe to the Alpes & there to putt myself into some remote and solitary monastery or celle never to converse more with men; some other times purposed to live a secular life, but yet retyred and gyven to studdy.

In the end, being not able to resolve to my own satisfaction and not daring to imparte my cogitations to my fellowes, I determined only to goe secretly to Rome, and to recompence somewhat my former negligence and there to take further resolution.

And to make this iourney with more secrecy and lesse impediments, I feigned that certain letters were come to me from my Lord Buckhurst out of England requyring me to goe to Parma about certaine businesse of his: with which pretence I went to Venice, & my two companions accompanyed me, and thence imbarking myself in the Po, towards ferrara, as soone as I came to the mayne land I left the bote and went on foot towards Rome, condemning myself to this pennance in recompence of my former negligence.

It was in the end of the month of May when I departed from Padua, and though I was no good goer a-foot & the weather was hott, yet by Gods help I made all that iourney without any riding, as farre as I can remember: but yet God permitted me certaine great temptations in the way which I had in hande, I meane for entering

* Supplied from the Italian translation.

† "Che erano del Barone Winsor allora morto in Venetia." This was Edward, third Baron Windsor.

into religion: for first about Bolonia as I remember I found a poor man, whome for companion I tooke in my company and assisted him with almes, who soon after told me that he had bin many yeares in religion (to witt a monk) & that he was fled out of his monastery and now was going to live a secular life which he much preferred before a religious.

When I asked him why he left a religious life to follow a secular, he answ^{d} for that he went in young to religion and had not prooved the pleasures of the world: and soone after he showed himself a very simple man, in that coming to florence as I remember he bought himself a velvet niew hatt, all his other garments being extreme poore, saying that it was a credit to have some one garment good.

But drawing neer to Rome, there fell into our company two friars more worse in conversation then the monk, as it seemed, & they persuaded me to live rather a secular than a religious life: but having discovered some lightnese in their behaviour, I separated myself from them all, and soe came into Rome alone as farre as I remember in the end of May 1575.

In Rome I stayed some weekes before I resolved to offer myself to the society, w^{ch} finally I did in June, and entred upon St James day, 25 Junij, having made distribution of all my worldly affaires especially of such goods as I left att Padua and in the Lord Buckhurst, his hands, in England.*

I found myself exceedingly comforted, & my two companions in Padua, Mr Lucas Atslow and John Lane hearing of my resolution, they made the like, but mr Atslow dyed soon after in Padua, and m^{r} John Lane came and entred the Society in Rome, & from thence was sent afterward to Spaine, & dyed in Alcala very piously anno 1578. †

After almost three yeares in the Soc^{y} I was made priest whilst I studyed my course of Divinity in the Roman College & I supplyed the place of the Engl. Penitentiary for some space, and having the charge gyven me of the noviciat of the second yeare in the sayd College I soe continued until the year 1580 that I was sent to England.

In this space I gathered out in latyn the compendium of all the controversies,§ that served afterwards for myself and others that went thither as also the particuler cases for England to be

* Father Grene in the margin: "This is iust as it lyeth in the original; he meant July not June, vide *Morum,* p. 44, ubi dicitur ingressus societatem 4 Julii, et constat ex multis catalogis, forte 25 Jul. admissus ad convictum aliorum et habitum religiosum."

† Father Grene in the margin: "Jo. Lanus (vide *Collectanea M,* f. 1) intrat Societatem, 2° feb. 1576. Ob. 6 Maii, 1579."

§ There is one copy of this manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson, C. 588, pp. 122. Hearne has added a note to say that it contains "varia et multa eruditio." Another in Balliol College, E. 14, 9. Another at Douay, MS. 484, pp. 406. The title is *Controversiæ nostri temporis in Epitomen redactæ,* and it appears from *Controversia* 3, *quæstio* 3, that it was written in 1579. A remarkable Protestant testimony to the value of this work in J. Reynolds, *Censura librorum apocryphorum,* etc., 1611, vol. 1, col. 22c.

discussed for that mission:* and soon after to-witt 1578 began the troubles of the Roman College between the chaplens first and D^or^ Owen Lewis, and after between the English schollers and the sayd D^or^, wherin when matters came to that extremity as they were expelled, I procured by means of f. Bened^s^ Palmius and f. Toledo to have his Hol^s^ intreated to recall them as he did. See the story att length in the large book intituled, Of difficulties etc. ✠

After the schollers were restored, the college was founded & the government committed to the fathers, I suggested to have the oath propounded of taking holy orders and going into England when they should be sent: moreover I procured liscence of Greg. 13 by f. Alfonso for D^or^ Allen to be called, who arryved here in october§ 1579 and departed in feb. 1580, and att his being in Rome he negotiated the sending of the first mission of the fathers into England and that f. Campian should be called hither from Prage, who arryved in holy weeke 1580,¶ and soe upon Dominica in albis we departed towards England 13 in number, towitt, f. Campian, my self and brother Rafe Emerson of the Society, and 10 others wherof 8 were priests, Dr Henshew, mr Giblet, mr Crane & mr —— that had bin chaplens of the Hospital, m^r^ Rafe Sherwin, m^r^ Luke Kirby, after martirs, mr Edward Rishton priest, and John Pasqual gentleman and ——**

We past all by Geneva, for y^t^ the Spanyards returning from flanders upon peace made on that condition by Don John d'Austria; they occupyed up all the ordinary way by Savoy. In Geneva f. Campian, I and m^r^ Sherwin went to see Beza, with whome we had some conference, all which with other matters are to be seene in f. Campians life.

We arryved in Rhemes of france in the end of June 1580 and after conference with D^r^ Allen f. Camp: and I went to St Omers, where hearing that the portes of Engl^d^ were layd I resolved to goe in by Cales and Dover and soe did. and f. Campian followed after

* At the end of the Douay MSS. come the very interesting *Quæstiones pertinentes ad Baptismum*, etc. (folios 408–426). These are, perhaps, what are meant by "the particular cases for England to be discussed for that mission." It contains 85 questions in 11 sections, and well deserves publication. If, as is possible, these "questions" are not the same as Persons' "cases," then their author will probably have been Cardinal Allen, or the professor of moral theology, or "of cases," as he would then have been called, at the Seminary of Douay.—See *Month*, July, 1900.

✠ This is the *Storie of Domesticall Difficulties* printed below.

§ The Italian reads "7bre."

¶ Father Grene notes: "Apr. 18."

** Fr Grene: "In vita Campiani (fol. 106) numerantur omnes, vz duodecim, Episcopus Assaphensis præcesserat qui decimus tertius dici potuit." At the page cited the following names are recorded: "Three of the Society, Fr Campian, Fr Persons and Ralph Emerson, lay brother. . . . Five of the English Seminary, three priests and two scholars, Mr Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, Edw. Rishton, Thomas Brisco, and John Paschal. . . . Four ancient grave priests, Mr Edward Brombery, D.D., Mr Will. Giblet, Mr Thos Crane, Mr Will. Kemp. And the Right Rev. Father in God and worthy confessor, Mr Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St Asaph." Dr Henshaw seems to have come later.—*Douay Diaries*, p. 172.

some [ten]* days and was stayed but let goe againe strangely, as you may see in his latin-book ✠ related by himself. All that sommer we passed over in preaching: my lott was the shires of Northampton, Darby, Worcester, Glocester, Hereford: m^r G. Gilbert was my companion: and at michelmasse we returned and mett with f. Camp. againe by Uxbridge where f. Camp^n took his direction to write the book of 10 reasons.

[Father Grene:—*In margine idem Pers^s adscripsit quæ sequuntur in proximo paragrapho.*]—This year 1580 came forth D^or Allens Apology of the Seminaries & D^r Bristow's defence of Purgatory against Fulk, and the next year after the Rhemes Testament.§

Soon after our arryval att London we made a meeting of priests in St Mary Overies where an order was agreed on for friday fasts and other such national and provincial devotions to be kept without bynding others to them in provinces where there was noe like custome. m^r Henry Orton was taken by the treason of Sledd as he was coming to us, and soe was mr Johnson,¶ m^r Talbots priest, after a martyr, and it was a marvaile that m^r Blackwell and we all together had not bin taken. The first man gayned from heresy in this sommer was m^r Gardener att Hogsden, who was an earnest heretick, disciple of fox, and after suffred much for cath. religion: After were reconcyled the Lord Compton, Sir Thomas Tressam, Sir W^m Catesby and his unkle m^r Dymcock, and dyverse others.

After this began a sharpe persecution against us for that sundry terrible proclamations came out against Jesuits. All gentlemen and noblemen of name suspected to be Cath^s were called to London and committed to custody as the Lords Pagett, Compton, Vaux, Sir Thomas Tressam, Sir W^m Catesby, S^ir John Arondel, m^r Rafe Sheldon, m^r Tho. Throgmorton and others. m^r Rafe Sherwin was taken after Michelmasse** in London, he having layn with me in my chamber by Bridewell the night before, and shortly after that the chamber taken and m^r Briant with it. ✠ ✠ A parlament was called at Lent after and 20 l^i a month appoynted for recusants. John Nichols comedy was brought in of preaching in the tower under

* In Italian "dieci."

✠ By "Latin-book" Persons means the Latin letter to his General (October or November, 1580) which is printed with Campion's Latin works, e.g., in Bridgewater's *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 3.

§ Allen's *Apologie for the English Seminaries* appeared in 1581, Dr Richard Bristowe's *Reply to William Fulke, in defence of M. D. Allen's Scrole of Articles and Booke of Purgatorie,* was published at Louvain in 1580, the *Testament* at Rheims in 1582.

¶ Henry Orton and Robert Johnson were committed to the Gatehouse, July 12, 1580.—*Catholic Record Society,* vol. I, p. 67.

** The diet of Bd. Ralf Sherwin is charged for in the Tower bills from December 4, 1580. (These bills will be printed in a future issue of the *Catholic Record Society.*) Sherwin had previously been in the Marshalsea for about a month.

✠ ✠ Bd. Alexander Briant was arrested "about the 28th of April," 1581, and sent to the Counter, and thence transferred to the Tower on the 4th or 5th of May.—*Acts of Privy Council.*

the name of a learned Jesuit.* m^r^ Clithero also (as was presumed) had imparted a written book of D^or^ Langdall (as after was discovered, to shew that it was lawfull to goe to church), whereupon dyverse were ready to fall and goe back, as some did, namely m^r^ Rafe Sheldon. ✠

To all these difficulties God mooved other men to putt the remedy they could. I amongst others wrott and printed the Reasons of Refusall § and the Discovery of John Nichols. m^r^ Blackwel also and I together made an answer in wryting to Clithero's book: wherupon the cath^s^ took hart and courage to stand to it, and this was our exercise that wynter in London.

At the spring of this yeare 1581 m^r^ G. Gilbert my chief stay was soe persecuted as I was forced against his will to entreate him to retyre himselfe into france, for y^t^ all his goods and lands were ceased upon in England, and having sould certain landes to his tenaunts of Suffolk, they were corrupted by the councell to betray him and soe bringing up their mony to London, when they should have paid it unto him in m^r^ Higgens house the skryvener in London, Sir George Carew knight marshal came in with many swords drawne and took away the mony, & not finding m^r^ Gilbert there, for I permitted him not to goe suspecting the fraude, he carryed away mr francis Browne¶ and m^r^ Charles Basset who were there to receave the same in mr Gilberts name: but he was forced to restore it againe to the tenants for that the wrytings were not yet sealed, and hereupon m^r^ Gilbert went over to Roan.**

There hapned also other things this winter, as the coming forth of the books of Hanmer and Chark, whereto I answered by the Censure, and the defence therof made afterwards. ✠✠ Ther hapned the apprehension of mr Edward Rishton with his brother

* John Nichols fell at the end of a few weeks' imprisonment in the Tower (See Tower Bills; *A sermon preached by a Jesuit in the Tower on Sundaie the 5th daie of februaire,* 1580 (E. Arber, *Registers of the Stationers' Company,* vol. II, p. 177); also a *Declaration of the Recantation* on February the 14th (copy in the British Museum); an *Oration* (dated April 25), and a tract on his *Pilgrimage*). Father Persons' answer was secretly printed and is entitled *A discoverie of I. Nicols, Minister, misreported a Jesuite,* etc., 1581.

✠ The writing here mentioned may be the same as R. O. *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. CXLIV, no. 69, "A discourse delivered to Mr Sheldon, to persuade him to conform.—Arguments to prove it lawful for a Roman Catholic to attend Protestant Service," *Domestic Calendar 1547-1580,* p. 691.

§ *A brief discours contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church* . . . . dedicated by J. H[owlett] *to the Queenes Maiestie,* secretly printed, 1580. An answer to it was licensed on the 14th of March, 1580.—E. Arber, *Registers of Stationers' Company,* p. 179.

¶ Father Grene at first wrote Birton, then Browne over it.

** Father Persons' letters of commendation for Gilbert are dated June 14, 1581.—R. Simpson's *Campion,* p. 206, where however the date is printed June 24.

✠✠ The books of William Charke and ot Meredith Hanmer were licensed on December 20, 1580, and January 3, 1581 (Arber). Persons' answer is entitled, *A brieff censure uppon two bookes written in answere to M. Edmonde Campions offer of Disputation,* secretly printed by Brinkley, 1581. The *Defence of the censure gyven upon two Bookes of William Charke and Meredith Hanmer* was printed at Rouen in 1582.

and other gentlemen of Lancashire at the signe of the redd rose (or redd lyon) in Holborne neer to Grayes Inn, whither I going to speake with the aforesayd gentlemen, my imagination was changed, and soe I enquyred for the house by contrary name, and the little gate or wicket being shutt and the secretary Walsingams men within it that were sent to apprehend me, I could not finde the dore, and soe went and lay at my L. Gerards house neer unto it. my man Robert I sent home to my lodging: and m^r^ Rishton with his company were taken. I went thither upon Sunday night from Throgmorton house, having bin there friday night before. Not long after being with m^r^ Barnes in a house att Tuttlefields the Justice came in to search the house by night late, and I scaped by running to the haymow.

At this time also having gotten a printer with much charge and peril to be carryed to Greenstreete* (6 miles from London) to a house of mr Brooksbye of Leicestershire and mr James Brinckly to be prefect thereof,† I went thither, dyverse perils in the way twice or thrice, being once stayed by the watche, and mr Brinkly's man going about to buy paper in London, was taken, sent to the Tower in London and racked.

M^r^ Sherwin alsoe was taken§ preaching at m^r^ nic. Riscarocks house & dyverse others both priests and laymen were taken dayly, and at the Marshalsea, where f. Bosgrave, m^r^ Sherwyn and dyverse other priests were prisoners, a disputation was offred by Sir George Carew knight marshal and was accepted by the priests and never performed by the hereticks. D^or^ Lilly also was sent to the fleet also to conferre with Sir Tho. Tressam, but it was but ridiculous, and D^or^ John Reynolds conferred in the tower with m^r^ John Hart and sett it forth after in print.¶

After this having receaved f. Campians book de 10 rationibus compounded by him in Lancashire, I sent for him to come up and print it himself: and in the meane space I procured another place for a print, towitt a house of my Lady Stonar, standing in a wood fast by Henly, where m^r^ Brinkly also was prefect of the printers and m^r^ W^m^ Maurice priest was procurator to buy the paper and other necessaries: and f. Camp^n^ coming up went to lye there and soe printed his book.**

And after his book was printed & the most parte of the copies sent to Oxford against the Act, w^ch^ was in the beginning of July, f. Camp: and I departed from that house about the 10th of August †† †

* Greenstreet is probably identical with Greenstreet House, East Ham, Essex; now known as Boleyn Castle.—W. H. Allnutt, *English Provincial Presses* in *Bibliographica,* II, 162, etc.

† Stephen Brinkley used the *alias* James Sancer; see below, p. 35.

§ Sherwin was in the Marshalsea November 9, 1580.—Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council,* XII, 264.

¶ For the bibliography of this controversy see Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary,* III, 155.

** Campion and Persons were at Stonor Park before April 28, 1581, when Briant was seized; see above. On the printing of the *Decem Rationes* see articles by Father J. Morris and myself in *The Month,* July, 1889, and Jan., 1905.

†† † This is an evident slip of the pen for July. The search after Campion at Lyford began on Sunday, but he was not found till next day.

being munday, and upon Sunday after he was taken att Lyford by treason of Eliot as in his life is sett down.

I lying in Henly-park at m^r fran. Brown's house heard of the taking and passing by, & sent Rob. Alfield my man to see him, and within a month after was Mr Brinkly taken with all the printers and print, and carryed bound to London, * whereupon I retired into Sussex unto Michelgrove, and finding that commodity of passage to goe into France, I resolved to goe to conferre with m^r D^or Allen and m^r Gilbert & f. Claudius Mathæus the Prov^al about prosecuting of this mission, with full intention to returne presently though hitherto I have bin letted. †

One cause also was to printe some books w^ch I had written in England or was in wryting, as the defence of the Censure, the latin epistle of persecution and the book of resolution in the first edition all which were printed at Roan this winter.§

An other cause also of my coming over was to make a mission of Scotch fathers into Scotland, which by letters I had procured before from the General, and f. E^d Hayes and f. W^m Critton were appointed, but first to take direction from me: wherefore upon conference with f. Critton at Roan he went into Scotland and I sent Rafe Emerson with him, and promised to expect his returne at Roan as I did.¶

Father Critton returned in April, 1582, and brought answer from the Duke of Lenox then governor of Scotland** and the young king to the full contentment of the Duke of Guise (with whome we had conferred before at his house att Ewe in Normandy about the advancement of the Cath: cause in both realmes of England and Scotland & for the delivery of the Q. of Scotts then prisoner in

* The order to search Stonor House was given on August 4, 1581 (*Acts of Privy Council,* XIII, 151), and according to [J. Hart's] *Diarium Turris,* "William Hartly, Priest and with him John Stonor, Stephen Brinkley gentlemen, with four printers John Harris, John Harvey, John Tucker, and John Compton," were sent to the Tower on the 13th of August.—Sander, *De Schismate,* 1628, p. 355.

† The date of this important event must be subsequent to August 4 (see last note) and before August 21. On September 15, 1581, Persons wrote that he had begged the Nuncio to ask the King of France to intercede for the English Catholics, and that the king had refused (H. More, *Historia Provinciæ Anglicanæ S.J.*, p. 113). From the Nuncio's despatches we see that intercession was made before August 21, and that the refusal was received before the 26th (Arch. Vaticano, *Nunz. di Francia,* vol. XV, ff. 291, 303).

§ For the *Defence of the Censure,* the *De Persecutione Anglicana* and *The first Booke of the Christian Exercise,* see Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary,* V, 277, 278. The second and subsequent editions of the *Christian Exercise* were entitled *The Christian Directorie, commonly called the Resolution. The Christian Directory* is the usual title at present.

¶ The Father General Aquaviva wrote to the Archbishop of Glasgow on August 6, 1581, announcing that he was ready to undertake a mission to Scotland. Fathers Edmund Hay and William Crichton were named on December 23, and the Conference at Rouen must have been before February 3, 1582.—Correspondence in Archives S.J.

** This letter is now preserved in the Vatican Archives, *Inghilterra,* I, f. 224. For a fuller account of these negotiations see F. Knox, *Letters of Cardinal Allen,* p. xxxv, and J. Kretzschmar, *Invasionsprojekte der Katholischen Mächte gegen England,* Leipzig, 1892, pp. 60-79.

England) and therupon we repayring to him againe to give him the answer, he first gave me a hundred pound a yeare for a seminary of English youth in Ewe and the fathers gave me the use of a house for them: whereupon I called m^r Man otherwise Chambers to the government therof: it lasted till the yeare 1588 that the duke was slayne. *

After this established he went to Paris with us & calling thither D^or Allen and fr Claudius Mathæus he consulted in Paris with the Popes Nuncius the Archb^p of Glasco & the Span. Emb^r. in w^ch consultation it was agreed y^t I must needes be sent to Spaine and f. Critton to Rome to propose the necessities of both kingdomes for restoring the Cath: religion: we departed from Paris p^o Maij and I arryved at Lisboe 15 Junij with noe small paines. ✠

And for that mr Charles [Paget and Thomas]§ Morgan that named themselves servants of the Q of Scots were not admitted to the consultation (which nether the Duke nor the Archb^p would agree unto) therupon began they presently to be discontented and to oppose themselves against D^r Allen, me, and the Seminaries, and this was the first beginning of all division among us for these men could never after be pacifyed, though now it be 20 yeares gon.

This summer was spent in Lisboe when the Marques of S^ta Crux went to the terceras and had his victory against the french and Petro Strozza.¶

And in the meane space the Q. of England mistrusting the Duke of Lenox for that he was Catholickly given caused him to be taken by a sleight of hunting in Scotland and the King to be taken from him, himself to goe to france by England, where he was poysoned as is supposed, for that he dyed as soon as he arryved att Paris, and so fell all that attempt to the grounde.** W^ch being heard in Lisbona I returned with m^r W^m Tressam about Michelmasse and coming to Bilbo I fell sick very greevously and soe stayed all that winter in Biscay, and the next spring returned into france.

At this my being with the K of Spaine I obtained 24 thousand crownes to be sent to the K of Scots, w^ch were payed by J^n Babtist Taxis in Paris. ✠✠ I caused also 2000 §§ duckets of yearly pension

* It is curious that Father Persons should have forgotten that the establishment at Eu continued down to the opening of the College of St Omer in 1594. There is a letter of his own, dated July 23, 1590, in which he says he is expecting students from Eu for the new college of Valladolid (Stonyhurst, *Coll. P.*, fol. 500). In 1589 the *Douay Diary* speaks of it as "ædicula nostra." In 1594 its inmates went over to St Omers.—*Stonyhurst Magazine*, 1883, I, 284.

✠ The meetings at Paris probably began on May 1, and Persons left on the 28th (see Knox and Kretzschmar), and he wrote from Lisbon on June 25 and July 2.—Hosack, *Mary Queen of Scots*, II, 557.

§ Supplied from the Italian.

¶ This victory took place on July 26. In the Italian Father Grene adds, "Desunt pauca."

** The Raid of Ruthven took place August 23, 1582, and Lennox died May 26, 1583.

✠✠ In subsequent years Father Crichton objected to Father Persons publishing this, as it would lead to misunderstandings. The money, he said, had got frittered away, without anything eventually reaching King James.—Archives S.J., *Anglia Historia*, II, 727.

§§ The Italian reads "ducento,"

for the sem^ry of Rhemes, and a promise for D^r Allen to be card^l, w^ch was afterward fulfilled.

When I returned to Paris I found m^r Paget and Morgan wholy aversed, but D^r Allen and I sought all meanes to regayne them againe: I went first to Roan where m^r Paget lay and made peace with him and after went to Paris* and called D^or Allen thither from Rhemes to doe the same. we went and lay in the same lodging to performe the matter better, but all would not serve.

After this we imparted all our affaires with them and upon a new agreement m^r Paget was sent into England and I went to Rome and m^r Brinkly with me, whence returning againe in few weekes ✠ I found m^r Paget come from England, and to have brought contrary answer to that which was expected by the Duke and promised by him, w^ch the priest m^r Watts that had bin [in] Scotland (whether he was sent by me out of England together with f. Holt anno 1581) declared to the Duke and to f. Claudius and me that it was procured of sett purpose by m^r Paget, as he had told m^r Watts before his departure that he would: yet of this his iourny ensued the ruine of m^r W^m Shelly of [Michelgrove] and of the Earle of Northumberland, as it seemeth by the sequele.

[Father Grene:—*In margine hic adscripta quæ sequuntur*§.]

The said m^r Watts told us that walking upon the strande or seaside with m^r Paget at what time he expected his barke to passe into England with promise to draw the Earles of Northumberland & Arondel to ioyne with the Duke of Guise for delivery of the Q. of Scotts, [m^r Paget said] that he coming into England would in few daies dissolve all that had bin treated therein by Jesuits, and soe it ensued.§

At this very time came from Lions to Paris D^or Parry Morgans countryman; w^ch Parry having bin a spye for the Queen some yeares before in dyverse places of Italy & france and now become a Cath^k as he sayd, and m^r Paget and Morgan desiring to bring him into dealings with D^or Allen and me, and by this meanes¶ they refused it, so as Pagett and Morgan sent him away into England secretly without taking his leave of any of us, and that with commission (as he tould the foresaid m^r Watts being his contryman at Roan as he passed to Diepe) to make a parte against the Jesuits:

* Persons was in Paris before May 30, 1583 (Vatican Archives, *Nunziatura di Francia*, XVII, 165). On July 11 he wrote to his General to say he was back from Rouen.—Archives S.J.

✠ Allen's letter, commending him to Pope Gregory XIII, is dated August 23, 1583 (Knox, *Letters of C. Allen*, p. 206). Persons was back on October 19.

§ We shall afterwards see that Father Persons—such was his absolute confidence in the rectitude of his own ways—was by no means as considerate as he should have been for his opponents The warning of the Jesuit Father Olivier Manare is not to be forgotten, "Pater Personius in ea [historia de origine discordiarum] contexenda potuit facile errare ex vetusto illo suo præjudicio" (quoted in Knox, *Letters of C. Allen*, p. 392, n.) It seems certain from the State Papers that Charles Paget was not at this time a traitor to his fellow Catholics, though he was one in later years.

¶ Something seems wanting here. The sentence is omitted altogether in the Italian. According to Parry's confessions he refused to see Persons, but "desired" to see Allen.—Holinshed, *Chronicle*, IV, 567.

but Parry coming into England revealed all and more to the Queene and Treasurer Cecil, and soe had favour for a time; but a little after being accused by Nevil, Ld Latimer, to have practised with him about killing the Queen, he was hanged.*

This sommer alsoe of 1583 came over out of England the Ld Paget and Sir Charles Arondel, and to the end the Lord might overrule or temperate somewhat his brother Charles, I dealt effectually with him in the Cloister of the Cordeliers offering all good correspondence, but his brother ledd him away, w^ch^ made Sir ch. Arondel alsoe to leave them soon after.

Toward the end of this summer, I being not yet returned from Rome, the Prince of Parma being advertised from Spaine that he should conferre with me, sent m^r^ Hugh owen and m^r^ [Gabriel Davis]✠ to Rhemes to D^or^ Allen and from thence to Paris to call me, whether I went from Roan [and Mgr [?] Mustret, Archdeacon of Rouen, took me into the house of his brother in the road near St Omers]. § Soe as I stayd in Tornay with the Prince and f. Oliverius all this winter, where I procured among other things mr W^m^ Tressam a Captainship [which disconcerted him in such manner that he never returned to the [?], the rupture of the quarrel with Mr Hugh Owen then beginning].¶ I procured also two chaplenships for m^r^ Pullen and m^r^ Watts priests, both of which dyed soon after. I endeavored to bring into some order the Earle of Westmorland but it held not &c ——

Anno 1584

Romæ, 9 Maij 1604, continuatum quod tribus annis intermissum fuerat. [*Ita Personius in margine.*—Fr Grene.]

About Corpus Christi day** I returned from flanders to france & in the way passing from Gant to Odenard m^r^ Owen and I were in great peril to be taken by English soldiars of Mechelin, if we had not escaped by flight, as I did before in my iourney from Loven to Beuerin, where all our cartes and convoy were taken & I escaped by the benefit of a good horse.

When I returned unto Paris I found a niew negotiation ✠✠ on foot against the union and peace of our cause, which was begunn in Rome, but prosecuted in other places also, as conioyned in affection with that of Charles Paget, Morgan & Tho Thogmorton in Paris.

* Parry came to Paris in December, 1583, and passed on to England in January, 1584, and was hanged on March 2. The claim of Edmund Neville to the title of Lord Latimer was not admitted by Elizabeth's ministers. Parry's confessions do not mention any commission to take part against the Jesuits.—Holinshed, *Chronicles* (1808), IV, 567.

✠ "Gabriello Davis," in the Italian.

§ The Italian adds "et Monsieur Mustretto, Archidiacono di Roano, mi menò a casa del suo fratello nella strada vicino a S Omero."

¶ The Italian adds "il che lo sconcertò in tal maniera, che mai tornò al[?]sesto, comminciandosi la rotta del emulatione con il Sigr Ugone Ludovico [*sic*]."

** Persons was back in Paris before May 14, 1584.—*Nunziatura di Francia,* XVII, f. 397.

✠✠ This obscure intrigue is mentioned below, *Memoir* IV. We do not know how Father Persons became acquainted with it, and of course his information may be very defective. In regard to the main facts, however, he is certainly right, and he rather under- than overstates the baneful effects of Solomon Aldred's

The negotiation was that D^or^ Lewes being retyred to Milan to serve Card^l^ Boromeo for vicar General had left his nephew Hugh Griphet* in Rome a man of turbulent spirit, and had procured him some favour of Card Savelli Chief Inquisitor, and with him ioyned two fathers of S^t^ Francis order, friar Bourcher an English man of like spirit & friar Batson half flemish by his mother: this man had a brother in the Soc^ty^ (but afterward dismissed), who by these mens suggestion was sent into England once or twice with one Salomon Aldred that had bin a taylor, but being imployed first by D^r^ Lewis to the Inquisition at Rome in the cause of one m^r^ Umpton (that had bin made prisoner in Milan by the Inquisition) after he became soe expert as he with the sayd Batson (sent by the Inquisition without privity of his general) went to England and dealt with Hatton, Cecil, Walsingam and other counsellers about moderation in matters of Religion, and brought both Pope Gregory and Sixtus after him into hope that much would be done this way, if D^or^ Allen and f. Persons would cease to exasperate them with books, &c—

But all fell out afterward to be but dubble dealing, for nothing

negotiations. The following data for the further study of the episode may be found in strictly contemporary records:

The *Pilgrim book* of the English Hospice, Rome, shows that Aldred was there as as a visitor March 10-20, 1581, and March 11-19, 1583 (H. Foley, *Records S.J.*, VI, pp. 550, 553; cf. pp. 13, 14). On March 1, 1582, Dr Owen Lewis wrote from Milan to the Pope's secretary, the Cardinal of Como, that Aldred was able to supply Rome with letters intercepted from the English ambassadors, etc., abroad, but on the 12th the cardinal declined to have dealings with him (Vat. Arch., *Lett. di Cardinali*, 93, Barberini, LXII, 325). It was probably next year that the negotiation alluded to by Father Persons took place; for on June 12, 1583, Henry Umpton, from Lyons, reports to Walsingham (R.O. *French Correspondence*) that Aldred (whom he calls "the player of my brother his tragedy") is won to their side. On August 18 W. Parry (the so-called conspirator) writes to Burghley that Aldred "departed for Millan the 10th of this month in hope to bring Mr Umpton away. . . . Pyne hath done him a great deal of wrong." On the 27th Parry writes again: "The 20th of this moneth Mr Ed. Unton was in good health but not yet delivered. Aldred was within 2 or 3 days after to depart from Millan to Rome in very good hope to procure his dispatch."

That Aldred had turned traitor was known by February 6, 1584, to the Nuncio at Paris, who then sent word of it to the Cardinal of Como. The Cardinal replied on the 21st, asking if this charge might not have arisen from passion. On March 19 the Nuncio reports further unfavourable evidence, and perhaps wanted to arrest him, for on May 28 he reports that the man has slipped past, and on the August 6 that he has slipped back. On October 8 the Cardinal says he may be allowed to come to Rome, and in December we find that he has been there, and come back with Batson (*Nunz. di Francia*, XVI, XVII, under dates, and *Additional Calendar*, p. 132).—In September, October, 1585, Allen and Persons, says the spy Rogers, were trying to check the cardinals that deal with Aldred, and that his doings were being narrowly searched into.—*Add. Calendar*, pp. 153, 154, and esp. Rome, Chigi Library, M II, 47, 6-8.

After this Aldred seems to have declared himself more openly as a government agent, and sums were paid him for travelling purposes seven times from 1586 to 1589 (R. O. *Accounts of Treasurer of the Chamber*), and he became one of the *agents provocateurs* of the Babington Plot (*The Month*, April, 1904). In September, 1589, he writes to Walsingham, as if he were in some favour at the court of Henri IV (*Add. Calendar*, p. 283). This is the last reference to him which I have found.

* See below, p. 88.

was done, for the Q. could be brought to no more but to promise but to heare a masse privately in her chamber as Batson tould me afterward in Rome, and Aldred becoming an open enimy betook himself to be Walsingam's man, and soe dyed, and f. Batson as is sayd was dismissed the Society* and f. Boucher dyed a little after in Rome† and so that association was dissolved, which was so strong for a time that many good Cath[s] feared them, for that m[r] Baines was cast by them into the Inquisition for a yeare and more, and they threatened also D[or] Allen and f. Persons.

The rest then of this summer I remained at Paris and Mons[r] Duke of Alençon being dead, there was much parling between the princes for making their league that brake forth the next spring after, wherupon I buying myself dyverse sortes of good books returned to live for the next winter in Roan,§ in a voyde house given to the Soc[y] in a garden, where were with me m[r] Stephen Brinkly, a vertuous gentleman that translated Loartes book under name of James Sanker, and m[r] flinton an honest marchant, who both of them did help me to sett forth my 2[d] edition of the book of resolution much augmented.

In this time did the division of mr Ch. Paget and Thomas Morgan grow much, for that partly by the L[d] his brothers taking part with him, partly by the accesse of some other discontented, their adherents were dayly increased both in flanders, france and Rome, and these as well priests & schollers as laymen, for if any could gett no pension, nor was not payd of that he [had], or were disgusted in the seminaries or putt out therof or [were displeased with the discipline, or addicted to disorder and sensuality],¶ or were given to faction and nationality between Inglish, Welsh, Irish or Scots** presently they took hold of this division, and disunited themselves from D[or] Allen and f. Persons and the Jesuits, and the former two wel foreseeing the fyer that was like to ensue therof, used all diligence to quench or diminish the same by coming often to Paris and conferring with m[r] Ch. Paget & Tho Morgan, shewing confidence with them and wryting letters to them, but all served not.

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And the enimy in Engl[d] seeing this division fostered the same greedily, sending over diverse spyes to that effect and using other meanes as wil appeare by the sequent narration.

* Ric. Batzono received his certificate of dismission from the Society "in forma communi" on 15 May, 1590 (Archives S.J., *Dimissi,* fol. 20). This would rather show that no special scandals were then known against him.

† Perhaps Thomas Bourchier, O.S.F., the martyrologist, is meant. He is said to have died in Rome "about 1586" (Gillow, *Bibliographical Dict.,* I, 277). There is an obscure reference to "frier boutser" as a correspondent of Walsingham, in 1585, in R. O. *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. CLXXVI, n. 71.

§ Father Edmund Hay writes on October 29, 1584, that Persons has lett Paris in fear for his life.—W. Forbes Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics,* p. 200.

¶ The Italian adds, "ò a chi non piacesse la disciplina, ò fosse addettato a a disordine e sensualità."

** These words deserve attention. Morgan's spleen against Allen and Persons was, it would seem, chiefly due to uncontrolled "nationalism."

There were resident in Paris at this time not only the foresaid Charles Paget and Tho: Morgan, held for the heads of this division against D^or^ Allen and the Jesuits, but m^r^ Thomas Throgmorton alsoe son to Sir John Throgmorton, which Thomas followed the other two, and had bin sent into England before by them to place his elder brother francis to be the Agent between the Q. of Scotts and Don Bernadino de Mendoza Embd^r^ of Spaine, as he did by these mens commendation to the Queen, and it was soon after his ruine being putt to death as is manifest.

There was also the L^d^ Paget favouring them as hath bin sayd: They drew unto them also in many things John Baptist [Tassis] the Span. Emb^r^ in Paris, and the Engl. Emb^r^ Stafford could not but favour them.

They had in like manner many adherents in other places as W^m^ and Gilbert Gifford in Rhemes, Edward Grately in Paris, W^m^ Clithero and some few others in Roan, D^or^ Lewis and his nephew Hugh Grifit & m^r^ nic. fitzherbert and some others in Rome.

And on the contrary for the unity of the whole body held with the said D^or^ Allen, f. Persons, Sir Charles Arondel, m^r^ Thomas fitzherbert, m^r^ Ric Hopton, Mr Stephen Brinkly and diverse others in Paris, Sir franc. Inglefield in Spaine.

[Father Grene] *Finis huius operis imperfecti*
P. Personii de vita sua

Appendix to the Autobiography

The following extracts and papers from the Stonyhurst MSS., relative to Father Persons' birth and family, are indispensable for the study of the paper already quoted.

(A) *Extracts from Father Garnet's Correspondence,* preserved in Fr Grene's MS. *Collectanea P.* II, ff. 535-608

It will be noticed that Fr Grene did not at first know that "the old woman" meant Persons' mother.

17 *November,* 1594. The old woman is well, Her Children seek almost all to be Catholic some help of M[ark, i.e. Father Persons] would farther it (fol. 550).

10 *September,* 1597. The old woman is well, and hath endyted a letter unto you (fol. 596).

18 *March,* 1598. The next day after I wrote my last, I and all my family were forced to leave all, and at midnight to runn to London, leaving only the old woman and a mayde or two to look to her, but the matter is well past and we returne this weeke (fol. 597).

9 *April,* 1598. We are constrained to shift often dwelling and to have diverse houses at once & also to keepe diverse houses at those times when we run away; for we cannot remove y^e^ old woman soe often, &c. (fol. 551).

20 *January,* 1599. [Fr Grene:—In this and in other letters he frequently repeateth y^t^ y^e^ old woman was well, of whome he sheweth a most special care, but I do not know who this old woman

was, and in one dated 21 April, 1599, writeth thus: "The old woman is very well, and her son John hath not his letter yet. There is no hope of him, nor ever was: but I will send it shortly," &c.] (fol. 552).

14 *January*, 1600. The ould woman is very well, and tomorrow we goe all to her, having long absented ourselves to see how things passed; we finde all well, and she hath for the most part not wanted a workman [code term for a priest] (fol. 546).

20 *May*, 1601. In my last I wrott you should not believe what was sayd against us or against Mark [code term for Father Persons]. One principal cause was y^t^ it is a tale here divulged by some hereticks, y^t^ Mark's father was not called as Mark is, but because he was a minister's son who bore that name, therefore he is called soe: and this I made little account of til I sent you the answer to the Wardword, where it is glanced at and now I see it in the Latin book,* and conferring with customer [the Archpriest Blackwell] I find that Collington had tould him soe long ago as probable. Wee all know the contrary and I could [recount] pleasant discourses hereof (fol. 596).

19 *August*, 1601. For *Natalitia* of R. P. you shall understand y^t^ those which lived long with his mother gave her singular commendation of honesty and gravity. The two gentlemen with whome she dyed do say y^t^ if R. P. will sweare y^t^ he is her sonne, they will sweare that he was her husband's son (fol. 553).

20 *February*, 1602. Mr Waulker sayth that upon his knowledge there was never any Person of Stoy, since King Edwards time called Cowbuck, which were good to observe besides the deserved credit of the parties slandered (fol. 538).

16 *March*, 1603. Mark's sister dyed half a martyr, for upon pretension of seeking for stolen gheese, the house where shee lived being very honest and of good reputation was searched upon Christmasse night, and they looked in her boxes for other manner of gheese and found agnus dei and beades and such like. She was so frighted of the knaves y^t^ she dyed on Innocents day. Shee was hunted away out of an other Parish before for her brother's sake by y^e^ minister (fol. 554).

11 *May*, 1603. I wrott of Mark's sister deceased, it was the mother of the wryneck. [This "wry-neck" will be the youth of whom he wrote September 6, 1594, to Persons—"a little wrynecked boy, a charge of mine, of whom I wrote and had your consent to send him." It would seem that this boy was then being sent to St Omers or to Valladolid.]

Dr George Oliver quotes, without giving a reference to the original, "a letter from Father Oldcorne to Father Persons, dated the 15th of June, 1603, which mentions his brothers George and Thomas and Richard Persons: 'Richard and his wife are Catholics

* Mathew Sutcliffe under the initials O.E. published his *Replie to a certaine odious libel by N.D.* [i.e. Persons] *entitled A Temperate Wardword*, &c., &c. The licence for this was taken out December 8, 1600 (Arber, *Reg. of Stationers' Company*, III, 67). I have not, however, yet found the passage in which the illegitimacy is "glanced at." The "Latin book" is Mush's *Declaratio Motuum*, p. 58.

and have bin so these six or seven years: they live but poorly in outward show: and for your brother Thomas, he lives in Somersetshire, and I heare in good estate for the world; but he is no Catholic, nor is there any hope'" (*Collectanea S.J.*, p. 144).

(B) *Information from a Brother of Father Persons for Father Edward Coffin, S.J.* No date.

There is a contemporary transcript of this at Stonyhurst, *Anglia* VII, no. 43, and it has been printed by Dr G. Oliver, in Andrews' *Orthodox Journal*, II, 123 (February, 1836), and from him in Foley's *Records S.J.*, VI, 677. Father Coffin was engaged in editing Persons' posthumous answer to Barlow in 1612. This may therefore be the date of this paper. As to its author, we are again uncertain. John and Thomas were with Robert at Oxford, but they remained Protestants. Richard and George were Catholics. George, who lived much abroad, would perhaps not have used such an English form as "Padway" for Padua. If so, then Richard seems the only one left.

My brother F. Persons was brought up at scholle in the toune wher he was boren, called Nether stowey, and at the age of 14 or 15 yeres (with another brother too yeres yonger) was sent to a free scholle in Somersetshire called *Tanton*, and after he had been ther some 10 or 12 monthes, his Master being very sharpe and cruel to his scollers, and as the scollemaster did report afterward, for that he found my brother to have a good witt and cold do well, was more sharper to him than to my other brother or to any other of his scollers, in so much that my brother was weary being a scoller and would fayn have lefte his booke, and thereupon wrotte a letter to my father both of his masters cruelty and of his unfitness of being a scoller, and of the great desire he had to geve over his booke with many other reasons he did allege; he being but a boy of 15 years old and with his smooth and fine letter he had wrytten, had almost geyned my father; but my mother who had a great desire to have him a scoller would not hear of it, and presently took horse, it being seven mylles of, and when she came thither, went and told his master all what he had wrytten, and mad him to whipe him well: and afterward herself did so chid him and threten him that if he came whome, she would tye him to a post and whipe him; and yet that should not serve his turne; for she would presently send him back to his master agayne. And this schoolmaster of his was a Chatholick, and afterward put out of his place for it; and though my brother was then young, yet he did observe his great goodness of life and other things which did him good afterward. But now when my brother saw ther was no remedy but that he must go to his scoole and geve contentment to his master and that all hope was taken away of going whome; he fell to his book very hertilie, and became the best in the scolle, and so continewed as long as he was ther. And his master that knew his good witt, when he was past his scolles, wrott to my father wishing him to send him to Oxford, for that he would prove a rare man. So at the age of 20 or 21 he was sent thether, and was placed in Baliol College, and after some four yeres passed Baculer of Art with as great credit as any did a great while; and this being known was mad Fellow of the house,

and afterward Bursar of the house, and his name was so much knowen about bothe in the West Country as also in London, that everyone was desirous to have his sons with him, as in the West part my Lord Seamer, Mr Southcott, Mr Hill and mayny others; in London Mr Baker, Mr Sidney, Mr Culpeper, and mayny other Londoners; so that he had in Baliol College and Hall more than thirty scollars under him whereof mayny hath proved Chatholicks and some pryestes, as Mr Bryan, pryest and marter, and Mr Fowel and others.

After that he had been Baculer 3 or 4 yeres according to the custume, as sone as myght he passed Mr. of Art with as great honer as cold be, and continewed still in his office Bursership, but ther was great ado continually betwyne the Master of the Howse called Adam Squier and him, partly for that my brother had told him sometymes of his evell life, which none knew so particularly as my Brother, but Squier cold not abide to hier of it. But the chiefest case of Squier's mallice towards him was about a Fey that Squier had geven to twoe or three Somersetshire men to go to them withal, promising them after the thurd tyme they should still get; but they found the contrary, for they lost still, until ther money and little lands they had were all sold and lost. And then they mad compleynt to a Justice of Peace in the Towne where we were borne (Netherstowey) called Mr John Colles and to another called Mr Mallet, who had married Mr Colles' daughter, and they drew up a certain processe upon the said mens compleynt and examination of the matter, both how much money they had geven as of all other matters that had passed betweyne Squier and them touching the fey, and sent this to Oxford to my brother, who called the matter in question, and ther was great ado about it, in so much that Squier was like to have been put out of his mastership, had not he had very great fryendes, but he was fayn to repay the money he had for his fey and I think was fayn to geve the poore men some recompence for their loss; but for this and other matters he bore my brother great mallice, and sought very much to be revenged: and in the end he understood that my brother was a Chatholick which I think he was not at that tyme, but mynded to be, yet he pursued the matter so vehemently, that he got him expulsed the College with as great rigor as myght be; for he cased the College Bell to be ronge a good whil that all the Towne myght take nottisse of it. I, being then present myself, went with him to London, wher he fell acquainted with my Lord Buckhurst which was afterward Treasurer, who loved him exceeding well, and kept him some twoe or three monthes with him and would never willingly have him out of his company. Then in the end my Brother was desirous to come over with Mr. Lane of Corpus Cristy College and an other Master of Art of Oxford. My lord Buckhurst persuaded my brother to go to Padway to study Phisick, which I think was my Brother's entention at that tyme, and so they three went to Padway together, loving as dearly as any that Brothers cold do: for they were the very chefe of Oxford: and after they went to Padway and had been

there a lettle whil, my Brother told them he ment to go to Rume about a lettle bisines, and so when he came thether he presently entred into the Society, and then sent a Letter to them how he had disposed of him selfe, wishing them to think upon some good corse also, which presently they did, for they entered both into the same Society. [Endorsed] For Fa: Coffyne | Concerning Fr Persons.

(C) *The Reverend John Persons to Thomas Somaster, Dean of Totnes.* Charlinch, May 31, 1602

From the contemporary copy at Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, III, No. 14. This letter will be best understood by reading the postscript first.

An answere to the letter of T. S.

Sir,—I marvel the less that you the author of this enclosed letter, may report many other things therin, when at the very entry therof, you mistake my writing to M^tris^ Rowsse and call it an invective against mr Dean of Exeter. For be it that the iniquity of that beastlie slander of bastardie charged on the Jesuit, and wounding many other through his sides, drave me to saie something unexpected, yet was it in modestie I hope, and to sollicite M^tris^ Rous and mr Dean to acquit their credit, and to satisfy the world who it is, that is the author of so impudent and palpable a slander. It was not to prop up the credit of the Jesuit as you obliquelie and uncharitably surmise. For be it known to you and to all others that I concur in heart and habilitie with all true English well affectioned people to Prince piety and state. I detest all impious and absurd Idolatries and superstitions, defacing the glory of our only God and Saviour, all diabolical desigments and treasons against her majesty's sacred Person, State and Realm, *designarunt enim ad mortem unumquemque nostrum.* I am not ignorant how that the Jesuit and his pewfellowes bussell strangelie for the prorogation of their kingdome of darknes. And I am of opinion there is not any one more pernicious to our Religion and State than is Persons the Jesuit. And therfore far be if from you and all who have charitie to think or imagine that I meant to maintain the courses, or uphold the credit of the Jesuit. No (good Sir) my profession, my preching, my actions have bin and are far otherwise. For besydes my inward discomforts and heavines of heart, that one of myne, brother in blood and name unto me, should be as he is. I have bin diversely and daungerously shott at, But I blesse my hevenly God for protecting me hitherto from the lions mouthes: lett this suffize to edify your charitie and make you know I justify not the Jesuit in any impieties or lewd courses. But yet do not the devil wrong. I say it again and will make it good that the Dean hath done him and very many others most notorious and foul wrong to publish such a slander to the world, howsoever in vain you bestow your wit and labour to cast a colour theron. The slander is so manifest, so palpable, & so gross that it cannot be cloked. And yet it seemeth to you that I want discretion that I do not palliate it. Sir it seemeth to me that you want somwhat more than wit to undertake to justify so foul and filthy an imputation. You say I do myself wrong to place myself in the same predicament

of birth with him. I cannot tell in what predicament or place to find you, that are more than blind in the open light. It doth not wrong me (good Sir) to acknowledge Gods doing in my birth and others. It shall never wrong me to be known the son of Henry and Christian Persons, and by birth the brother of Rob. Persons though he be now as he is. You say mr Deans purpose was not to harme me, I believe it, my charity assureth me he meant it not to me. But he and you and all men see that by his inconsiderate divulging this filthy imputation, meself and very many others are intollerably injured, and justly grieved. I wish the dean had better advised himself, before he did himself and others that wrong. What? a wrong? No marry (say you), for you could make it good (perchance) that the Jesuit is a bastard born. And first you expostulate with me about a logical consequence. You think it follows not that notwithstanding Henry Persons the father had born to him by his own and only wife Christian Persons xi children by Gods blessing in lawful marriage, all born of the same parents who ever lived together man and wife most comfortably above 50 years till God sundered them by death: that if one of those children be proclaimed a bastard born, yet it follows not (you say) *ex necessitate consequentiæ,* that the rest of the children be therefore iniured and defaced. Sir, howsoever my want of discretion seemed to you before: it seemeth to me you lack wit and honesty to collect as you do. You ask me if Heywood the priest might not be the reputed father of the Jesuit? what if the same question be made to yourself? the same priest in possibility might be your father for aught I know. I perceive you are skilfull in logic to argue *a posse ad esse affirmative.* Your reasoning is absurd and peevish. though my charity perswades me better of your affection. But yet to answer directly and fully to discharge your supposed possibility and all ambiguity touching this slander. I tell you and will most soundly iustify that your putatitious and devised reputed father the vicar, was not, nether could be reputed father to the Jesuit. For wote ye what? the Jesuit was born 3 years before that vicar came to Stowey and this willbe as directly provid as that you live. Where is then the rock of your sure building? Your narration of Vicar Hayward I lett passe as matter of frivolous conceit. it may be perchance in some part as you say, yet is it more than any in this country can affirm. Happelie you and your relators be deceived in the whole: in part I am sure you be. For the vicars name was not Heywood as you write neither was he vicar of Stowey, or ever heard of at Stowey long after the Jesuit was born. Jesper Cole who long time served Vicar Heywood and is now an old man living in Stegursey, of good credit and sufficiency, saith he never heard that Vicar Hayward was at any time of Torre Abbay as you affirm, but saith he was chanon in the Religious house of Tanton, and at the dissolving of that house had a pension of iiij^{li} yerely payd him by the Queens Auditor during his life. And that which you moreover affirme of Vicar Hayward he utterly denieth, and thinketh it to be a mere malicious fiction. And therefore this your bold asseveration is not so to be believed as you would (happely)

have it. That which you insert out of the Scriptures of Bethsheba etc, is little fitting the matter in question. I marvel you offer a president of such disparity.

Sir, make this your own case. Be it your father and mother have by God blessing issue 7 children in holy wedlock, your honest mother is whisperingly traduced by a malicious lewd tongue, *Quæritur* whether you hold it honest or tolerable, that your mother be published a burdell and her children adulterous. I hope you are so far from allowing such abuse as you judge it punishable with all severity. I may easily be induced with you and others to condemne his profession and pranks to be base and bastardly, but that he was bastard born nor can I grant nor you ever prove. For his treasons etc. they are hatched in his Jesuitical nest, they cum [not] in his birth. Esau was a reprobate but no bastard. What of his weak mother, a seely seduced old woman, carried by some of that crew to the borders of Wales, is that a proof to make him illegitimate? you slyde away selily from the matter you take to mayntayne.

And yet confidently and couragiously you step forth, & to clear my grief you say that you bring reasons proofs and grounds that led Mr Dean to speak think and write as he did. So, now we shall see all, and how substantially this imputation is raised. But yet the Dean did not this (you say) of his own knowledge. I believe it well, for neither he nor you, nor any other ever knew any such thing, because there never was any such matter. And of his non knowledge you yield a reason saying: for who knoweth the father of a child borne in matrimonie but the mother herself? if none can know it, why doth the Dean so uncharitably publish it and yourself so impudently approve it? I pray you tell me without simpering & in good sadnes who is to be reputed the father of a child born in holy wedlock, and whose parents live ever most socially together? Did the Dean know he was born in godly wedlock and yet proclaim him a bastard? beware you wrong him not. no, no. The dean was miscarried by the Relators as appeared by his speeches to the most honourable Ladie Countesse of Bath. when her ladiship charged him with broaching so wild an imputation which every one might reprove. For [quoth] he, Persons had 2 wives, by th' one was the Jesuit born in bastardie by th' other wife were his other children. This as it was a poor shift yet it bewrayed his ignorance in that which he so confidently published in print a little before. had he know[n] that the Jesuit was borne in holy matrimony (as you affirme of him) I think he would not have pronounced him a bastard, as he did. For what were you even yourself more than born in lawful matrimony, he was no less y^e^ [yea] *Ex verbis tuis est iuditium.* You say, the father of a child cannot be known, but to the mother onely. *Quod dicis accipimus.* How then do the Dean and yourself so exactly know him to be a bastard? Did his mother acquaint you therewith? I dare say she did not. Why did the dean so confidently publish it and yourself now thus rashly iustify it? Is not this dealing temerity in th' one and impudency in th' other of you? But you can protect mr Deans doings. You say he had warrant so to do. Well, whence is this

warrant? belike it is with good authority, and well sealed. He knew it (say you) by the voice of the people. it is well. What if lewd people should whisper some such matter against mr Deans wife or yours? were it tollerable to proclaim your children for bastards? It seemed to me and to the world that the Dean looked with a squint eye, but you behold things as if both your eyes were out. But I pray you speak plainly, where received the Dean this tale? and from whom? was it in the country where the Jesuit was born? no; here is none can say any such thing. my self dwell within 2 miles of the place. here no body can say so. From whom received he this report? by his own confession but from one woman, (who in deed was born many years after my brother). a sufficient warrant for him (no doubt) to publish such an imputation to discredit himself and the cause he handleth. It was of late by my Lo. Grace,* recommended in much secresie to make enquiry for the truth hereof. And som being privily examined, soundly [*sic*] confessed that this was a lewd slander, and so was it certified to his Grace by them putt in trust. Wise men be sorry for such rashness, and yet you defend it. Another reason why he must needs be a bastard is, because (you say) the vicar was very familiar with the Jesuits fathers wife, and took much of his diet there. Sir, they that thus imagine could never attain unto such exquisite knowledge, but by a familiar. Fie for shame, had the dean no better ground to build this slander on than this; if not, wise men may think what both he and you lacked, th' one to write so, th' other to defend such writing. but in sadnes, had the Dean no better reason? ✠ Yes forsooth, for the vicar gave him (the now Jesuit) some maintenance in the country, and some exhibition in the University. and therefore you think the Dean might well avouch him to be his bastard. You talked before of logic. now show yourself a scholar if you can. I would fain see you conclude out of these premisses your assumption *necessitate consequentiæ* (behold, lest I choke you with your own sword). Ywis, there is neither logic nor philosophie nor divinitie nor humanity nor equity nor honesty, will afford you any countenance to these absurd and peevish surmises. *Magna est veritas et prævale*[*bi*]*t*, the conceit and surmise of bastardy is most lewd, and notoriously slanderous when it is notorious his father and mother lived together most com-

* Presumably the Earl of Bath, who was Lord Lieutenant of the County of Devon, and at one time an Ecclesiastical Commissioner.

✠ The extravagance of Dean Sutcliffe's charges is evident on the face even of his second edition of them in his *Full and Round Answer to* [Persons'] *Wardword*, 1604, p. 220:

"Some say Robert Parsons is not unlike the Monke, *tum quod male audit*, that is, both because he heareth euill of one side especially, and because he hath not both his eares on one side [*sic*, perhaps for "of one size"]. The lineaments also of his face do bewray him to be of kindred to Haywood. Finally his desire to be a monkish Jebusite, and a priest, doth argue that he was a priests or monks sonne; and his giuing or iesting that he was Haywoods son, who was in his time a mad ieasting knave. Certes if Haywood was not his father, then was he much deceived, keeping Parsons at schoole and bringing him up as his sonne. Then was also Robert Parsons much abused that would not be called by the beastly name of Cow-bucke, that had his name of two horned beasts, but of the priestly title of his true father."

fortably and sociably in holy marriage in their own home above 50 years, till God after so long a blessing sundered them by death. And in their time were they the best housekeepers in all that township. All which is to be testified by generall consent of all this country, and if any whisper otherwise they dare not abide the triall.

The matters you write and so boldly discourse touchinge the Jesuits being in Ballioll College, and how he wrote a libell against m^r^ Squier: these things are better known to me than to yourself or to your Relator. myselfe at that tyme being a Graduate and of the same College. It pittieth me to see you and others so run at random in this and other matters, and that so confidently as if it were even so as you say, and it could not be any wit otherwise. The libell you talk of was a letter which he wrote to Squier from Frankforte marte, as he was passing towards Padua to follow his study of Physik, which he undertook in Oxford. At Frankfort he received my letters signifying how impudently Squier had charged him and myself with stealing away the college writings. This was th' occasion of these his letters to Squier. Wherof and of many other things you may be better informed by mr John Wilson then senior fellow of Balliol College and now person of Stocklinch near Crewhorne in Somerset, and by mr George Turner now Doctor of Physic dwelling in Fetter lane in London. I remember no more now alive that were then fellowes of that College except Bagshawe the Priest be living. these men will tell you of your gross errors in the points you so boldly avouch. Cast on the Jesuit all the calumniations may be invented, yet in this he will justly stand up and acquit himself from the imputation of bastardy, you and all your associates can never prove it. You are *pars affirmativa*, it standeth upon you to prove it, or else you are shamed. Hitherto you (as yet) have showed no sound evidence, neither brought any good argument. You laboured much and have done nothing. Strive not against truth. What if the Jesuit be neither bastard, nor so obnoxious as is pretended? What doth that hurt the cause of our Religion. God's truth dependeth not on mens lives, good or bad. Lett them that be unclean, be unclean still. God give us grace to be as we should. You say you hear better things of me. Amen. if you did not, I perceive I should hear of it. You distrust it much that I compare myself with the Dean. I tell you and him that for my birth and life I hold myself as lawful and acceptable as either of you both. I make the bolder with you because you simperto expresse your name, but only with 2 letters T.S. You thought belike I might not find you out. but I will put m^r^ Dean to do that for me, belike he may know you. You tell me of mr Deans reverence, of his place etc. Sir You I know not, mr Dean I partly know, and I know myself and let them that know both him and me censure us both. I am no Pharisee, but mr Dean must not sitt in the balance with me, and be tried by his country for integrity. You say he is worshippfully descended, and a dignified man. I must beware (belike) I offend him not. It is good you are so well acquainted with descents; his dignification may not be permitted to work my

disreputation. let him look to it that his dignifying admitt not a syllable more. I esteem him for his writing when it is *secundum sobrietatem etc.* It were good for discharge of his credit and conscience to discover the author of this lewd imputation. Let the world see by whom he hath been abused in this information. *Veritas nihil veretur nisi abscondi.* All the Jesuits actions by you rehearsed I detest and abhor as much as yourself do; but to be my true brother begotten of the same father, born of the same mother, (would you have me to deny him?) I can no more deny, than it is the sun that shineth or the heat that warmeth. I cannot speak against God, sitting in the chair of my conscience. *Deus verax omnis homo mendax.* you might easily have induced me to speak truth, but not the contrary. God give us grace to entertain truth and confesse errors. At my parsonage house at Charlinch this last of Maii 1602.

Your frend

JOH. PERSONS.

To Mr T. S. give these.

The occasion of the letter written to T. S.

The Dean of Exeter* having divulged th' imputation of bastardy against the Jesuit, the honourable Countess of Bath† much reproved him therefore, and urged him to name the author: with long detracting at last he said he heard such a thing spoken by M^tris^ Phillip Rows, Mr Colles§ his sister. The Lady not altogether believing what he said, thought he did the gentlewoman wrong. Hereupon I understanding thus much wrote to M^tris^ Rows to show how much the Dean had abused her, by reporting her the author of such a notorious slander. Hereof I heard no more till about a year after, there came to my hands a letter written, wherin the writer signified how he lighted on my said letter formerly written to M^tris^ Rows wherin I seemed to him obliquely to uphold the Jesuits credit, as he supposed, because I challenged any that should impute illegitimation unto him, and thereupon bestirred himself to prove the matter as well as he could, but in th' end sollicited me to deny the Jesuit to be my very brother. To this his letter he put neither date nor name nor place but only subscribed it thus, your loving frend T. S.

This his letter having run open through many hands, at last was shuffled up and brought me. Whereto I having shaped the answer following, could not tell whether to direct it, nor to whom to send it. But inclosed both the letter to me written and myne answer thereto, I packed up both and sent them to the Dean, shewing him my reasons why I so did; vz because the Dean might soon fynd him out who was so inward and privy to his actions and cogi-

* Matthew Sutcliffe, see above, p. 37.

† Elizabeth, 2nd daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford, married the Earl of Bath, August 7, 1583.

§ Perhaps the son of the John Colles, Justice of Nether Stowey, mentioned at p. 39.

tations; and that I willing to satisfy the charity of one so seduced could not otherwise find him etc.

The Dean having received the same, became very distempered (as should seem) and not long after writes to me in great choler, and sends back the letter and answer to T. S. with a Wannion, saying: he was not my boy to deliver my letters. I should take them back, and send them myself to mr Tho Somister Archdeacon of Totnes etc. for he was the man to whom my answer was to come. He the dean affirmed in that his letter that this imputation was charged on the Jesuit first of all by the Seminaries, which was th' only thing that hindered his ambitious course to get in to be a Cardinal as he said. and this was the Sum of the Deans writing to me, saving that I must not escape the show of his much displeasure to crosse him, and therefore all that I said was nought but folleries &c.

Well. I sett then a more direct passage for my letters to m^r^ Somister wherof I never heard anything since. Saving that the Dean vaunted that the Counsel should send for me, and lay me by the feet, for displeasinge his mastership no doubt. And the next thing I heard of Mr Somister was his death.

[Endorsed by Persons] The minister John Persons in defence of his brother's legitimation, 1602.

[Endorsed by Grene] The words above written are F. Rob. Persons his hand, and the letter was written by his brother an hereticall minister.

(D) *Further Particulars from Father Persons' later Works*

In his *Apologie* (1601), and *Manifestation* (1602), Father Persons traversed again the story of his early life, without varying much from the account already given in the Autobiography. The account given in the *Manifestation*, p. 89b, of his birth is of special importance because the entry in the baptismal register is mentioned. The Rev. R. Rowland, the present vicar, has informed me that these registers are now missing, and are believed to have perished during the Civil Wars, and this agrees with H. Foulis, *History of Romish Treasons*, 1671, p. 500, who says that "upon Inquiry I am informed that the Parish Records are now lost."

We have made diligent inquiry and do fynd that the said Father was borne in the parish of *Stowey* in *Somerset shire* in the yeare 1546. a yeare before K. Henry died, to which parish there came soone after out of Devonshire to be vicar their (for parson their is none) Iohn Hayward a vertuous good priest that had byn a canon regular before, and this man liued there for thirty yeares togeather, until after *F. Persons* departure out of England, who having byn his master in the latyn tongue and liking his forwardness in learning did euer afterward beare a special affection towards him, all the tyme he liued, but yet was ther neuer any least suspection of that which these malitious people have deuised and geuen out, as those do and will testifie that lyued at that tyme, neyther could there be with any probability, the one being borne (as we haue said and appeareth by the register book) before the other came into that countrey.

In the same place he adds that no dispensation for illegitimacy was required for his entrance into the Society of Jesus, or for his ordination.

In his *Apologie*, written in 1601, at pp. 193-197, Father Persons tells the same story about his leaving Oxford as he does here, with a slight addition at the end. Having mentioned his resolve to procure the punishment of those who eat meat, etc., during Lent, he continues :

Conferring of this matter with M. Doctor Martyn Culpeper, his great frend, lately made Warden of New Colledge, and now vice-commissary, the said Doctor told him that if it could be proued he would lay them in prison. Whereupon F. P. endeauoring to procure proofes, and they hearing therof, sent one presently to M. Squire, that was in London, and he so informed the Earle of Licester high Chancelor of that Vniuersity, that he wrote somwhat a sharp letter backe to the vice-commissary, saying that he understood of such an attempt or meaning of one evil affected in Religion towards others that were good protestants for a tryfle of eating a little flesh, and that it was not convenient to proceed any further in this matter. This letter being come M. Doctor Culpepper durst not passe any further therin, and the other hauing understood of this order from M. Squire, became so insolent as first of all against their oathes, they published that F. Persons was not fellow of Balial Colledge and further in their fury they ran to the next church of S. Magdalyn & rung the bels backward, as if fire had been in towne, and being asked of the people what it meant, they answered that a great Papist was fyred out of Balial Colledge that day.

The partyes herin named, and living to this day in good worship, namely M. Doct. Culpepper, M. Iames Hanley, M. Iohn Wilson eldest fellow at that tyme of the house, M. Doct. Turner, then also fellow & others can and wil testifie. Yet went not F. P. from the Vniuersity or Colledge for some weekes after contemning this insolency vsed by a few disordered people against him, and after he had been some moneths in London he returned againe to visit his frends in the vniuersity, which did vtterly condemne so barbarous and boyish a fact, as the ringing of the belles.

MEMOIR II

A Storie of Domesticall Difficulties

✠

[Title page] A Storie of Domesticall difficulties w^ch^ the Englishe Catholike cause and promoters therof, have had in defendinge the same, not onely against the violence, and persecution of hæretikes, but also by sundry other impediments amonge themselves, of faction, emulation, sedition, and division, since the chaunge of Religion in England, first under K. Henry the 8, K. Edward the 6, and Queen Mary, and then under Queen Elizabethe. (fol. 1)
Collected and left in writing for memory of God's holy providence, in suche affayres, by exercisinge His servantes with contradictions.

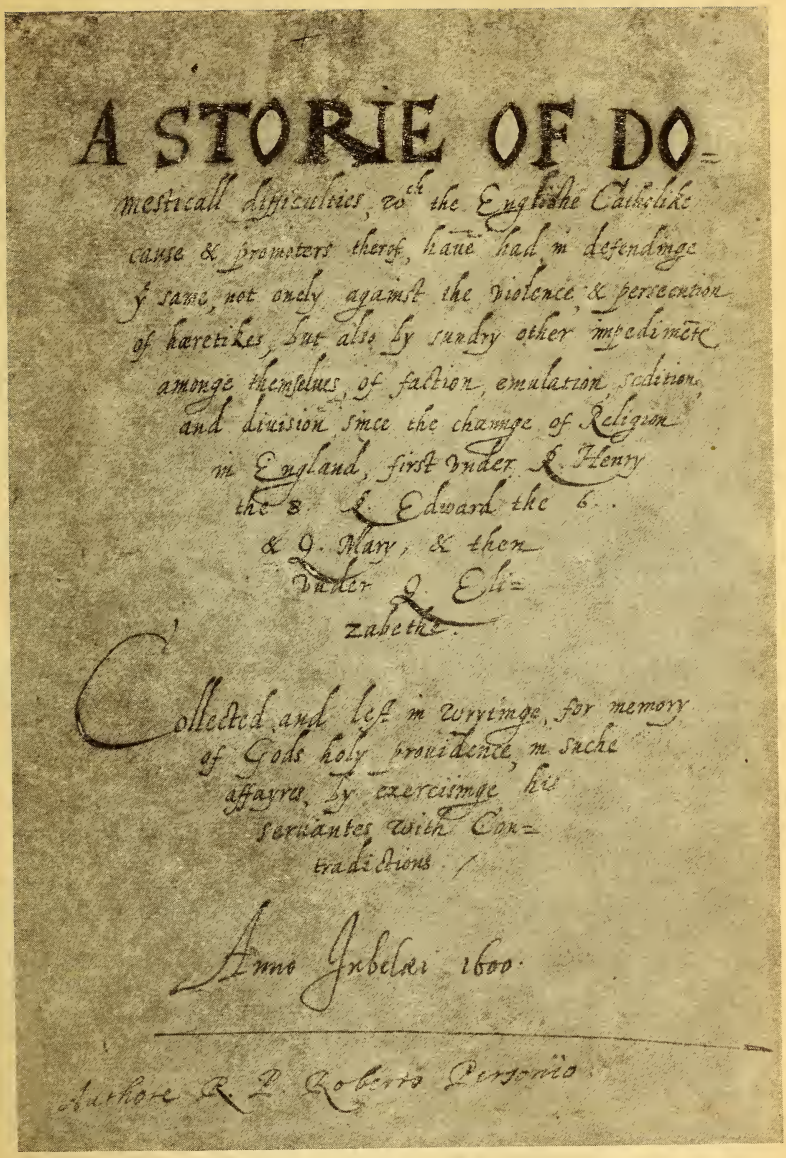
[Persons' hand] Anno Jubilæi, 1600.
[Grene's hand] Authore R. P. Roberto Personio.

The object of this "storie" is clearly set forth in the Preface. The "Englishe cause," that is, the fortune of the Catholic Church in England, was in no little difficulty at the time of writing through the violence with which the institution of the Archpriest was being discussed, and Father Persons thought that, if people would remember that the cause of Christ *always* met with opposition, they would not suffer serious harm from the outcries that were being raised. He therefore set to work in 1599 (fol. 17) and put together the memoir, which is here printed from the fair copy, to which he himself added the date on the title page, *Anno Jubilæi*, 1600.

This "storie" was presumably never carried further, for the increasing acrimony of the controversy then led him to write his *Briefe Apologie* (the preface to which is signed 20 July, 1601), in which he seems to speak of our "storie," as an "Apologie . . . substantial and autentique," containing "originals, trew copies of letters and other wrytinges . . . set downe at some length" (sig. A3). The *Briefe Apologie* is to take its place for the time. Though this plan does not seem to have been completed further, there is evidence to show that some steps were taken towards carrying it out, for there is extant in the general archives of the Society of Jesus a bundle of papers relating to the troubles of 1580-1600, which bears an endorsement, "A Story of Domesticall Difficulties," &c. (*Angl. Hist.* II, ff. 317-434, see f. 357). Canon Tierney noticed and put a strange misinterpretation upon a similar endorsement which he found on a paper of 1596 (Tierney-Dodd, *Church History of England*, III, p. 45, n., cf. clxii).

The Stonyhurst Manuscript A I, 18, is written on large Roman *carta palomba*, in one English hand, possibly that of Brother John Lilley, S.J. It is the author's original fair copy, with his corrections on folios 1, 18b, and 68b. There is also a note by Fr Christopher Grene on the title, a marginal note by Fr Nathaniel Southwell (probably) on fol. 32, and another by Dr George Oliver at fol. 69. The back is bluish-green leather, lettered "A Personio MS 1600." There is also at Stonyhurst a transcript by Dr Oliver. There is also a short Latin summary of the first four chapters by Fr Stephenson, S.J., copied by Fr Grene in his *Collectanea P.*, ff. 187-203.

The Latin documents on folios 22-25 have been inserted later, and so have the two letters making up chapter 23 (folios 69-95). It will be noticed that in each


A STORIE OF DO-
mesticall difficulties, vo^{ch} the Englishe Catholike
cause & promoters therof, haue had in defendinge
y^e same, not onely against the violence & persecution
of heretikes, but also by sundry other impedimēt
amonge themselues, of faction, emulation, sedition,
and division since the change of Religion
in England, first Vnder K. Henry
the 8. K. Edward the 6.
& Q. Mary, & then
Vnder Q. Eli-
zabeth.

Collected and left in writinge, for memory
of Gods holy prouidence, in suche
affayres, by exercisinge his
seruantes with Con-
tradictions.

Anno Jubilei 1600.

Author R. P. Roberto Personio.

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE

The last line is in Father Christopher Grene's hand. The line before is by Father Robert Persons. The pages of the MS. measure $12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

To face p. 48

(fol. 2) ✠

THE PREFACE conteyninge some reasons and considerations why God dothe permitte suche inward difficulties in His cause besides the externall.

It is an ordinary course of Almightie God that when he will sett on foote any greate worke to his glory by help of man he alwayes multipliethe the difficulties, thereby bothe to encrease as well the dignity and meritte of the thinge itselfe, as also to make His servantes to distrust in theire owne forces and leane unto Him, whose grace notwithstandinge is never fayling to suche as for His sake do put themselves to laboure, but it is alwayes so muche the greater by how muche the difficulties are more in number, and mans confidence lesse in himselfe, and this we see verified in all greate workes that god hathe taken in hande by the help and co-operation of mans industry, as in the reduction of the people of Israele from Egypt, and from Babylon, the conversion of the whole world by preachinge of the Apostles, and overcomminge of Tyrantes and persecutors by the patience and sufferings of Martyres, the reducinge of Kingdomes and Countreyes to the Catholike faithe by the laboures of Doctors, wryters, and preachers—in all which endeavoures, thoughe there incurred infinite lets, hindrances, stoppes, and difficulties, yet Gods worke prevayled in the ende, and the like wee may hope for and assure ourselves of, in this negotiation for the reduction of England wherein we see goddes hand most evidently to stand for us and that in many waies.

Divers reductions and great works of God.

But yet amonge all other difficulties non is so troblesome for the tyme, nor yet so dangerous, as division, emulation, faction, and disagreement amongst the workers themselves, which God dothe permitte notwithstanding by his speciall providence for more triall of his faithfull servantes, as we see by the often murmurations and factions raysed against Moses, Aaron and other leaders of the people of Israell in theire returne from Egipte, as in the booke of Exodus and Numeri is sett downe, and the like against Ezechiell, Daniell, Esdras, and Nehemias in the banishment of Babylon, and muche more was it seene in the cause of the Apostles, against whome almightie God permitted (and fortould them of it before) not onely forrayne enymies, but those also whiche were first called heretikes, that is to say troublesome people of there owne householde, and further also many seditious, turbulent and unquiet Catholiks, that raysed greate difficulties amonge them by division, emulation, sedition, conspiracies, treasons, sensualities, ambitions,

Difficulties of dissention the greatest in the primitive Churche.

case the old order of the chapters, though interfered with, has not been altered to suit the intercalations.

The scribe is not very consistent in his idiosyncracies. Spellings, capitals, etc., follow no law. Sometimes he noticed that he had missed the sense of his exemplar, and then he made a very small cross in the margin. Where the rectification could be made with certainty, it has been given in square brackets; where the correction was not obvious, the letter (*q*) for "query-sign" has been inserted in the text at the beginning of the line of the manuscript, where the sign occurs.

frailties, inconstancy and (3) scandales, to afflict therby the more the Apostles, and some tymes also to persecute them as by the often complaintes of St Paul amonge others in this behalfe (*q*) dothe well appeare, and after this againe in the primitive Churche the disagreements and other scandalls that fell out, even in prisons amonge Confessors and Martyrs that were ready to dye in defence of Christian Religion, all which dothe easily appeare by St Cyprians Epistles to them, and yet more (*q*) after that againe the heape of accusations and memorials that Christian and Catholike Bishopes exhibited up to the first Christiane Emperour Constantine the greate, of divisions, factions, and discontentments amonge themselves, which the good Emperour being ashamed thereatt would not read, but burned them all attributing it to humane frayltie and tentation of the Divell, as indeed it was.

Divisions in the Englishe cause ought not to dismay us.

So then if some of these effectes have and do fall out also amonge us (that are muche more infirme then they) in this our Englishe cause, we must not be dismayed therewith nor yet scandalized but rather with patience and magnanimity beare it out and often remember that we are not better than our forefathers that passed by these difficulties, and therefore as they were appointed to be proved by thes wayes and meanes, so must we; and that this is a signe that our course and cause is like unto theres that went before us, and consequently if we hould out as they did with constancy and patience, we shall either have the victory in the end, or els our reward at Gods hand, as they had.

This then premised I purpose to set downe here simply and sincerely without passion or affection towards any person or partie, the principall pointes of difficulties that from among Catholikes themselves have risen in this Englishe cause (*q*) since the tyme before named of the chang of Religion in England unto this present, as well as for encoragement of them that live nowe and do beare parte of the burden, as also for instruction of all that shall followe us hereafter. But before I come to recompte the difficulties happened under Queene Elizabethe (which is my principall purpose) I will briefly (as it were by way of Introduction) shew what happened in the same kinds, under K. Henry the 8, K. Edward the 6, and Q. Marye.

(4) Of aunciente difficulties that happened in former dayes by division, faction and emulation, but mainely since the Conquest and under K. Henry the 8, K. Edward the 6, and Q. Mary, and of the letts which thereby arose [to] the restitution of Religion ..... Cap. 1.

If we caste backe our eyes unto former tymes in England, we shall find that for above five hundred yeares even from the Conquest and entrance of the Normans & Frenche Governoures over our Countrey, there hath ever continued a certaine faction and emulation of the Laitye (especially those that were great men) against

the Clergie, which did make the path by little and little unto that open schisme, heresye and Apostacie, whereunto at length it fell.

William Conqueror anno 1070.

This appeared first by that which William Conquerour himselfe soone after his gaininge of England attempted against Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, whome he deposed and placed Lanfranke a Norman in his seate, to whome succeded Anselme, bothe of them famous men for learninge and vertue, but neither of them had more rest under the Conquerors Children when they came to raigne then Stigand had under there Father, or Thomas Beckett under there nephewe K. Henry the seconde, and so consequently downward, all good Archbishops lightly and other principall of the Cleargie that had corage to withstand any appetite of the Kinges or of his Counselours or noblemen, passed muche trouble with them, but especially after the time of King Edward the thirde when John Wickliffe beginning his heresy and faction expressely against the Clergie, and being agreed upon and borne out by John of Gaunte, Duke of Lancaster the Kinges Sonne, and by Sir Henry Percy and other of his followers for hatred and emulation they had against Arundell Archbishope of Canterburye, Courtney Bishope of London and Wickeham, Bishoppe of Winchester; after this (I say) divers of the Laitye and nobilitye remayninge secretly infected with this poy[sen] of Wickliffes doctrine againste the Clergie, they suggested still to the Kings (*q*) and princes of England upon every occasion of disgust to overthwarte them.

Anno 1163 emulation betweene layty & Clergye.

John Wickliffe.

Emulation betwene secular and religious clergie

And to bring this the easier to effecte they procured ever to nourishe and encrease the emulation betwene Religious men and the said secular Clergie, yea and betwene Regular orders themselves. And for the first they had a fitt occasion (especially in these later ages) by the privilege which the Monckes of St Augustines monastery in Canterbury, had (5) to chuse the Archbishoppe even from the tyme of St Austen himselfe, by which it came to passe, that as long as that custome and priviledge dured, none was elected to the Sea but suche as were monckes of St. Benedicts order, wherewith both secular priests and religious also of other orders were not a little mooved to emulation, and so we reade of infinite debats, suts and controversies about this affayre, betwene the said moncks of St. Austens and the Canons of Christchurche in Canterbury as also with the Kings themselves, who comonly would chuse a thirde and present to the Pope to be confirmed.

For the second, to hold religious orders in emulation among themselves both this and many other occasions failed nott, of which such lay men as inwardly stomached all Clergie men or desired some parte of there livinges, did help and serve themselves (such is the infirmity of our natures in this life) to hurte or trouble others, as by the sequent narration under divers princes shall appeare.

Under K. Henry the eighte. ..... § 1.

The tyme of K. Henry the 8. anno 1509.

And first if we will come downe to the tyme of K. Henry the 8. in particular, every man knowethe that the grudging, first of Cardinall Wolsey against Charles the Emperour (which beganne about the yeare of Christ 1526) and his mislike of Q. Catherine for the others sake was

Anno 1526.

the beginning of all the calamitye that after ensued both to the Realme, to himselfe, and to others; for soone after begane the emulation of the nobility against him especially of Brandon and Howard Dukes of Suffolke and Norfolke, the negotiation (*q*) also of Stephen Gardiner secretary, to gett from him (as he gott) the bishopricke of Winchester, the treason also of Thomas Cromwell his chiefest servant against him, all which ioyninge together overthrewe him and opened the way to schisme and heresye that followed, as all the world knowethe.

Anno 1531.

And then when he was pulled downe, and Winchester gotten up in the cheefest creeditt for his service in the divorce on the one side and Cromwell on the other for betraying his master, then was Doctor Boner Bishopp of Worcester sett up against Winchester by Cromwells device to

Anno 1536.

make Winchester more easy to runne into schisme with K. Henry, lest Boner should supplant him, though

Anno 1540.

in the end they both agreed to cut of Cromwell, and so they did.

(6) Cromwell beinge gone, the K. tooke to be his secretaries Wrisley and Pagett, of whome the first had byn secretary before to Cromwell, the second Clerke of the Signett, the first a Catholike, the second a protestant, and they bothe entring by little and little into speciall favour with K. Henry, did what they list, and held all the Councell in two partes for a great while, and for that the protestant party did favour more the K. humour in his divorce and all other his sensuall and disorderly proceedings (the

The protestant & Catholic parts in K. Henry's days.

cheefe beinge Cranmer Archbishoppe of Canterbury, Brandon Duke of Suffolke, Gray Marqesse of Dorchester, Seymor the Earle of Hartforde and others) they had a great sway with him, to which the others that were Catholike in hartes, as Gardner Bishoppe of Winchester, Tonstall Bishopp of Durham, Howard Duke of Norfolke and others of lower degree amonge Concelours durst not oppose themselves, especially for that they were also devided by emulation amonge themselves which is ever the barre (*q*) to the Catholike partye, and so in the ende one peece of them devided from the others and ioined to the contrary faction of heretikes (especially Sir John Dudley Lord Lisle, and his followers) and agreed to cut of the Duke of Norfolke and his sonne at the very end of K. Henry his raigne, whereby they so weakened the Catholike side as they were forced presently in K. Edwards raigne (or at least would seeme so) to put themselves wholy and simply under the protestant faction which yet in the ende overthrewe them all and themselves to, as consequently we shall declare. And this

division amonge the Catholikes hindred also all cogitation of returning to Unitye during the said K. Henryes dayes.

Under K. Edward the sixt. ..... § 2.

Anno 1547. Neither did these divisions and factions cease, but rather increase after the deathe of K. Henry, under his sonne Edward, at the begining of whose Raigne if the Catholike Concelours as they were the greater parte, so had they bin united togeather, and resolute to stand for restitution of Religion, they might easyly have brought it to passe; for of sixteene Counselours left by K. Henry eleven or twelve were Catholikely bent, as Sir Thomas Wriothesley L. Chancelour, Sir William Paulett Lord St. John great Master of the household, Sir John Dudley Viscount Lisle high Admirall, Sir Anthony Browne Master (7) of the horse, Sir William Herbert after Earle of Penbrocke, Sir Edmunde Montague, Sir Thomas Bromly, Sir Edward Northe, Sir Edward Wotton, Doctor Wotton Deane bothe of Canturbury and Yorke, Bishop Tonstall, and B. Gardner. So as the heretikes had for them but only Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Edward Seymor, Earle of Hartford, Sir John Russell after Earle of Bedford and Sir Anthony Denny Knight, and yet they prevayled, for first all the other side was content to shifte out the Bishopp of Winchester, Gardner, from their number and from all authority fearing his witt and creditt, and then Sir Thom. Wriothesley L. Chancelour, upon the offer to be made Earl of Southampton (as he was) yealded to make L. Edward Seymour Protector and his brother Thomas Seymour Admirall, and then after the residue of his side yelded also to put him out of his office of Chauncellorshipp and Bishopp Tonstall out of the Councell and further Sir John Dudley (now made Earle of Warwicke) granted to the protestants upon hope of further preferrment, as also thereby to overthrowe in the end (as he did) Seymor, the Protectour, that Religion should be changed, and the sect of Suinglius brought in, and after this

Contesting in K. Edw. dayes.

Anno 1547. againe making a Triumvirate with Sir William Paulett and Sir John Russell the one a Catholike and the other a protestant, they three overthrew first the Seymors by the helpe especially of Sir William Pagett and William Cecill, secretaries, whereof the one was made Baron soone after, and the other Knight for the same service.

And in the meane space Catholike Religion was overthrowen and Catholike Bishopes, as Gardner, Bonner, Tonstall, Heathe and divers other cheife men were put in prison and deprived of there livings. Parlaments also were called and all lawes passed in favoure of heresye, though the greatest parte of the Councell, nobilitye and people were Catholikes. Sir William Peter also secretary, was admitted to this league and confederation of Councelors and was one of the chiefest men in commission for deprivation of the said Catholike Bishoppes notwithstanding in hart he was an earnest Catholike; but towards the end Dudley being now gott to be Duke

of Northumberland fell out with the L. Pagett and put him of the Councell into the Tower and deprived him of the order of Garter, but finally the other was quitt with him againe for that he was the principall cause of his totall overthrowe and putting to death, as herafter shall appeare.

(8) At lengthe Dudley now Duke, and Paulett now Marquesse, and Russell now Earle, took into their association two more, to witt Gray made Duke of Suffolke, and William Herbert made Earle of Penbroke, the first a protestant the second a Catholike, and then upon new bargaines betwene themselves ensued the utter Abolishment of Catholike religion, establishing of heresy and exclusion from the crowne of all K. Henries children as the world knowethe, and soone followed the deathe of K. Edward also and the proscription of his two sisters Mary and Elizabethe, which taking no effect, most of the chiefe actors came to their ruyne by it, though not so many as deserved, was expected, or might seeme to have deserved the same, and this by the great and singular clemency of Q. Mary who forgave and tooke into her Councell againe the most of all those men who served that tyme, and the contrary againe soon after under Q. Elizabeth, as after we are to show, when we shall have touched breifly that which passed under Q. Mary in this kinde.

Under Q. Mary.....§ 3.

Anno 1553. King Edward being dead, Q. Jane proclaymed and the Ladies Mary and Elizabethe by proclamation excluded, Dudley Duke of Northumberland was sent out with an army against the Lady Mary as the world knowethe and presently after when fortune beganne to favour the said Lady by the concourse of people unto her, the ould confederates of Northumberland conspired against him in London and proclaymed L. Mary, and sent the Earle of Arundell and the L. Pagett (one a Catholike th'other a protestant) for that they had byn bothe of them put out of the Councell and imprisoned by Northumberland, to beare the first (*q*) newes unto Q. Mary, but these men ariving there, and ioining friendshippe on the way the one to helpe the other after they had gotten themselves first to be forgiven, procured also to be receaved into the new Q. Councell, wherein the second had great difficulty in respect of his religion, for that Quene Mary utterly denied it for divers dayes, but at lengthe being importuned by her new Councellors alleadginge that they knew nothinge yet of State Matters, (9) and that it was a troublesome and daungerous tyme and that the L. Pagett knew much as having byn secretary and Councelour to two former Kings and of great creditt with the protestants also and so might helpe every way muche, for which reasons the Q. at length yelded to admitt him.

Earle of Arundell & Lord Pagett.

But these two being once admitted themselves, after they had well satisfied there anger against Northumberland in persuading Q. Mary that in noe case she should pardon him, each one delt for his frende and against his enimy, divers of the ould league were

admitted into the Counsell by their sollicitation as Penbrooke, Bedford, Secretary Peter and others, but against Paulet Marquesse of Winchester and treasurour, though he were a Catholike yet both were eager to have him apprehended upon hope to gett his office and other reasons, alledging that he had been forward in setting up of Q. Jane; and this faction being begonne both betwene covert protestants and Catholiks and then betwene Catholiks themselves and growing dayly by divers occasions, did hinder all good reformation in Q. Maries time.

Anno 1553. For soone after when Q. Mary came to London and delivered out of the Tower Gardner Bishoppe of Winchester and Tonstall Bishopp of Durham and others and restored them to their bishopricks, and moreover made Gardiner L. Chancelour, he could not forbeare a tooth against L. Pagett, whome he knewe for a protestant and one that had (*q*) deposed divers matters against him for his deprivation in K. Edwards daies, as also against Sir William Peter secretary, who had byn in speciall comission a little before for depriving as well of him and of Bishopp Boner of London, as also of divers others Bishopes and prelates for which respect they held in like maner suspected his religion.

A strong faction against the Bishops & there adherents in Q. Maries tyme.

Behould here then a stronger faction presently framed, for with Winchester, London, Durham and other Bishops, held Paulett the treasurer, as one that had byn lately impugned by the two foresaid Lords, Arundell and Pagett. There held also with the same party or rather body, the ould Duke of Norfolke lately delivered out of the Tower and condemned before by the contrary faction. There held moreover all the new Councelours (10) almost of Q. Mary made at Framingham, as Rocheford, Inglefield, Walgrave, Cornwallys and others. There held also the Marquesse of Exeter, of cheefe authority with Q. Marye in her chamber, whose sonne Edward Courtney now delivered out of the Tower and restored to the Earldome of Devonshire, was designed to be a husband of Q. Mary, if the matter had not byn strongely labored and overthrowne by the contrary faction of the L. Pagett and his side who were the Earles of Arundell, Bedford, Penbrooke, secretary Peter, Sir Wm. Cicill and others both protestants and Catholiks.

The side & faction of the L. Pagett.

And it is to be noted that the L. Pagett and his party for * crossing Gardiner's designement was forced to take a meanes most ingratefull to the more zelous part of the protestants, and pleasure to many Catholiks, which was to call in the Spaniard and to marry the Q. to K. Philippe, which no man could so well work or bring to passe as the L. Pagett for that he had byn Embassadour under K. Edward with Charles the Emperoure in Flaunders, (where at the pre sent also he lay) and had gotten greatly his good likinge by shewing himselfe forward to procure some liberty of Catholike Religion for Lady Mary then much

Anno 1554.

* In MS. "of."

vexed by the Counsell in England, but much more did he confirme the said frendshippe with Charles when returning into England he was sone after put into the Tower and disgraced by the Duke of Northumberland, which he lett the Emperor to understande was for his forwardnes to pleasure him, &c.

Now then seeinge no other means lefte to crosse the course of Winchester, intended by the marriage of Courtney, but by this other of Spayne, he wrotte over to the Emperour persuading him two thinges, the first to wryte an earnest letter to Q. Mary (with whom he might do what he would) wishing her in no case to pardon or delay the execution of Northumberland as she was enclyned, and the other that about her marriage she should harken to the said L. Pagett who had especiall comission from him to deale with herselfe alone and with no other Councelor therein, and that whatsoever the said Lord should promise or agree upon with her, he bound himselfe to performe, and with this commission in one afternones conference the said Lord concluded with her alone the marriage with K. Philippe, and gott her hand to (11) the agreement which being sent presently to the Emperour, he expected the matter and wrote backe with many thanks, and insinuated further that now she beinge the spouse of another and of so great a prince it was convenient to make demonstration therof and that it imported her honor to forbidd Courtney her company, which she did presently thereupon, and hereof followed the marriage with Spaine.

The L. Pagett's conclusion of the marriage of Q. Mary

And now as we see a contrary faction amonge Catholiks themselves at this tyme so may we also among Protestants, for that the more hoat and zealous parte of Protestants misliked this marriage as appeared soone after by the conspiracy of Sir Thomas Wiatt and of the Carews, Throgmortons and others, but the more politike parte as Bedford, Huntington, Pagett, Cecill, Bacon and such like, though perhaps in there harts they could have byn content that Wiatt had prevailed and Q. Mary overthrowne by this entrance of the Spaniard, yet of the two did they thinke it lesse daunger to have this second marriage than the first, thereby to crosse the Bishops and other of the more zealous catholikes, and to refrayne them from makinge suche reformations in religion as they desired, which they easily brought to passe, for that the L. Pagett and his side being the cheefe workers of this marriage were in cheefe creditt afterward with the K. and Spanishe Counsell, who made him L. Privy Seale much against Q. Marye's will.

Anno 1555.

To these men then (I meane to this forrayne King and his Counsell) they persuaded first to save and defend Lady Elizabeth in all occasions whatsoever, and that for two reasons; first that if Q. Mary should dye, K. Philip might marry her with dispensation of the Pope and so keepe the kingdome still: secondly for that if Lady Elizabeth should be made away, the next succession would fall upon the Q. of Scotts then married in Fraunce and so both England and Scotland come to be united with Fraunce, which later reason especially prevailed so muche, as not only Lady El

Reasons of the protestants for gaining the Spaniards.

zabeth was carefully protected by the Spanishe Counsell all the Raigne of Q. Mary; but also all the cheefest protestants depending of her, as Bedford, Cecill, Bacon, Cooke, Throgmorton and the like.

Moreover by this drifte the L. Pagett and his followers not only kept out of England for almost two yeares Cardinal Poole, after he was designed Legate in Rome, persuading the (12) Emperour that he would eyther joyne with the other party of Gardener, or else perhaps seeke to marry Q. Mary himselfe he being of the bloudriall and not yet priest, but also ever after during Q. Maries raigne they held both him and Gardener and the rest of that side shorted and much limited in the proceedings against principall protestants upon divers reasons of State suggested from tyme to tyme to the Spanishe Counsell, which in effect did most in those affayres.

And last of all when the yeare before Q. Maries death Bishop Gardener being sent into Fraunce, had particular commission also to visit the state of Cales at his returne, he related that he had found that towne so full of heretikes as if the L. Wentworth Governour there and some other cheefe officers were not chaunged, Cales would not be English one yeare together, Secretary Peter who at that tyme could do much with Q. Mary, rose up in the Counsell and said to Gardener that he hoped Cales should be Englishe, notwithstanding those Governours remayned, when the bishoppe should be dead and rotten, and so albeit the Q. had given comission to Sir Edward Walgrave and to Sir Frauncis Englefield of the Counsell, to go to Cales and chang the Governour and other officers, yet the other side (to which was now ioyned Sir William Cardall, Master of the Rolles, that could do most of all with the Q. in her later dayes) turned the matter againe, and Cales was lost at Christmas after; and thus bothe the comonwelth and Religion was infinitely hindred by the opposite faction of Winchester and the Cleargie, though many also of the said faction were good Catholikes (or at lestwayes would seeme to be such) but served the turne indeed of protestants and were sett on and egged by them underhand untill they had overthrowen all Religion againe in the begininge of Q. Elizabethes tyme as now we shall declare.

Cales lost by faction.

Anno 1557.

Under Queen Elizabethe.....§ 4.

Anno 1558. For as soone as Q. Mary was dead Sir William Cecill (who not long before had put himselfe in the service of Lady Elizabethe when he was denied to be Secretary againe under Q. Mary as he sued to be, and shewed himselfe a forward Catholike to that end) taking to him Sir Nicolas Bacon (who had married the sister of Cicill's second wife) and obtayning at the new (13) Q. hand himselfe to be cheefe Secretary and his brother in lawe Bacon to be Keper of the greate Seale, as it were under Bishope Heathe Chancelor at the begininge, begane a potent faction not onely against Catholikes but also against divers Protestants whome they weare afraid to admitt to government lest they should overrunne them, as namely and principall the L. Pagett who had byn there protector in

The faction of Cecill & Bacon

Q. Maryes daies, Sir William Pickeringe also who was so farre in favour with Lady Elizabethe as it was thought certainely he should have married her. Sir Nicolas Throgmorton in like maner who for his great witt and in respect of the great perill he had passed in Q. Maries daies for Lady Elizabethes sake about the rising of Wiatt, was held for certaine that he should be one of the greatest men in government under Quene Elizabethe, but all these three were kept out by the crafty canvase of the aforesaid two persuading the Q. that the L. Pagett was a perilous man and buisy headed and not to be trusted in respect of his great intrinsecall frendshippe with the Spanishe whome the Q. must needes have for enymies;

Sir William Pickering.

Pickering also they put out by telling foule tales of secrett sicknes that he had, and by bringing into

L. Robert Dudley.

favour another yong nobleman L. Robert Dudley, afterward Earle of Licester; Throgmorton they persuaded the Q. to send into Frannce for an Embassadour, affirming that no mans head was fitt to set the

Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

French at debate about Religion, but only his, where they holding him untill all offices were possessed in England, they easily kept him afterward out of the Counsell; of all which canvase the L. Pagett had the best issue, for that seinge himselfe put out of the game where he hoped to have gayned most, he retyred home to his house and made himselfe a Catholike and so died.

L. Pagett converted.

Thus then went the factions amongst the protestants at the begining of this Raigne, though this imported not so muche as that the foresaid two men made a faction also amonge the Catholiks and served themselves of the one parte for overthrowe of Religion. For firste they held in the Earle of Arundell who had byn of the L. Pagetts faction before under Q. Mary, as you have hard, and was very potent at this tyme by reason the Duke of Norfolke had married his Daughter and heire. (14) They held in also the Marquesse of Winchester that was treasurer and the Earl of Penbrocke, Secretary Peter and some other, who being of the Councell and yelding at the beginning of the Q. proceedings (as they were called, which were nothing els indeed but Cicills and Bacons devices) they brought about both in Courte and Parlament what they list against other good and zealous Catholikes and at length, the heretikes turnes being served, these men were also either cut of (as the Duke of Norfolke) or els reiected and contemned, both beinge and dying in disgrace, as Arundell, Penbrooke and the rest.

And thus much shall serve to show the briefe course of faction and events thereof under these 4 princes, K. Henry and his three children, but yet for that my principall entent is to collecte such things that have fallen out amongst Catholikes themselves to the hinderance of there cause under Q. Elizabethe, I shall now contract my speach to that tyme onely.

Of the chaunge of Religion in England, & of the first difficulties & contentions that begane to rise amongst Catholiks about the same after the entrance of Queene Elizabethe.....Cap. 2.

Anno 1558 et 1559.

After the entrance of Q. Elizabethe to the crowne of England which was on the 17th day of November 1558, she from the first day shewing her selfe inclined to leave the Catholike Religion, called a Parlament to to beginne the xxvth. of January next followinge in the yeare 1599, where through the instance of Heretikes and of her new Councelours especialy Cecill and Bacon, partly by violence and partly by feare, they gott the mager part of voices by two or three to chaung religion, and therupon ensued presently the deprivation of all such Catholike Bishops which would not subscribe to that wicked Decree, and sweare against the Pope, who weare as many as then were alive, and in possession of the Bishopricks, which at the Parlament tyme were in number but 14, the rest being dead or departed before. To witt Bishoppe Heath of Yorke, B. Boner of London, B. White of Winchester, (15) B. Tonstall of Durham, B. Oglethorpe of Carlile, B. Pates of Worcester, B. Bainnes of Lichefield, B. Thirlby of Ely, B. Poole of Peterborrowe, B. Browne of Bathe, B. Scott of Westchester, B. Wattson of Lincolne, B. Troublefield of Excester, B. Gouldwell of St Assaphes, divers Deanes also and other great prelates as Doctor Fecknam Abbott of Westminster, D. Cole Deane of London, D. Steward of Winchester, D. Reynolds of Excester, D. Robynson of Durham, D. Sethland [Seth Holland] of Worseter &c.

Anno 1559.

Bishops deprived by Q. Elizabethe.

All these then and many others were commaunded to subscribe or resigne up their livings, and presently herupon began to be difference of judgments amongst the Catholikes, for some would have rough and stout proceedings, especially of the Bishoppes parts, whome divers did wishe to go to Paules Crosse and excomunicate the Q. and her hereticall Counselours, and this was much urged by D. White Bishop of Winchester, and divers others that adhered unto him, offering also himselfe to pronounce the excomunication if the rest would have gon with him for countenance sake.* But against this did oppose himselfe D. Heath

The first difficulty among the Bishops about rigor or lenity.

* It would be interesting to know the origin of this story, which is without support from strictly contemporary papers. Sixteen years earlier Cardinal Allen had said something similar though not so forcible. In his *Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques*, 1584, p. 52, he says that of the clergy "many were of that mind that it should be good to use the censure of excommunication against her Highness and some of her leaders . . . but the wiser of the Bishops or at least the mylder sort persuaded the contrarie."

The contemporary Catholic accounts of the Westminster Conference, especially Sander (*Catholic Record Society Publications*, vol. I, pp. 3-7) make no mention whatever of White's alleged proposals. But Cecil in his official story (draft with his corrections, R.O. *Dom. Eliz.* vol. III, n. 53), which was popu-

Archbishop of Yorke and Chanselour that had byn of England, and [so] was he at that tyme in name* (though in effect Bacon being made L. Keeper did all) and yet with this simple bayt of favour did the Heretikes hould this good man D. Heathe so faint in the Catholike part (and for that he had byn the Q. Godfather)† as albeit he lost his Archbishopricke, yet would he never yeald to any resolute action of the Catholiks against the Hereticks during his life, and by this means came the Bishopes (lacking the head the Archbishoppe) to be devided also among themselves in many points touching rigor or lenity in proceeding, though they all agreed to loose rather their livings then to follow any more hereticall law.

The seconde difficulty amonge the inferior Cleargy for subscribinge.

The second thing wherin there happened difference in those dayes was not amongst the bishops who had denied in the Parlament to subscribe and were for the same deprived of there bishopricks, but amongst the inferiour Cleargie whether they should subscrieb unto the Statute for chang of Religion or noe, and for banishinge the Popes supremacie, for that to the affirmative parte (to witt that they might and ought to subscribe) (16) a great sort of weaker men and such as were much in love with there livings that they possessed, were much enclined, alleadging for themselves the example of K. Henries daies, when all men did yeld for a tyme except some fewe, and that the matter was tolerated by the Sea of Rome notwithstanding, knowing their good meanings inwardly in there harts, and that now it was sufficient for testimony of the Cleargies good will to Catholike Religion, that the Bishops whose degree required perfection had refused to subscribe for all, and went to prison for that, but themselves being immediat pastors of soules might beare and dissemble some little tyme to see what would become of matters and so keepe out heretikes, which otherwise would destroy all. But against these opposed themselves many others of the more zealous party affirming that this was worldly feare or love rather of the world, that would drive them in the end flattly and openly to deny Christ. And upon this pointe passed there many sharpe bickerings both in words and wrytings, which made the Heretiks both to laughe and to serve themselves upon that advantage.

larized by Foxe, Holinshed and others, says that the plans of the bishops were "partly guessed," and that Bishop White was thereupon punished, etc.

We must not hide from ourselves that while Father Persons' story may be quite true, it *may* also have come down from no other source than Cecil's "partial guess." The exiles of later years would have been glad to believe it true, but it may be questioned whether it is in keeping with what we otherwise know of the conduct of the bishops at Elizabeth's accession. See also Father G. Phillips, *Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*, 1905, p. 150.

* This is not accurate. Heath had retained his seat in the Council, but had resigned the chancellorship. There is a query mark in the margin.

† According to the official papers Elizabeth's godfather was Cranmer (*Letters and Papers*, VI, 4); but Heath had been Vicar of Hever, and so in constant relation with the Bulleyns. The statement that he would not "yield to any resolute action of the Catholiks against the Hereticks" has perhaps no better foundation than Cecil's account of the Conference at Westminster. Cf. Phillips, p. 48, who moreover gives Tunstall as Elizabeth's godfather.

D. Thomas Darbishire Archd. of London.

D. Kennolles Archd. of Oxford.

I have heard D. Darbyshire, now of the Society of Jesus, tell merily that he who was [then] Archdeacon of London and nephew unto Bishope Bonner, fond a great conflicte in himselfe at that tyme about that matter, and had conference thereabout with D. Kennolles* Archdeacon of Oxford, who was enclined to yeld and subscribe as he did afterwards, and when the day came that all such prelates and cheefe Priests were called before the Commissioners in Paules Church, Doctor Darbyshire meeting at the church dore the aforesaid D. Kennolles coming out, he was demaunded by Kennolles what he ment to do that day, to whome Darbyshire answered that which in conscience he was bound to doe (to witt) not to subscribe. "What," said the other, "I thinke you are not so very a foole, as to refuse to subscribe and thereby lose so good livings as you have." "I must doe (quoth Darbyshire) that which is secure for my soule, whatsoever becometh of my livings." To which Kennolles (*q*) answered with great vehemency: "Before God," quoth he, "if ever you gett so good, and so many and so neere together againe, I will give you my head" &c. (17) And so went his way and kept his livings with much misery, for that the protestants never trusted him, but with much more affliction of conscience, especially towards his death, before which tyme I have hard say he was reconciled in Devonshire and died a Catholike, which was a great mercy of God and happened to few of them that subscribed: but D. Darbyshire liveth yet full well contentedly untill this year 1599, in which this is wrytten. A third contention fell out amongst our Clergie and laity also at that tyme and some daies after, whether it were lawfull to go to hereticall churches, where hereticall and schismaticall service was used in the Englishe tongue or noe, wherin divers even of the greater sort in respect of the troubles and losses that might come to them that should refuse, and not considering the greevous spirituall inconveniences that might and would ensue upon Catholiks frequenting hereticall churches, were very indulgent in this behalfe at the beginninge, judginge it no greate offence to goe; but others of more fervour and more forecast also in these deceitfull practises of heretickes and of there alluringe flattery, held altogeather the contrary, which contention indured many yeares and the matter was consulted in Rome and Paris† with learned men,

The third difficulty & division about going to Heretiks churches.

* John Kennall, archdeacon of Oxford, succeeded in 1561.—*Le Neve-Hardy,* II, 515.

† The matter was "consulted" at Rome, in October, 1562 (see the paper by Prof. Maitland in the *English Historical Review* for July, 1900, p. 532), and independently by a committee of theologians at the Council of Trent in the same year.—H. More, *Historia Provinciæ Anglicanæ S.J.*, 1660, pp. 66-73.

It is possible, however, that the Roman decision which Persons meant was given later. Allen obtained a *viva voce* condemnation from the Pope, about the same time as the formal opinion given by Father (afterwards Cardinal) Toledo, dated June 14, 1581. The latter opinion is given in More (l.c., p. 66). The consultation at Paris was presumably that held at the Sorbonne, which took place a little earlier, as it seems, though the date is not mentioned.—Archives S.J.,

and never ended, untill by tyme and by practise, zeale and authority of priests comminge from the Seminaries beyond the seas and by good Catholike men at home, the matter hath byn cleared and the negative parte fully established to the confusion of heresy and edification of all forrayne nations. In which holy worke, as in all the rest that followethe, Mr D. Allen (after Cardinall) had a principall hand, who retyring himselfe out of England, and not finding health in Flaunders, went to Rome about the yeare 1564, meaning to leade his life there, but not being admitted by the Chaplines of the Englishe Colledge or Hospitall there to have a place amonge them, was forced to returne to England anno Domini 1566 when the Q. made her progresse to Oxforde, and there begane first of all other, or with the first, to persuade Catholikes not to go to hereticall Churches, and afterwards returning into Flanders and begining the Colledg at Doway * as shall be said, he taught such Priests as thence were sent into England to teach the same Doctrine, which after longe contention obtayned the Victory.

(18) How divers principall Catholikes as well of the Laity as of the Cleargy leaving England came over into Flanders, and of there living first at Lovaine and then in Doway, and of difficulties of division arising in both places..... Cap. 3.

When Catholike men saw in England by experience of some yeares wherunto the state of Religion was comen and that worse was like every day to ensue, many resolved to leave England, and come over into Flaunders, as they did; amongst which of the Laity was Sir Frauncis Englefield Knight, lately of the Counsell of Q. Mary, Sir Richard Shelley, Lord greate Prior of England, F. Morris Cheney, Prior of the Englishe Carthusians of London, with his convent, and one F. Wilson, Prior of another house of Carthusians, a convent also of Franciscan Friers, a convent of Nunnes of St Bridgetts order, with the Abbesse called Lady Catherine Palmer, another convent of Nunns also of St Dominickes order under Mother Elizabethe Cresner the Prioresse, with many particular learned men, as D. Harding, D. Saunders, Mr Thomas Bayly, Mr Lawrence Vasse, Mr William Marshall and many others, which were to longe to recyte here, of the which the more learned sort repaired unto the Universitie of Lovaine and there for that they had byn brought up partely in the University of Oxford partly in Cambridge, they began two houses under the names of the foresaid Universities, calling the one Oxford house and the other Cambridge house, wherein though some little emulation and competency began to grow as well betweene themselves as also with certayne

First recourse to Lovaine & contention there about Almes.

Anglia, IX, quoting *A Treatise of Christian Renunciation,* a very rare booklet by Father Garnet, of which there are copies at Oscott and Cambridge.

* The chronology is inexact. Allen went to Rome after his second flight from Oxford (F. Knox, *Letters of Allen,* p. 7). The writ for his arrest is dated February 21, 1567-8 (ibid. p. 21). He made the journey from Rome in company with Bellarmine.—*Selbstbiographie,* ed. Döllinger und Reusch, 1887, p. 56.

Religious English convents of men and women that for the same cause were comen over in like sort, and that this first contention sprong about the distributing of certayne almes that was sent out of England and from other places to be distributed, yet was this nothinge in respect of the difficulties of the same kinde which grewe up by little and little afterwards and especially when an Englishe Seminary was begone in the Universitie of Doway, which was some yeares after, to witt about the yeare 1568, under the forenamed Doctor Allen and others, for then (as oftentymes the said Doctor was wont afterwards to reporte) the number encreasinge and penury withall, not only Religious and other banished Catholikes of the nation did begin to repine in respect of the foresaid distribution of Almes that went to that Seminary of (19) Doway, but others also right good and vertuous Priests of the elder sorte both at home and abroad, either deceaved by wronge understandinge their meaninge that lived in Doway, or moved with some little passion of infirmity did privately and publikely detract from there doings and misliked there proceedinges, namely in that they prohibited Catholiks in England utterly to go to the protestants churche, which the other before in many points had tolerated, not having considered well the inconveniences therof, nor the great obligation to the contrary in such a tyme of triall as this was, and upon this and other foundations there continued a matter of disagreement for divers yeares, which the heretikes and politikes of our realme sought (as they are wont) to use [for] there commodity, untill the one parte at length eyther reformed there iudgments and affections (which many did) or els wearied away by lengthe of tyme failed in number, but in the meane space it was no small crosse to them that passed in these troubles.

College of Douay 1568.

Another course of disagreement and dissension fell out by reason that upon the risynge of the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland in November 1569 there came into Flaunders the next yeare after, the Countesse of Northumberland and the Earle of Westmerland with the Lord Leonard Dacres and many other Knights and Gentlemen of the Northe that had followed the said Earles in that action, and which devided themselves into two factions, one adhering to the Countesse, the other to the Counte, and this fire could not be quenched, untill the Countesse falling out of her witts the other parts also brake with themselves, wherunto want and misery and the endeavours of the Counsell of England [potently helped].*

Debate betwene the Lords of the Northe in Flanders anno 1570.

Of the holy yeare of Jubiley, 1575, and of divers Englishe men meeting at Rome that yeare, and how the Seminary of Doway was driven to Reymes in France the next yeare after.....Cap. 4.

* The MS. reads, "put to theire helpe."

Anno 1575. There mett at Rome the yeare of Jubyley which was 1575, divers Englishemen to treate of there comon cause, as namely Sir Richard Shelley, Lord Prior of England, Sir Francis Englefield, Doctor Saunders, D. Allen,* and D. Lewes, Archdeacon of Cambray, who had comen thither the yeare before as Agent for the Bishoppe of Cambray and now was made Referendary of bothe the signaturas. (20) There came also in the end of the yeare the Lord Morley and Sir Thomas Stukely from Spaine who had byn at great variance and open hostility in that place: there resided also in Rome at that tyme D. Goldwell, Bishope of St Assaphe and D. Morton that had carried the excommunication of the Queene into the Northe of England, ✝ & was returned thence, D. Morrice Clenocke electe of Bangor and divers others.

All these wished well the conversion of there countrey, but agreed not well in the meanes or maner of consultation; Sir Francis Inglefield, D. Saunders and D. Allen were comonly of one minde, but Sir Thomas Stukeley, D. Lewes, D. Morrice of another, and the Bishopp and the Prior different from bothe, as also the Lord Morley, but yet not agreing among themselves so § as nothing could be concluded, and Pope Gregory the 13th and Cardinall Como (which then was Secretary, and did all in matters of State) seing there disagreinge sent them away one by one, except such as had there abiding in Rome, as the Bishop, the Prior and some fewe more, which yet agreed as little as the rest, as after shall appeare. There had come to Rome also the yeare before F. Parsons who in the beginning of this yeare entred into the society of Jesus with F. Henry Garnett, F. William Weston, F. Thomas Stephens and some others that afterward died, as Mr John Lane, Master of Arte of Corpus Christi Colledg in Oxford and Mr Galloppe, fellow of the New Colledge, and some yeares before had entered in the same place F. Campion and was sent thence to Prage.

Disagreeing among Englishemen in Rome.

F. Campion F. Parsons & others entered the Society.

After this the very next yeare insewed the driving out of the

* Though Dr Sanders and Dr Allen were summoned to Rome about November 10, 1575, Sanders, who was in Spain, never came at all, while Allen and Englefield did not arrive till about February 20, 1576.—Vatican, *Nunz. di Spagna*, IX, 40, 90.

✝ It is curious that Father Persons should have fallen into this error, which he probably picked up from a Protestant source. Morton was sent to England with Papal letters of credit dated February 13, 1569 (Laderchi's continuation of Baronius' *Annales*, § 270). His official object was to renew the confessional faculties of priests during the imprisonment of the bishops, but he was also to report on the possibility of excommunicating the Queen. He left England on his return about September, and says that when he reached Rome and made his report, the Pope commenced his process against the Queen (*Morton to the Cardinal of Alessandria*, Parma, Bib. Palatina, 651, n.2). The first session was on February 4, 1570. On February 16 the first letter of the Northern Earls arrived, which had been despatched on November 7, a week before they took the field. Next week, on February 25, 1570 (but 1569 according to the dating of bulls), the excommunication was launched. But Morton did not return with it. The rising had ended in failure before the Pope heard of its commencement.

§ MS. "for" with marginal mark.

said Englishe Seminary from Doway by the sollicitation of the Queene and Counsell of England, which happened in the yeare 1576, when almost all the states of Flanders conspired against the Kinge of Spaine, and in that broile Englishe Catholikes depending on[1] that Kinge and nation were pursued for the same cause, and then was the Englishe Seminary remooved from Doway to Reymes, where they found great difficulties at the beginning to be admitted in respect of the ould enmytie betwene French and Englishe, but yet all this by patience, vertue, and longanimytie, was overcome at lengthe, and by the protection of the See Apostolike and of the most pious[2] house of Guyse in whose government (21) both the towne of Rhemes and province of Campayne was, and by the godly and prudent endeavours of the aforesaid servant of God, D. Allen and such others of our nation which ioyned with him, namely Mr D. Webbe, D. Bristowe, Mr Baylie, Mr Licentiate Martyn, D. Ely, and others, and by the good concurrence of Mr D. Lewes Archdeacon then of Cambray, (as hath byn said) but afterward Bishopp of Cassane in Italy, who residing that tyme in the courte of Rome did procure lettres of favour from Pope Gregory the XIIIth both unto the King of France, Henry the 3rd, and to the Duke and Cardinall of Guise (both afterwards pittifully murdered by the said K. order in the yeare 1588 at Bloys) by which letters the Pope recommended most earnestly unto them the protection of the said English Seminary, to which effect also the Fathers of the Society in Rome and in other places assisted much as they had donne in aidinge the Seminary of Doway before. For which expulsion, and that by Catholic men his Holiness above said showed so great compassion as he said it was persecution upon persecution, and for that respect was the sooner moved to beginne another Seminary in Rome soone after, which presently I shall declare; by reason of which Colledge as on the one side great helpe was adioyned to our comon cause, so grewe there still more inward difficulties of division for the exercise of Gods servants, as by the sequall of this relation will plainely appeare. But first I shall set downe heare a breefe summe of that which happened in the Colledg of Rhemes the first yeare of there coming thyther, as appeareth by there owne letters which here do ensue. [*At the end of this page an erasure of the beginning of Chapter 5.*]

The Seminary of Doway removed to Reymes anno 1576.

(22) Brevissima Collectio præcipuarum rerum quæ gestæ sunt ab Anglicano Seminario Smi. D.N. Gregorii 13 Rhemis commorante pro anno 1577.* .....Cap. [4A][3]

[1] Corrected in another hand from "to." Marginal query-mark.
[2] Supplied in another hand. Marginal mark. [3] Blank in MS.
* There is in the Vatican Archives (Castel S. Angelo, arm. xiv, caps. ii, n. 37) an original Italian translation or paraphrase of this document. On the one hand it is unfortunately so free that no regular collation can be made; on the other hand it fortunately includes some of the interesting documents, which are

De statu præsente Seminarij.....§ 1.

Post eiectionem nostram e civitate Duacena, constitimus hic Rhemis, sed magnis difficultatibus per aliquot menses; nam licet Illmus Card. Guisius acceptis benignissimis Smi. Pontificis pro nobis litteris, statim nos in tutelam suam acceperit, et ad magistratum hujus civitatis in favorem nostrum scripserit, licet etiam Nuncius Apostolicus Parisiis degens Regias pro nobis litteras obtinuerit, et totus Clerus Rhemensis vehementer pro nobis contenderit: tamen tam potenter aliunde impugnati fuimus, ut nunquam quiescere passi simus, usque dum tota fere Guisiana familia in hanc Urbem congregata, tum præsentia sua, tum oratione vehementissime nos, partim Religionis Catholicæ, partim Reginæ Scotiæ nomine commendaret; quo facto summam tranquillitatem in posterum et amicitiam etiam obtinuimus, quod adeo male accepisse Regina Angliæ fertur, ut tutelam nostri Seminarii sub familia Guisiorum Reginæ Scotiæ graviter exprobraverit. Patres Societatis Jesu, qui nunquam nobis desunt, intellectis molestiis in quibus versabamur, amantissime nos Mussipontum invitarunt, offerentes se, et sua omnia nobis, et gratiam patrociniumque optimi Ducis Lotharingii promittentes; sed quia ille locus longius abest ab Anglia, statueramus expectare adhuc paulum, si Deus ullam nobis spem redeundi Duacum aperiret, qui locus, et propter vicinitatem Angliæ, et propter adjumenta ejusdem Societatis Jesu, omnibus aliis hujus Regionis locis, commodior nobis esse videtur. Nec defuit Deus spei et desiderio nostro, nam sub finem mensis Maii, Magistratus Duacenus (nihil tale cogitantibus nobis) amantissimis litteris invitat ad reditum R.D. Alanum Præsidem nostrum, excusans se, de ejectione nostra, et significans pœnas sumptas esse de illis, qui ejus rei causa fuerunt. An tamen redire debeamus nondum Sua Sanctitas nobis respondit. (*q*) Propter eas quas diximus difficultates, minus multi ad nos ex Anglia venerunt, quam alias venissent; multos etiam eorum, quos hic habuimus, dimittere coacti fuimus ad minuendum numerum. Venerunt tamen ad nos hoc anno circiter quinquaginta, et modo sumus omnes septuaginta, qui ex eleemosynis S^ae^ S^is^ vivimus, præter eos qui aliquo modo suis se sumptibus sustentant. Omnes sic student vivere, ut decet eos, qui hoc voluntarium exilium Christi causa elegerunt. Certe Cardinalis ipse suis litteris ad Regem magnum dedit nostræ conversationis testimonium. Deus nobis concedat, ut possimus in posterum aliqua ex parte perimplere, quod ille jam se vidisse in vita nostra affirmavit. Placuit Regi Catholico et Concilio ejus Belgico formam quamdam Seminarii nostri petere, ut ad exemplum illius (*q*) (ut ipsi scribebant) duo Seminaria in Belgio pro his regionibus instituerentur. Recens illa Suæ Sanctitatis erga scholares nostros, qui (23) Romæ sunt, bonitatis et benignitatis superabundantia, cujus fama jam in Angliam permigravit, valde auget quotidie numerum nostrum, et Anglorum Catholicorum animos mirabiliter incendit, ut filios suos

referred to, but not given, in the Latin. The title is: "Alcune cose di consolatione cavate parte dalle lettere annali del Seminario Inglese di S. Stà in Fiandra per l'anno 1578, parte da lettere private de là et ancora da Inghilterra intorno il progresso della Religione catolica in quelle bande." The additional paragraphs are here added as appendices.

Romanæ illius institutionis participes faciant. Itaque ex omnibus ordinibus huc modo adventatur; et scholarium numero fere opprimimur; certe multi hic sunt idonei ad Romanam Missionem, et multi ambiunt eam avidissime; sed cum omnibus satisfacere non possumus, plurimi spe aluntur pro futuro tempore.

De Missionibus factis.....§ 2.

Misimus in Angliam hoc anno 17 sacerdotes, et propediem viginti alii mittendi sunt, habemus enim hic modo 30 sacerdotes. Misimus etiam Romam plusquam 30 scholares. Capti fuerunt ex nostris in Anglia hoc anno quatuor. Primus Sacerdos quidam nomine Joan. Nelsonus, quem cum variis interrogationibus ab eo elicuissent, Reginam esse Hæreticam, condemnarunt morti, et crudelissime suspenderunt, et semivivum in partes dissecuerunt 1 Februarii anno 1578. Cujus vitæ et mortis historiam una cum his mittimus.*

Secundus erat Thomas Wrightus Theologiæ Licentiatus, qui captus cum suo socio, alio vid^t^ sacerdote, et aliquibus aliis nobilibus tum fœminis tum viris prope civitatem Eboracensem, ducti sunt per plateas multo cum ludibrio, vid^t^ præcedente illo alio sacerdote, in illis vestimentis, quibus paulo antea sacrum fecerat, et Præses provinciæ, cum malitiosus Puritanus sit, majoris ludibrii causa, emiserat obviam illis multos e suis, qui medio die inducerent illos cum luminibus; sed perducti tandem ad Tribunal et inito cum hæreticis certamine, Deo adjuvante, sic eos vicerunt, ut exclamarent hæretici, doctissimum esse istum Papistam, et proinde ut signiferum quendam præmissum in Angliam. Sed populus animadversa ignorantia hæreticorum ita cœpit commoveri, et ad nostrum sacerdotem sic concurrere, ut coacti fuerint hæretici illum Eboraco ejicere, et in alium carcerem magis obscurum detrudere, ubi nihilominus magnos fructus facit, et multos juvenes induxit, ut relictis omnibus huc venirent, quorum pars hic, pars Romæ moratur. ✠

Idem fere accidit alteri Sacerdoti nostro, cujus acumen et promptitudinem in respondendo cum hæretici mirarentur, et cognovissent quia Minister Calvinianus et Concionator olim fuisset, indignati dixerunt; solere Papistas dicere Ministros esse rudes et indoctos, se tamen incidisse modo in satis doctum.§

[Quartus erat juvenis, huius Seminarii scholaris, &c.]¶ Captus est Londini, et cum cognovissent jam quod studuerat Duaci, omnibus modis eum tentarunt ut desereret Religionem Catholicam,

* This document is not forthcoming, but it may be related to the other lives enumerated in B. Camm, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, II, p. 233, to which may be added a reference to the life in the Westminster Archives, II, 69. The Italian adds: "Di modo che quando li cavorono il cuore, parlava et pregava nominatamente per li suoi persecutori, della quale cosa si inteneri molto il popolo, il quale poco avanti (quando egli gl'essortava alla fede catolica) fieramente havea gridato, Perischi tu con la tua religione."

✠ The life of Wright is given more fully in the Italian. See Appendix, p. 69.

§ This priest was Thomas Bluett. The original English is given in *Douay Diaries*, p. 143.

¶ The Latin has evidently lost a line or more at this place. The Italian reads, "Il quinto che fu preso, et per il quale Iddio ha, etc." See p. 71.

quod cum minime facere vellet, incluserunt eum arctissime in carcerem, et postea cum adhuc perseveraret, nudum et ligatum ad currum flagellaverunt crudelissime per plateas Londinienses clamante (24) illo ubique se pati pro Religione Catholica. Ultimo denique cum neque sic vinci possit, inusserunt* illi stigma, id est igne candenti auriculam perforaverunt et sic tandem dimiserunt. Hic juvenis modo Rhemis est, et maxime lætatur se Christi causa hoc pertulisse, et ad majora se præparat in futurum. Quantum luminis et consolationis Deus huic† juveni dederit in mediis tormentis, apparet ex quadam mirabili Epistola, qua in carcere respondit patri suo conanti per minas illum a constantia deterrere, utramque Epistolam tam patris ad eum, quam illius ad patrem simul cum his misimus.

De Laboribus Seminarii et libris scriptis contra Hæreticos .....§ 3.

Etsi labores ordinarii hoc anno majores fuerint quam annis superioribus, tum quia caruimus lectionibus publicis Universitatis Duacensis, quas implere necesse erat privatis nostrorum laboribus, tum etiam quia magna fuit multitudo, vel§ huc venientium vel transeuntium hac, quos catechizare et instruere oportebat: tamen nonnihil etiam in scribendo contra hæreticos laboratum est. Nam Gregorius Martinus Theologiæ Licentiatus absolvit tres libros suos de usu græcæ et hæbraicæ latine scriptos,¶ in quibus tractat contra hæreticos omnes Controversias quatenus pertinent ad illas linguas. D. Bristous Theologiæ Doctor scripsit librum satis magnum latine De motivis ad fidem Catholicam amplectendam, et ad Hæreses detestandas. Idem etiam Anglice confutavit hæreticum quemdam Anglum, qui Fulcus dicitur, qui scripserat contra librum de purgatorio editum ante multos annos a D. Præside Alano: ipse etiam R. D. Præses Alanus, licet alias occupatissimus, tamen scripsit librum bene magnum de invocatione Sanctorum, reliquiis et peregrinationibus, argumentum in Anglia valde expetitum. Emissus etiam ex Seminario nostro hoc anno unus, qui lectionem publicam Theologiæ in Universitate Duacensi sustineat, quam olim habebat R. D. Alanus.

De incremento et progressu Religionis Catholicæ in Anglia.....§ 4.

Quantum profecerit in Anglia Religio Catholica ex salutari consilio hujus prudentissimi et zelosissimi Papæ de instituendo hoc Seminario ex iis quæ subjungemus intelligi poterit, et solummodo loquemur de illis rebus, quæ hoc anno contigerunt. Cum magna sit

* Corrected in another hand from "iusserunt." Marginal query mark.

† Corrected in another hand from "hunc." Marginal note. This was John Tippet, Typet or Typer, afterwards Procurator General of the Carthusians. For the letters see Appendix B. § Corrected as before.

¶ This does not correspond with any of the works usually assigned to Martin, but it may very well be a first recension of his *Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holie Scripture by the Heretikes of our Daies*, Rhemes, 1582.

persecutio in Anglia, et diligentissime exquirantur qui vel recipiant vel auxilium præbeant Sacerdotibus nostris; tamen tantum abest ut Catholici ubique deterreantur, ut etiam litteris plures Sacerdotes petant. Si quis autem captus producatur ad Tribunal, summa cum libertate respondet, ita ut hæretici ipsi obstupescant. Ita nuper fecit D. Metamus Theologiæ Licentiatus, et alii de quibus ante scripsimus, sed insigniter præ aliis vir nobilis et illustris (25) D. Poundus,* qui ne verbum quidem passus est dici contra summum Pontificem a judicibus cum sisteretur, sed mirabili gravitate et vehementia illos compescuit. Illi autem qui clam Catholici sunt et nondum capti, quam audacter Religioni Catholicæ inserviant, ex eo patet quod recentissimis literis intellexerimus de uno, qui cum nec valde nobilis aut potens esset, tamen non contentus una privata Missa, duas solemnes in ædibus suis cantari fecit, cum omnibus tum ornamentis tum Ministris inferioribus, æque ac si in media Roma non in Anglia fuisset. Alius etiam majus quiddam hoc fecit, nam in ædibus ipsius Decani Londinensis qui sævissimus persecutor est (absente tamen illo) eorum Catholicorum gratia qui ibi tanquam sub custodia morabantur, Missam celebrari fecit. In ipsa Reginæ aula, multos jam habemus zelosos Catholicos. Nuper ex Anglia venerunt in Belgium circiter 200 iuvenes, quorum bona pars ex nobilibus sunt familiis, ut arma exercerent contra Hæreticos, qui omnes opera R.D. Alani, a quo præcipue evocati fuerant, humanissime a Principe Parmensi accepti et honorifice tractati fuerunt, ita ut modo omnes sub ductu nobilissimi cujusdam et zelosissimi juvenis Angli pro Rege Catholico militant, paratissimi pro Religione Catholica in Anglia etiam si occasio daretur, vitas effundere. ✠ Multi Angli hoc anno in varias Religiosorum familias ascripti fuerunt, et in Societatem S^mi^ Nominis Jesu plus minus duodecim, eo animo et spe, quod aliquando etiam illa Societas afflictam Anglicanam vineam inviset et laboribus suis excolere incipiet, quod omnes ibi Catholici vehementer desiderant, et multi etiam litteris petierunt.§

Appendices

It was said above (p. 65, note) that there was in the Vatican a paper, "Cose di consolatione cavate dalle lettere annali et private, etc., del Seminario in Fiandra, etc.," which contained a paraphrase of the above Latin document, to which it added some further passages. These passages are given in the following appendices.

Appendix A.—*Further Particulars of Wright and Bluett*

Il quarto che fu preso fu sacerdote chiamato Urito, licenciato di theologia, ma per più sicurtà mutatosi il nome, si chiamò Dob-

* The Italian has here, interlined in another hand, "fratello del Rdo. Gio. Pondo Inglese ancora in Roma."

✠ The Italian omits from "pro Rege Catholico" to "effundere," and reads, "Aspettando ogni giorno che li cresca il numero, benche il consilio della regina cercava per ogni modo di storbare il passo."

§ The Italian adds the date. "Di Rheins [*sic*] in Francia alli 9 d' agosto, 1578."

After this the Italian gives an account of the martyr Sherwood, which is added in Appendix C.

sono. Costui trovandosi in casa d'un signore insieme con un altro sacerdote vecchio appresso la città di Eboraco hoggi detta York furono palesati dal figliuolo maggiore di quel signore indutto dalli Heretici ad accusare suo padre, per sorte con speranza di succedere nelle possessione del padre condemnato che egli fusse per catholico. A un certo giorno adonque ordinato tra loro, furono mandati dal Comite Governatore di quelle provincie alcuni cavalieri à pigliare questi sacerdoti con tutta la gente che trovassero con essi, la qual cosa fu fatta. Et menandoli à cavallo verso la città di York, il Governatore ò Presidente gli mandò à dire che menassero il sacerdote che fu trovato alla messa nelli vestimenti suoi medesimi con li quali celebrava per la città. Li cavalieri inteso l'animo del Presidente et pensando di far favore alli nostri sacerdoti et con quel guadagnarlo à condescender più à qualche desiderio loro, messero li vestimenti addosso al vecchio, il quale menato cosi per le strade della città fu burlato mirabilmente, et uno cortigiano vecchio tanto gli gridò maledicendo et bestemiando che gli mancò il fiato, onde in quel luoco comminciò una donna vecchia d'un canto contrario benedicendo il sacerdote et gridando l'eterna maledittione di Dio sopra coloro che cosi burlavano del Sig^{r} suo. Hora avvicinandosi esso al palazzo del Presidente, dove si era radunato tutto il conseglio insieme col Presidente, et tutto il clero heretico, et la maggior parte della nobiltà di quelli paesi, et aspettando questo spettacolo furono mandati dal Presidente incontro al sacerdote molti heretici con torcie accese, i quali salutando prima il sacerdote, et inchinandoglisi avanti per scorno, subito comminciorno à batterlo con le torchie. Ma essendo prohibito dalli cavalieri che lo menavano di farli più di quelle burle, andorono inanzi in modo di processione cantando a voce alta Santa Maria ora pro nobis, et cosi gli condussero tutti al tribunale dove arrivati gli catolici furono ad uno essaminati; ma del nostro sacerdote fu dato particolare aviso al Presidente dalli cavalieri che lo riservassero per l'ultimo luoco dicendo d'havergli raggionato nella strada, et di haverlo trovato molto dotto et giovine riuscibile per cose grande se lo potessero tirare alla loro religione, et comminciò a raggionarli il Pseudodecano di quella città stimato per gran letterato tra loro, lo tentò con dolci parole et molte laudi, ma trovandolo fermo nella sua religione comminciò più rigorosamente ad essaminarlo et dimandò prima s'egli era sacerdote, al che rispose che non accadeva domandare quello, vedendolo christiano, et tenendo essi che tutti li christiani sono sacerdoti. Ma disse l'altro—'Io ti domando se sei sacerdote papistico.' Rispose egli—'Tu dixisti.' Disse il decano—'Chi t'ha data potesta di dir missa.' Rispose egli—'Christo in quelle parole: Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.' Disse il decano,—'Perchè aggiungete voi oltra la commemoratione di Christo memoria delli vivi et morti.' Rispose egli—'Perchè Christo morse per l'uno et l'altro.' Qui cominciò il decano à dubitare se Christo morisse ò non per gli morti, ma vedendo che l'altro lo provava chiaramente, et che il popolo cominciava à veder l'errore suo, restò spaventato et attonito, nè potè per un pezzo parlar più.

Dapoi gli heretici saltarono da una cosa ad un'altra, et uno lo domandò perchè haveva duoi nomi, et egli gli rispose—'Non havete letto, *Paulus qui et Saulus.*' Finalmente s'attaccorono alla controversia del ss^mo^ sacramento per la verità del quale allegando il nostro sacerdote molti fini testimonii tanto delli santi padri quanto della scrittura, et offerendo di voler mostrare non solamente questi luoghi, ma infiniti altri, se il Decano volesse ò andar seco alla libraria ò far venire la il libro, tutti si maravigliorono grandemente di questa offerta et cominciorono ad essortare il Decano ad accettare questa offerta, ma egli non volse, la qual cosa fece molti heretici dubitare della causa loro, et dipoi fu gran concorso al nostro sacerdote stando in prigione non solamente di catholici, ma ancora di heretici, delli quali alcuni principali signori mandorono a pregare il nostro sacerdote à scrivere diversi trattati per loro il che fece, et uno delli principali cavalieri il quale ancora venne à pigliare primo il nostro sacerdote doppo haver letto un trattato suo fatto per esso del S^mo^ sacramento si risolse subito di voler venire à Roma, et veder le cose come passano, et hora si trova in Fiandra, &c.

Il quinto che fu preso, et per il quale Iddio ha mostrato più la sua potentia fu un giovanetto et quasi putto il quale all' espulsione del seminario nostro di Duaco ritirosi in Inghilterra per spedir alcuni negotii suoi, et apparechiandosi già de tornare quà, &c.

Appendix B.—*Letter of Mark Typpet to his Son John, with John Typpet's Answer*

Doppo questo rinchiudendolo un altra volta in prigione usorno diversi altri mezzi per pervertirlo benchè indarno, tra li quali fu una lettera del suo padre molto terribile come sequita da Inglese.

Io non so che sorte di raccomandatione ti possa mandare, ma certo sono che tu meriti nulla. Io non intendo quel che ti voglia in mostrarti tanto ostinato nel difender quella tua opinione sciocca, se non pensare veramente che tu sei uno di quelli, li quali Dio già ha abandonato à fatto lasciandoli alla malitia loro, onde brevemente io ti dico, se tu presto non ti correggi, et abandoni questa pessima opinione, che non mi tenghi come padre per l'avvenire, ma come huomo straniero et incognito, et cosi in verità mi trovarai. Pensi tu che non era grandissimo il mio dolore sentendo che mi figliuolo mi fusse frustato per la città alla coda di un carro, et passato l'orecchia con ferro infocato, come d'un malfattore? Veramente mi fece desiderare che mai t'havesse generato, ò nato che fusti havessi visto quel medesimo giorno morto. Si dice di quà che tu sei risoluto di mai voler tornare à Cornubia cioè alla patria tua, se ben li magistrati volessero liberarti di prigione domani: mirabile risolutione. Io vorrei intender da te putto matto, che sei, dove vorrai andare, et in che modo potrai procurarti il vitto? Vatene dove vuoi, et vivi in che modo ti pare, perchè io ti giuro per il santo nome di Jesù, che mentre che tu perseveri di quel' animo che fin qui hai mostrato, mai ti darò un quattrino delli beni miei, et cosi questo sarà per finir tuo. Se tu vorrai sottometterti, et lasciare la cattiva religione tua,

io sarò buon padre et ti trattarò da figliuolo, ma se tu vorrai perseverare furfante triste come sei, pensati viver da te, et fa conto di me come d'una persona strangiera, perchè io per altro non ti stimarò. Et cosi essortandoti et commandandoti ancora di lasciare questa sciocca opinione tua, io ti lascio à Dio, il quale converta l'anima tua, et ti faccia huomo da bene. Da Santoveno in Cornubia al 17 di genaro 1578. Tuo padre mestissimo

MARCO TIPETO

La risposta del figliuolo

Benchè, mio caro padre, io sia stato vergognosamente quanto al mondo flagellato come voi scrivete alla coda d'un carro, et abbrugiato nelle orecchia come infame vagabondo, nientedimeno considerando voi la causa perchè mi hanno fatto questa vergogna, non credo che habbiate ragione in dolervene tanto, in desiderare che io mai fussi nato, ma più presto di dolere che voi sete nato, ò fatto poi tanto miserabile, et di una paura di non so che ombra, ò di troppo amore della robba tanto incantato, che siate contento di attaccar l'anima vostra alla coda di questi monstruosi heretici, cosa piu horrenda che la coda d'un carro, li quali non si sono vergognati di farmi questo dishonore, per non haver potuto indurmi a lasciare quella fede et religione, della quale voi et io et loro ancora fecero professione nel battesimo di viver et morire in quello. ma io prego l'eterno Dio che gli perdoni questo fatto, si come prego che mi perdoni gli peccati miei, perchè veramente io ho più compassione del stato loro che non ho invidia della loro potentia, et son certo d'havere guadagnato più consolatione in patir questi tormenti, che loro non hanno guadagnato honore in darmegli.

Caro padre vi maraviglierete di quel che vi dico, ma pure all' honore di Dio io dico, ho manco paura adesso che mai della tirannide delli huomini, et me pare de trionfare sopra le forze loro, sentendomi assai disposto per sopportare più tormenti con l'aiuto di Dio, che loro non possono darmi, et veramente questo poco di persecutione che per la causa di Christo ho patito mi ha confirmato et roborato grandissimamente, di modo che dove prima io era debole et putto pauroso, adesso mi sento tanto animato, che nè il nome di Nugate nostro carcere proprio di ladroni, nè il limbo longo spaventoso in quello, nè la fama et sete che patiamo qui, nè il freddo horribile, spuzza et obscurità spaventevole della caverna, ò grotta dove me trovo, nè gli stratii che porto adesso, nè le bratture che per tutto si trovano, nè li ferri, nè il fuoco, o frusta del giudice mio furioso possono farmi vergognare di confessare qui nel conspetto delli heretici la fede ò la religione mia.

Hora ditemi caro padre come è cresciuto in me questa confidenza et animosità nel mezo di questi terribili tormenti? Certamente io non lo so, perchè prima io non le haveva, se non forse la fusse venuta per li meriti del santo sangue delli novi martiri, li quali poco fa per la medisima causa qui furono ammazzati, et le cui membre ogni giorno io vedo pendenti sopra la testa mia, le quali forse hanno questa virtù di accendere l'amore della fede catolica negli animi di noi altri putti et infanti, si come la troppa ingordigia della robba ha

forza di strangolarla nelli animi di voi altri vecchi. Onde padre mio non vorrei che andasti cercando di spaventarmi dalla perseverantia in quella fede, per mezo della quale voi et io havemo da saluarsi, sapendo bene che non c'è se non una chiesa et una sola fede christiana, più antiqua di mille et cinquecento anni di quella fede negativa, la quale adesso ci offeriscono le protestanti, la quale io ho tanto in odio, che io abhorrisco à pensarne solamente per gli horrendi et diabolici frutti, che in tanto poco tempo vi ho visto germogliare.

Padre mio caro, che cosa havete visto nelli professori di questa nova religione fuori di superbia et appostasia, non è cosa in questa dottrina, se non carnalità, libidine, rompimento di voto, mangiar, bevere, burlarsi di cose sante, dipoi usura, corrotti giuditii, oppressione d'innocenti, spogliare i poveri, arrichire li ribelli, tradimenti contra li principi catolici, la chiesa et tutti i buoni, bestemmie contra i santi del cielo, bugie et spergiurii volontarii, impugnatione della verità conosciuta, et per finire è la strada all' athismo, regno stesso d'Antichristo, et una lega manifesta con l'inferno et con tutti li diavoli malledetti. O beati quelli padre mio che aborriscono et fuggono di questa lega, ma più felici sono coloro, li quali sono accettati da Dio per sacrificii spargendo il sangue per l'estirpatione di quella. È piaciuto alla divina bontà di accetare ancora li apostoli, per la medesima fede menato io fui per le strade fra infami malfattori, et come un di loro, stigmatizzata nell' orecchia, ma Christo fra ladroni fu crucifisso. Hora padre mio che sete voi che tanto vi vergognate che vostro figliuolo sia stato flagellato per le piazze, vedendo che l'eterno padre, re del cielo et della terra, non si vergognò che il suo unico figliuolo fusse non solamente flagellato ma ancora in publico crucifisso et morto. Onde per finir con voi mio charo padre, se voi volete perseverare bon padre verso di me con questo patto, che io possa perseverare nella fede di Christo et nella legge di Dio, io l'acetto con ogni humilità et reverenza. Ma se quelle sono veramente vostre parole scritte nella lettera vostra, cioè che voi non volete esser più padre mio se io non abbandono la fede catolica, perchè in effetto questo vogliono dire, all' hora Dio solo mi sarà padre la cui santa providenza non mi mancarà, et si come voi mi chiamate putto, cosi mi attaccate alle parole del piu giovane et putto delli Macabei, et finiro con esse questa mia lettera, come egli fini la sua vita, le quali in effetto furono queste. Io non voglio obedire al comandamento, ò di re, ò di imperatore, ò di qualsi voglia padre carnale, ma solamente al comandamento di Dio et della santa chiesa. Voi sete il padre mio carnale havendo mi dato questo corpo, il quale ha da tornare presto in polvere, ma Iddio è il padre mio principale havendo creato tanto il corpo come l'anima, et potrà ancora se vorrà mandare l'uno et l'altro all' inferno, se io per rispetto delli huomini abandonerò la sua santissima et giustissima legge, et per questo mi haverete scusato, et cosi raccommandomi molto alla misericordia di Dio, non cesserò di pregare continuamente per la salute vostra, et che lui muti il cuore vostro verso di me quando li piacerà. Dal Nugate carcere di Londra.

Appendix C.—*The Martyrdom of Blessed Thomas Sherwood*

Havemo ancora già ricevuto lettere certe, et specialmente della morte d'un altro giovine martirizato per la fide in Inghilterra questo anno, perche degl'altri non parliamo. Il quale benche non fusse del seminario nostro, pure desiderava d'esserlo. Costui havea nome Sherodo, natione Londro stesso, per moltissimi anni vivendo fuori in altri luochi più solitarii, per conto della persecutione faceva vita molto aspera per il più dormendo sopra tavole, et portando cilicii. Ultimamente accordandosi con un sacerdote nostro della casa d'una nobilissima et catholicissima signora chiamata S^ra^ Tregonia di venire a Rheins, si parti con quella resolutione. Et [? se ne] andò a Londra per spedir prima alcuni negotii, et di là imbarcarsi, et essendo già in ordine per andare, piacque à Dio di permettere che incontrasse nella piazza il figliuolo maggiore della signora Tregonia, grandissimo heretico, il quale ridendolo, et sapendo che egli era quello il quale havea visto alcuna volta alla casa di sua madre, [et] havea secretamente inteso da alcuni che serviva alla messa che dicevano. Esso con tutti gli sui servitori con spade tratte lo assaltorono gridando 'traditore, traditore,' alla qual voce vi corse la gente, et cosi fu preso et messo in carcere, dipoi menato avanti il magistrato de Londra chiamato Ricordatore confessò con molta libertà la fede catolica, et essendo cosi dimandato il suo parere della bolla di Pio V°, et se Elizabeth era vera regina nonostante quella bolla, rispose di non, essendo disposta del vicario di Christo, et domandando il Ricordatore se egli sapesse di altri quali tenessero questa opinione, rispose che si, ma non le voleva nominare. Per la qual cosa il Ricordatore lo fece tormentare crudelissimamente, tirando li membri suoi in diverse parti con certe ruote, intanto che tutte quasi le gionture del corpo si mossero dal luoco suo. Il qual spettacolo fu tanto horrendo che il Ricordatore stesso pianse per compassione delli dolori che lo vidde patire. Ma con tutto ciò il giovane non volse scoprire alcuno, di modo vedendo gl'heretici che non potevano da lui cavare cosa alcuna per via di tormenti doppo alcuni giorni l'empiccorono et squartorono. Ma essaminandolo prima come poteva supportare tanti dolori gli rispose, che molti più grandi havrebbe potuto supportare per causa tanto buona. Nella morte ancora mostrò tanta pace, quiete et allegrezza che molti di quello grandissimamente si mossero. Due cose mostrorono molto mirabile questo giovane, uno che essendo il suo corpo da ruote cosi smembrato come havemo detto, nondimeno doppo tre giorni fu visto caminare sano, come se non havesse patito niente. L'altra che mentre fu tirato da cavalli, come si suole sopra una flora di legno verso la forca fu visto un fuoco nell' aria sopra la casa de suoi parenti li quali sono catholici, et hanno patito ancora essi molto per la fede.

TRANSLATION

A short summary of the chief events that happened in the English Seminary of our Holy Lord Gregory XIII during its stay at Rheims in the year 1577.

1. *Of the Present State of the Seminary*

After our expulsion from Douay we settled here at Rheims, but were in great difficulties for some months. For though the Illustrious Cardinal of Guise, having received a most kind letter of the Sovereign Pontiff on our behalf, immediately took us under his protection, and wrote in our favour to the magistracy of this city; and though also the Apostolic Nuncio at Paris obtained a Royal Letter for us, and the whole of the Rheims clergy interested itself in our cause; nevertheless, so powerfully were we assailed from other quarters that we never had a moment's peace until nearly the whole family of Guise met in this city, and by their presence and their words strongly commended us in the name of the Catholic religion and in the name of the Queen of Scotland. Thereupon we attained to peace and found even friendship for the time to come. Thereat the Queen of England is said to have been much displeased, and to have reproached the Queen of Scotland with the fact of our Seminary enjoying the protection of the family of the Guises. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who never fail us, when they heard of the trouble that we were in, most lovingly invited us to Pontamusson, offering us themselves and all that was theirs, and promising the favour and protection of the excellent Duke of Lorraine. But because that place is too far from England, we resolved to wait here still a little while, in case God should open to us any chance of returning to Douay. Douay, for its neighbourhood to England, and for the aids that the said Society of Jesus afforded us there, appears more suitable for our purposes than all other places in this country. Nor was God wanting to our hope and desire. For towards the end of the month of May, while nothing was further from our thoughts, the city authorities at Douay wrote a very friendly letter to the Reverend Dr Allen our President, inviting us to return, excusing themselves for our expulsion, and intimating that the parties to that proceeding had been duly punished. Whether we should return, however, His Holiness has not yet replied to us.

On account of the difficulties that we have mentioned, far fewer subjects have come to us from England than otherwise would have come; and many of those that we had, we have been compelled to send away to diminish our numbers. Still there have come to us this year about fifty, and now we are seventy in all, living on the alms of His Holiness, besides those who in some sort support themselves at their own cost. All strive to live in a manner befitting men who have chosen this voluntary exile for Christ's sake. The Cardinal in his letters to the King has borne great testimony to our good conduct. God grant that for the time to

come we may be able in some measure to fulfil the good which he has declared to have seen evidenced in our lives! It has pleased the Catholic King and his Belgian Council to ask for an outline of the way in which our Seminary is managed, in order that, as they write, two Seminaries in Belgium may be established on the same plan for the benefit of these countries. The recent overflow of His Holiness's goodness and bounty upon our scholars at Rome, the report whereof has already penetrated into England, does much daily to increase our number, and is a wonderful incentive to the English Catholics to send their sons to share in that Roman education. The consequence is that men of all ranks are coming to us, and we are almost overwhelmed by the number of our scholars. There are many here fit to be sent to Rome, and many desire it most eagerly; but as we cannot satisfy all, many are nourished with hope for the time to come.

2. *Of Missions that have taken place*

We have sent into England this year seventeen priests, and twenty others are shortly to be sent, for we have here now thirty priests. We have also sent to Rome thirty scholars. Four of Ours have been captured in England this year. The first was a priest, by name John Nelson. When by various interrogations they had elicited from him the avowal that the Queen was a heretic, they condemned him to death, and most cruelly hung him, cut him down when he was half alive, and quartered him, 1 February, 1578. [*The Italian adds:* When they took out his heart, he spoke and prayed for his persecutors by name, at which the people were much moved, though a little before, when he exhorted them to embrace the Catholic Faith, they had cruelly cried out, "Death to thee and to thy religion."] We send herewith the story of his life and death.

The second was Thomas Wright, B.D., who was captured with his companion, another priest, and sundry other persons of rank as well women as men, near York. They were led through the streets with much insult, that other priest going before them in the vestments in which he had a little before said Mass. The President of the North, a malignant Puritan, by way of greater mockery, had sent before them many of his people to escort them with lights at noonday. At length they reached the Court and entered into disputation with the heretics, where by the help of God they so overcame them that the heretics cried out that that Papist was the devil of a Doctor, and must have been sent to England as a leader. When the people observed the ignorance of the heretics, they began to be moved and to flock to our priest. So the heretics were forced to turn him out of York, and to thrust him into another prison more out of the way, where nevertheless he produces great fruit, and has induced many youths to leave all and come over here, whereof some are with us and others at Rome.

Much the same fortune befell another priest of ours, whose acumen and promptness in answering was the marvel of the heretics; and when they heard that he had once been a Calvinist Minister,

they said in indignation that the Papists used to say that the Ministers were rude and unlearned, but that they had lighted on one who had learning enough for anybody.

[The fourth was a young man, a student of our college.] He was taken in London; and when they heard that he had already studied at Douay, they tried all ways to make him abandon the Catholic religion. As he would not, they shut him up in close prison; and as he still held out, they tied him to a cart and with great cruelty flogged him naked through the streets of London, he crying aloud the while everywhere that he was suffering for the Catholic religion. At last, when even so there was no conquering him, they branded him,—that is to say, pierced his ear with a hot iron, and so let him go. This youth [John Typpet] is now at Rheims, rejoicing greatly at having borne thus much for Christ, and prepares himself for greater things to come. The light and consolation that God gave this youth in the midst of his torments may be seen from an admirable letter which he wrote in prison in reply to his father, who was endeavouring by threats to shake his constancy. Both letters, his father's to him and his to his father, we send herewith [see Appendix B].

3. *Of the Labours of the Seminary, and the Books written against the Heretics*

Although our ordinary labours this year have been greater than in former years, as well on account of the loss of the public lectures of the University of Douay, which we had to make good by the private labours of our own men, as also for the great multitude of men coming here, or passing this way, whom we had to catechize and instruct, nevertheless something has been done in the way of writing books against the heretics. Gregory Martin, B.D., has finished his three books written in Latin, upon the Use of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, in which he treats against the heretics of all the controversies that hinge upon those languages. Mr Bristow, D.D., has written a book in Latin, *Of Motives to the embracing of the Catholic Faith and the detestation of Heresies.* He has also confuted in English an English heretic called Fulke, who had written against a book about purgatory published many years ago by Mr President Allen. The said Reverend Mr President Allen also, though otherwise very busy, has nevertheless written a fairly full book, *Of the Invocation of Saints, of Relics and Pilgrimages,* a subject on which many inquiries are made in England. There has likewise been sent out from our Seminary this year one to fill the public chair of Theology in the University of Douay, which the Reverend Dr Allen filled in former time.

4. *Of the Increase and Progress of the Catholic Religion in England*

How much the wholesome counsel taken by our present prudent and zealous Pope in establishing this Seminary has turned to the advancement of the Catholic religion in England may be understood from the details that we shall here subjoin; and we will speak only of events that have happened this year. Though there is a

great persecution in England, and all who harbour or aid our priests are most diligently hunted out, yet so far from the Catholics being everywhere overawed, they are actually writing for more priests. If any one is taken and brought into court, he answers with the greatest freedom of speech to the amazement of the heretics themselves. This lately did Mr Metham, B.D., and others of whom we have written before; but particularly another gentleman of illustrious rank, Mr Pound, who at his trial would not suffer a word to be spoken against the Sovereign Pontiff, but with wonderful force and earnestness put them all down. How boldly those who are Catholics in secret, and not yet captured, serve the Catholic religion, appears by a fact that we have learnt in a recent letter of one who, without being of any great rank or power, nevertheless was not content with one private Mass, but caused two High Masses to be sung in his house, with all ornaments and inferior ministers, as though he had been in the middle of Rome and not in England. Another has even gone beyond that: he has actually caused Mass to be celebrated in the house of the Dean of London, a cruel persecutor, for the benefit of the Catholics there kept in custody, while the Dean was away from home. Even in the Queen's Court we have now many zealous Catholics. There have lately come from England into Belgium about two hundred youths, a good many of them of noble families, to take up arms against the heretics. By the exertions of the Reverend Dr Allen, who had the chief hand in inviting them, they have been very kindly received and honourably treated by the Prince of Parma; and now they are all fighting for the Catholic King under the command of a young Englishman of high rank and great zeal, and are quite ready to shed their blood for the Catholic religion in England, if occasion should offer. Many Englishmen this year have been enrolled in various Religious Orders. About twelve have joined the Society of the Holy Name of Jesus, with the purpose and hope that at length even that Society will visit the afflicted English vineyard, and begin cultivating it by its labours, a consummation which all Catholics there desire and many also have asked for by letter.

Appendix A.—*Further Particulars of Wright and Bluett*

The fourth that was taken was a priest named Wright, a licentiate in theology, but who for greater security had changed his name and was called Dobson. He and another old priest being together in the house of a gentleman, near the city of "Eboraco, now called York," were betrayed by the eldest son of that gentleman, who had been instigated by the heretics to accuse his father, perchance with the hope of succeeding to the property if the father were condemned for being a Catholic. On a certain day therefore, arranged between them, some horsemen were sent by the Earl who was Governor of that Province to seize these priests with all the people they might find with them, which was done. They brought them on horseback towards the City of York, when the Governor or President

sent word to say, that they were to lead the priest, whom they had found saying Mass, through the city in the same vestments in which he had celebrated. The horsemen having heard the wish of the President, and thinking to show favour to our priest and with that to get him to yield further to their desire, put the vestments on the old priest. While led through the streets of the city he was wonderfully mocked at, and one old courtier screamed out so much, cursing and blaspheming, that he lost his breath. An old lady therefore began in his place a contrary tune, blessing the priest and calling down the eternal curse of God upon those who thus mocked their Lord.

When they came near to the President's palace, where all the Council with the President and all the heretical clergy and a great part of the gentry of those parts were assembled to see the spectacle, many heretics were sent by the President to meet the priest with lighted torches, and first they saluted him and scornfully bowed before him, then promptly began to beat him with the torches. But being forbidden by the soldiers who conducted him to continue this mockery, they went before in procession, singing loudly "Holy Mary, pray for us," and so conducted them to the tribunal. There the Catholics were examined one by one. But the President was advised by the soldiers to reserve our priest for the last, for that they had conversed with him on the way and had found him very learned, a young man capable of great things if they could bring him to their religion. The Protestant Dean of that city, whom they considered very learned, began to argue with him, trying him with sweet words and much praise, but finding him firm in his religion he began to examine him more rigorously, and first asked him if he were a priest. To that he replied that he need not ask that, seeing he was a Christian, and that they held that all Christians were priests. But said the other, "I ask thee if thou art a popish priest?" He replied, "Thou hast said it." The Dean said: "Who has given thee power to say Mass?" He answered: "Christ, in these words: 'Do this in commemoration of Me.'" The Dean said: "Why do you add, besides the commemoration of Christ, the remembrance of the living and the dead?" He answered: "Because Christ died for both." Here the Dean began to doubt if Christ died for the dead or not, but seeing that the other clearly proved it, and that the people began to see his error, he stopped frightened and astonished, neither could he speak for some little time. Then the heretics jumped from one point to another, and one of them asked why he had two names? and he answered him: "Have you not read: 'Paul, also called Saul.'" Finally they attacked the question of the Blessed Sacrament, for the truth of which our priest alleged many pointed proofs as well from scripture as from the Fathers, offering to show them not only these places, but numberless others if the Dean would either go with him to the library, or have the book brought there. Every one was greatly astonished at this offer, and they began to exhort the Dean to accept the proposal. But he would not, which made many heretics doubtful of their cause.

Afterwards when our priest was in prison, crowds came to see him, not only of Catholics, but also of heretics, of whom some of the principal gentry sent to beg our priest to write various treatises for them, which he did. One of the chief men, who at first came to take him prisoner, after having read a treatise of his, written for them on the Blessed Sacrament, suddenly resolved to go to Rome, and to see things as they are, and now he is in Flanders. Now the heretics seeing the great good our priest was doing in York, sent him away to another town more heretical than it, where however he reaps a great harvest while he is in prison, and constantly sends youths here from there, of whom some have already been sent to Rome.

The fifth who was taken, and for whom God has shown His power most, was a mere youth, almost a boy, who at the expulsion of our seminary from Douay, returned to England to finish some business of his, and was preparing to return hither, &c.

Appendix B.—*Mark Typpet to his son John, with John Typpet's Answer.*

After this, shutting him up once more in prison, they made use of various devices in order to pervert him, though in vain. One of these was a threatening letter from his father, as follows.

I do not know what kind of commendations I can send you, but I am certain that you deserve none. I do not know what you want by showing yourself so obstinate in defending your foolish opinion. I think it really must be that you are truly one of those, whom God has already abandoned to the fate of leaving them to their malice. Therefore I tell you briefly that, if you do not quickly amend and abandon these evil opinions, you must not in future look upon me as a father, but as a stranger and unknown, and so in truth you will find me. Do you think that it was not the greatest of sorrows to me to hear that my son had been whipped through the city tied to a cart, his ears pierced with hot irons like a criminal? Truly it made me wish I had never begotten you, or that being born I had seen you dead that same day. It is reported here, that you are determined never to return to Cornwall, that is to say to your country, even if the magistrates should be willing to liberate you to-morrow. Strange resolution! I should like to know from you, foolish boy that you are, where you want to go, and how you can procure food. Go where you please, and live how you please, because I swear by the holy name of Jesus that as long as you persevere in the mind that you have shown up to now, never shall you have a farthing from me, and so it shall be, as long as you live. If you will submit and leave your bad religion, I will be a good father and treat you as a son, but if you mean to remain the wretched knave that you are, consider that you must live by yourself, and account me as a stranger, because I shall esteem you no otherwise. So again exhorting and commanding you to quit your foolish opinions, I leave you to God; may He convert your mind and make you a good man. From St Wenn in Cornwall the 17th January of 1578. Your most mournful father

MARK TYPPET

The Son's Answer.

My Dear Father,—Though, as you write, I have been whipped with shame according to the world, tied to a cart, and burnt in the ear like an infamous vagabond, nevertheless if you consider the cause why I have suffered this shame, I do not think you will find reason to grieve so much, as to wish I had never been born, but rather to grieve that you were born, or afterwards were made, so miserable, so spell-bound by the fear of some shadow, or by too much love of wealth, that you are content to attach your soul to the tail of these monstrous heretics, a thing more horrible than the tail of a cart. They were not ashamed to do me this dishonour because they were not able to induce me to abandon that faith and religion, of which you and I, and they also, made profession in holy baptism to live and die in it. But I pray the eternal God to forgive them this deed, as I pray that He will forgive me my sins, because truly I have more compassion for their state than grudge against their violence, and I am sure that I have gained more consolation in suffering these torments than they have gained honour in inflicting them to me.

Dear Father, you may be astonished at what I say, but nevertheless to the honour of God I say it, that I have now less fear than ever of the tyranny of men. It seems to me that I triumph over their violence, feeling able enough, with the help of God, to bear more torments than they are able to inflict on me, and truly this little persecution that I have suffered for the cause of Christ has confirmed and strengthened me greatly, so that whereas I was at first a weak and timorous child, now I feel myself so animated that neither the name of Newgate, our prison reserved for thieves, nor the long, fearful Limbo in it, nor the hunger and thirst we suffer here, nor the horrible cold, stench and terrible darkness of the pit or dungeon, where I am, nor the rags I wear, nor the filth which is everywhere, nor the fetters, nor the fire, nor the whips of my furious judge can make me ashamed to confess here in the sight of heretics my faith or my religion.

Now tell me, dear Father, how this confident bravery has grown in the midst of these terrible torments? Certainly I do not know, because at first I had it not, unless it has been granted me through the merits of the holy blood of our new martyrs, who were put to death here a short time since for the same cause, and whose quarters I see every day hanging over my head. They perhaps have this virtue of enkindling the love of the Catholic faith in the hearts of us boys and children, as the excessive desire of worldly goods has the power of stifling it in the hearts of you old folk. Therefore, Father, I would wish you not to try to frighten me from perseverance in that faith, by means of which you and I are to be saved; knowing well that there is but one Church and one only Faith of Christ, more ancient by fifteen hundred years than that negative faith which the Protestants now offer us here, which I hold in such hatred that I abhor the very thought of it, because of the horrible and diabolical fruits that I have seen to spring forth here in so short a time.

What have you seen, my dear Father, in the men of this new religion except pride and apostasy. There is nothing in this learning but sensuality, luxury, breaking of vows, eating, drinking, mocking of holy things; then usury, corrupt judgements, oppression of the innocent, spoliation of the poor, enriching of rebels, treasons against Catholic princes, the Church and all good people, blasphemies against the Saints, lies and voluntary perjuries, opposition to the known truth, and to conclude, it is the road to Atheism, the very reign of Antichrist, a manifest league with hell and with all its cursed spirits. Blessed, my dear Father, are those who detest and fly from this league, but still more blessed those who are accepted by God as victims, shedding their blood for the extirpation of this religion. It has pleased the divine goodness to accept apostles also. For the same faith I was led through the streets among infamous criminals, and like one of them I was marked in the ear. But Christ was crucified between two thieves. Now, my dear Father, who are you, that you are so ashamed that your son should have been scourged through the streets, seeing that the eternal Father, the King of heaven and earth, was not ashamed that His only Son should be both scourged, publicly crucified and put to death. Therefore to conclude, my dear Father, if you will continue to act as a good father towards me, with this condition, that I may persevere in the faith of Christ and in the laws of God, I accept you with all humility and reverence. But if the words written in your letter are really your own, namely that you will no longer be to me a father, unless I abandon the Catholic faith, since that in fact is what they say, then God alone shall be my Father, whose holy Providence will not fail me. As you called me "boy," I will take to myself the words of the youngest and most boyish of the Machabees, and will finish my letter with them as he finished his life. They were these in effect: "I will not obey the command of the king or of the emperor or of any earthly father whatsoever, but only the command of God and His holy Church." You are my earthly father, having given me this body, which must soon return to dust; but God is my chief Father, having created both my body and soul, and He could if He wished send the one and the other to hell, if from fear of men I abandoned His most holy and just laws. For this reason you must hold me excused. So recommending myself earnestly to the mercy of almighty God, I will not cease to pray continually for your salvation, and that He may change your heart towards me whenever it shall please Him. From Newgate prison, London.

Appendix C.—*The Martyrdom of Blessed Thomas Sherwood*

We have also now received certain letters, and especially about the death of another young man martyred for the faith in England, this year, and we will not speak of the others. Though he did not belong to our seminary, nevertheless he had wished to do so. He was named Sherwood, and was a native of London, though for many years he lived away from it in solitary places on account of the persecution. He led a very hard life, sleeping generally on a

board and wearing a hair-shirt. Of late he had arranged with one of our priests, who was in the house of a very noble and most Catholic lady named Lady Tregonnell to come here to Rheims, and he started with that intention. He went to London to despatch some business, and from there he was to embark. Being ready to go, it pleased God to permit that he should meet in the open street the eldest son of Lady Tregonnell, a great heretic. He smiled at him, knowing that it was he whom he had sometimes seen at his mother's house, moreover he had secretly heard that he served the masses that were said. So he with all his servants attacked him with drawn swords, shouting, "Traitor, Traitor!" At which cry people ran up, and so he was taken and put into prison. Afterwards being brought before the Magistrate of London, called the Recorder, he confessed with great freedom the catholic faith. Being also asked his opinion of the Bull of Pius V, and if Elizabeth was true queen notwithstanding that Bull, he replied that she was not, being deposed by the Vicar of Christ. The Recorder asked if he knew any others who held this opinion; he replied that he did but would not name them. For which refusal the Recorder had him most cruelly tortured, dislocating his limbs on certain wheels, insomuch that nearly all the joints were drawn out of their places. Which spectacle was so horrible that even the Recorder shed tears of compassion for the pains he saw him suffer. But for all that the young man would betray no one, so that the heretics, seeing that they could not drag anything from him by torture, hanged and quartered him some days later. Before this they questioned him how he could bear such torture, he replied that he would have borne much greater for so good a cause. In death again he showed so much peace, calm and joy that many were marvellously moved. Two very admirable things were seen in this youth. One was that his body being dislocated when taken from the rack as we have said, nevertheless after three days he was seen walking about in health, as if he had suffered nothing. The other was, that when he was drawn by horses, as is the custom, on a [? hurdle] of wood to the gibbet, a flame was seen in the air over the house of his parents. They also are Catholics, and have suffered much for the faith.

Of the beginninge of the English Colledg in Rome a° 1578 and matters that fell out thereupon ..... Cap. 6.

In the yeare of Jubiley aforesaid when there mett in Rome the aforesaid Mr D. Allen afterwards Cardinall, D. Saunders, D. Lewes, Sir Francis Inglefield and others above mentioned, considering with them of the best meanes of setting forward the cause of England, and namely by Seminaries, some speech was, that if the English Hospitall in Rome, (wherein there were at that tyme ten or twelve Chaplaynes) might helpe that way to maintayne some schollers also, or be turned into a Colledge, it would be great furtherance to the cause, but yet nothing seemed good to be mooved or attempted

The Eng ishe Hospita in Rome.

therin for that present for avoyding of offence. Yet came ther to Rome not long after from Rhemes Mr Gregory Martyn a very learned man, and was made Chaplayne in the said Hospitall, who was thought secretly to prepare some entrance for (26) schollers also there, and so proved the sequall.

But the full occasion of this chaunge fell not out untill the yere 1578, when by chaunce there came to Rome one Owen Prise, a scholler borne in Wales and contreman unto Mr D. Lewes and to one Mr D. Morrice Clennocke, Chaplaine of the English Hospitall and for that yeare Custos of the said house, which Price being very pore, was moved (as he himselfe afterward confessed) by the aforesaid two Doctors to be admitted as Fellowe into the Englishe Hospitall, which the Chaplaines utterly denied, partly (as they pretended) for that he was not a Prieste, nor had not sufficient learning to be Priest, and partly for that they had suspicion of his dissolute life, which after indeed appeared to be true, and withal perhaps, in like manner, for that the said Chaplaines stood not well at that tyme with the aforesaid two Doctors, and consequently would be loth to have any more of there countrey men among them, whome they suspected to have a meaneing to encrease ther parte within the house by this manes entrance and by the power of D. Lewes.

The Story of Owen Price which occasioned the New Colledge anno 1578.

But upon the suddaine, when the Chaplaines thought not of yt, this Prise entred into the hall of the Hospitall, and sate down at the table with them without being invited by them, showing also for his authority a Breve of the Popes, whereby he was ordayned Fellow with them of that house, wherat they storming extreamely went to Cardinall Morone the Protector of England at that tyme, and to him alledged so many reasons against Price his admittance, as albeit the said Cardinall was a greate frend to the forenamed two Doctors and to there parte, yet he caused the said Breve to be suspended and afterward anulled, and Price to be sent out of the Towne by the two Doctors persuasion and his commandement.

Cardinal Morone Protector.

But he finding himselfe very weake and evill disposed upon the way, returned backe againe from Millaine to Rome and there died some moneths after in St James his Hospitall of the Incureables, when he shewed himselfe very penitent for his dissolute behaviour, that had been the cause of his sicknes, and asked pardon of the Chaplaines for all that was past, and said he had byn sett on by the aforesaid two Doctors to doe yt, and the said Chaplaines went (27) thither often to visitt and comfort him in his misery, and bestowed good almes upon him untill he died, and there was end of Price, and of his attempt to be Chaplaine of the English Hospitall, but the dissension betwene the Doctors and the Chaplaines, nor betwene the two Nations ended not soe.

D. Lewes & D. Morrice Clenoke.

For the motion being once made of havinge schollers in the Hospitall togeather with the Chaplaines, D. Lewes went forward

The occasion of the strife in the Eng. Colledge of Rome.

with the same much to the Chaplaines misliking, who interpreted it as done of revenge, for that his contryman Price, could not be receaved, but the Docter finding the Daterye Contarello a Frenchman (that could doe much with Pope Gregory, and was after Cardinall) greatly inclined to have English schollers in Rome, but above all other the good Pope Gregory himselfe ceased not to urge the effectuatinge therof, and therfore first procured certaine numbers of schollers to be sent from Rhemes to Rome and to be mayntayned in the Hospitall by particular exhibition of his Holiness in the said house with the Chaplaines, and then after some monethes the whole Hospitall was converted into a Colledge or Seminary, with obligation to yelde also hospitality unto such English Catholikes as would come in pilgrimage, even as the Hospitall was wont to do before.

A new contention betwene Doctor Lewes & the schollers for the government.

But soon after this beganne againe a new contention betwene D. Lewes and D. Morrice on the one side and the English schollers of the new Colledge or Hospitall on the other side, and this beganne about the manner of there government, for that when the rest of the ould Chaplaines were remooved and gave place to the schollers, Mr D. Morrice having byn continued extraordinarily two yeares before in his office of Custos by the Cardinalls order, upon the sute and particular favour of the Archdeacon and his owne, [which the said][1] Chaplaines complained to be contrary to custome, and against the statutes of the house. Now when they were thrust out, he was stayed and was further declared Governour perpetuall of the whole Colledge and Hospital, in which office not yielding such contentment and satisfaction unto neyther party as they desired, they ioyned togeather to remove him, and earnestly labored to have the Fathers of the Society come and take that government, as already they had of the Germane and other Seminaries in Rome, which Mr Archdeacon hearing of, and consideringe the plausibilitye of the demaund, denied them not at (28) the first, but rather promised them flatly (as they said) that it should be soe, and to please them for the tyme he had obtayned of the Generall of the Jesuits named Everardus Macusianus (though with much adoe) that two of the said Fathers should goe and lie in the Colledge for two monethes to have care of there studies and Domesticall discipline; which tyme beinge expired, the said Generall was very earnest to recall the said two Fathers, wherewith the schollers being much mooved, (especially the Englishe parte) for there were now some 8 or 9 also of the West[2] nation admitted also, they made exceedinge great sute, that rather the whole government should be given to the Society, then those two that were there called away, which the Generall refusing to doe, and D. Lewes wishing also that rather

Two Jesuits first sent to the English College.

[1] In MS. "(which he said)," with marginal mark.

[2] *Sic* in MS. There is a marginal mark against the line, as though the reader had expected "Welsh" for "West,"

Mr Morrice should continue in the charge (and for that effect had procured a Breve from the Pope to make him perpetual Rector as is said) by this occasion, I say, the matter brake forthe presently to be not only a very hott contention but also a nationall quarrell (as in Colleges and Universities is wont to ensue) betwene the Englishe and the Welche; for that all the English schollers whoe were above thirty in number stoode togeather resolutely to have the Fathers for there Governours, and all the Welch that were not past some 7 or 8 adhered with no lesse fervour to the two Doctors: and many lettres were wrytten into France, Flanders, and England itselfe to other [members][1] of that Nation hither, which being knowne by interception of some letters, all the residue of the Englishe in Rome ioyned themselves also with the schollers, neyther only the Chaplaynes that had ioyned with them before, but also the Bishope of St Assaphe and the Lord Prior of England, and all other of the English nation, though otherwise before some of them had no great concurrance with Jesuits, yet such was the authority of the two aforesaid Doctors, and there diligence so great with his Hol: and the Protectour, as the matter was doubtfull for a great whyle what event it would have, as by the sequall it shall appeare.

Bishop of St Asaph & Sir Rich. Shelly L. great Prior.

How the English schollers were expelled the Colledge and after restored againe and divisions therof growinge . . . . Cap. 6.

This fire once kindled it grew to a very vehement contention for a tyme, to witt for some 3 or 4 monethes, and many Memorialls were given to his Hol: and to divers Cardinalls of both sides (29) declaring the condition and nature of this contention at home and abroade and how hott it is wont to be some tymes even in Englande betwene those two nations namely in the Universities, upon any occasion offered of competence and contention, and the Archdeacon and Mr Morrice ceased not to urge the matter also on there side to the uttermost, in such sort that having gotten wholy on there side Cardinall Morone that was Protectour, and a stiffe man in all that he once resolved or liked of, and Mr Archdeacon also standing in good creditt with his Hol: for divers respects, the one for that he seemed to defend order, and the Governour appoynted by his Holines, the other for having dealt lately in some weighty matters about Sir Thomas Stukeley, who was lately, the yeare before made Marquesse, and sent with souldiers into Irelande (thoughe his evill success afterwards diminished his grace much) but now remayning in the authority and creditt which I have said, he had brought the matter to such a streight as the Englishe schollers were comanded by the Protectour in his Hol: name, eyther to be under Mr Morrice or to departe the Colledge, which second they accepted, and so when the day appoynted came, they remayned abroad in the Citty making themselves ready to returne towards the Low Countryes, which was a pittifull spectacle to see so many zealous and vertuous

Sir Thomas Stukeley made Marquesse.

[1] MS., "numbers," with marginal mark,

Preiests and other towardly yong men to be ready to depart in that sorte, protesting that the only cause of there departure was, not to live in perpetuall trouble and sedition, with losse of there whole tyme in studies, which they could not but doe, if they should contineue in that sorte under Mr Morrice his government, whome theye avouched to have no care of making men for England, nor sending them thither, but only to entertayne them in Rome, and that such was the resolution and purpose of his Contreymen in the Colledge.

F. Parsons help to the schollers expulsed.

This tale being tould often to F. Parsons lyving at that tyme in the Roman Colledge by Mr Sherwyn, Mr Haddocke, Mr Martyn Array and other Priestes and schollers, he gave them Counsell to make his Hol: privy thereof, and pray him to have an oath offered to all, to see whether this were trew or noe, and whether there were equall desire in every one to goe to England and preach against Heretikes, which (*q*) being donne by a Memoriall, and F. Tolett also of the Society at F. Parsons request speaking in favour of there demande, the petition was admitted and they recalled (30) by his Hol: and brought to his presence upon Ashwednesday and after many comfortable words were sent backe with his Master of his Chamber unto the Colledg againe, and promised they should have there request, and so the next day he comaunded absolutely the Generall of the Society to take upon him the government of the Colledge (*q*) as of the rest in Rome, which he obtayned.

The cheefe reason of the schollers restitution.

One great cause which seemed to moove his Hol: greatly was, for that the English parte seemed only to pretend disciplyne and good order, and not to demand the government of any one man in particular, as the other parte did, nor otherwise to be admitted in the Colledg to live except they made a vow by oath (and[1] this by F. Parsons counsell as before hath byn noted) to have intention to be sent into England to preach and teach when the Superiours should appoint them: which oath being offered to them afterward in the Colledg, to be performed by certayne Commissaries sent by his Hol: to that effect (as after shalbe more particularly sett downe)

The first occasion of the Seminary oath.

they tooke the same oath all of them with great alacrytie and resolution (and this was the first beginning of that kind of oath in all other Seminaries governed by the Fathers, which F. Parsons brought in also afterwards in those of Spayne), whereas the most parte of the contrary adhering to D. Lewes and D. Morrisse, refused to take this oath to goe to England and for that cause were dismissed out of the Colledge, and amongst those that tooke the oath and were most zealous in the matter of the English side, were F. Sherwyn, F. Kirby and divers others that have ben some eyther glorious Martyrs or honorable Confessors in Gods cause.

Many Memorialls, letters and other schrowles[2] are yet extant of this contention in the English Colledg of Rome, where also are

[1] MS. "as," with marginal query.
[2] Corrected in another hand from "schollars," Marginal query.

to be seene the severall protestations of each man upon his oath and conscience subscribed with his owne hand, that he followed in this negotiation no passion or nationall humour, but only conscience & the publike good of England; But yet (*q*) the disgust and greefe receaved by this successe, made such an impression in Mr D. Lewes, as hardly after could he (*q*) ever be well reconciled (as it seemeth) either to the Colledg and Governours thereof, or the Fathers of the Society, whome he thought to have holpen the schollers at least towards the end and when they were expelled, which thing togeather with the unlucky successe of Sir Thomas Stukeley his voiage (31) to Ireland, procured or at the least sett forward by him (for Sir Thomas deaceaved the Pope and went into Barbary with the K. of Portugall where he was slayne) is thought to have byn the principall cause and motion why D. Lewes toke the condition offered a little after by Cardinall Baromeo to go and live with him in Millayne and be his Vicar-generall, and so to leave the Courte of Rome for some yeares, and[1] Pope Gregory (thereby to pacifie matters the better betwixt the two Nations) was well content therewith. Moreover this displeasure and alienation togeather with another that presently afterward ensewed, which was the removing fourth of the Colledg or expulsion of his nephew Hugh Griffin, by expresse commandment of Card: Morone at the sute of F. Alfonso Agazzarius the Rectour, for his disorderly behaviour notwithstanding that D. Lewes used all his force and creditt to resist it.

Alienation of Mr D. Lewes.

Alienation of Hugh Griffitt.

These two poynts, I say, did put such a pike in the Archdeacon and his nephew (afterward made Provost of Cambray, by the resignation of his uncle) as they were never taken to be well united more unto the Colledg, but that what scholler soever (especially if he weare of there country) had any dislike or complaint against his Superiour (as in a multitude where discipline is exacted it cannot passe without) he knewe ever where to have recourse and where to be moved, and out of this fontayn have ensued many greate inconveniences since that tyme as after shall appeare, for now was it knowne that an opposite parte was begane in Rome, and with it ioyned some other presently of the Englishe nation abroade (as commonly it fallethe) upon divers occasions, namely one Nicolas Fitzherbert a gentleman that lived in Rome, and one Salamon Aldred that had byn a tailor in Liones but now was comen to Rome with his wife, and procured a pension of his Hol: to live there, and had no other means to passe but to depend of the Archdeacon as cheefe man in creditt in that place, and soone after in Paris two other Gentlemen named Charles Pagett and Thomas Morgan, for the causes that afterward shall be touched, ioyned themselves in the same legue, and by little and little drewe in others both within and without the Colledge, so as

The Originall of much dissention.

Nicolas Fitzherbert & Salamon Aldred.

Charles Pagett & Thomas Morgan.

[1] MS. adds "that." Marginal query.

herof begane the very first roote as it were of the greate differences that have fallen out sence that tyme among Catholikes of our Nation.

And now to returne backe to the beginninge of the Romane College (32) againe and [to the] Memorialls, as well in Latin as in English, concerning such things as passed at that tyme, and first a breefe story in Latyn by one (as it seemeth) that was present at the contention itselfe and contayneth the whole somme of all and is yet remayning in the Register* of the said Colledge as followethe.

Initia et progressus Collegii Anglicani de Urbe ab A°. Dom. 1578 (quo primum institutum est) ad annum 1587†..... Cap. 7.

Antiquum Hospitale Anglorum.

Anglicana natio, quemadmodum fere et nationes reliquæ Christiani orbis, ab antiquis temporibus, domum quandam hospitalem habuerat in Civitate Romana, piorum virorum ac principum suorum liberalitate institutam, ut egenos Anglos peregrinationis causa Romam adventantes hospitio acciperet, ac foveret. Ac§ primum quidem apud D. Edmundum Angliæ Regem ac Martyrem hospitium illud cœptum est in Regione Transtiberina non longe a flumine, idque præcipue ut videri possit propter nautas : vel quod id genus hominum maxime egere subsidio videbatur, vel quod temporibus illis (cum itinera per terram minus trita ac libera propter continuos bellorum motus redderentur) pars maxima forte peregrinorum navibus Romam ex Anglia deferrentur.

Postea vero crescente indies advenientium numero, ac clarescente ubique SSmi Martyris Thomæ Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis fama, populique Anglicani in eum devotione, amplior multo et commodior locus in ea[1] parte Civitatis, quæ Arenarea dicebatur[2] prope Campum Floræ in Anglorum hospitium sub titulo Smae Trinitatis in ejusdem D. Thom: Cantuariensis honorem designatus ac dedicatus est: qui locus subsequentibus deinde annis sic auctus est, ut praeter commodissimam habitationem ad duo etiam fere ducatorum millia in redditibus annuis haberet: hæc autem expendebatur partim in alendis peregrinis (quorum quisque si plebeius esset, dierum octo expensas habebat, trium vero si nobilis) partim autem in Sacerdotibus quibusdam sustentandis, qui Capellani dicebantur, quorum officium erat

Institutum hospitalis antiqui.

Erection of the Roman College [*sic*].

* It is not now to be found in the College Annals.

† There is another copy of this paper in the Archives of the Society of Jesus (*Romana Historia, Coll. Anglorum* IV, b. 27), which will be called B. Our title states that the account is continued to the year 1587, but in our MS. all subsequent to 1581 has been omitted. The conclusion is, therefore, supplied from B. There is a document on the same subject, but otherwise quite different, in the Vatican Library, Cod. 3494, *Brevis Narratio de origine et progressu Collegii Ang. Romæ*, 1578-1582. See also *Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesselschaft*, 1881, VI, 477.

§ "Non primum quia certum est prius fuisse Hospitale S. Trinitatis utpote anno 1358, et postea Hospitale S. Edmundi, sc. 1404, ut ex instrumentis in Archivio constat."—Note in margin of MS., apparently in the hand of F. Nath. Southwell.

[1] Ea] B omits. [2] Quæ . . . . dicebatur] B omits,

quotidiana sacra in Hospitalis Ecclesia peragere, peregrinos recipere ac juvare, cæteraque facere quæ ad illius domus institutum pertinebant: ex quorum etiam numero custos loci quotannis eligebatur, qui cæteris præesset, quique rationem accepti expensique ab aliis exigeret: si autem ex redditibus residui quid esset, id vel ad emendas vel augendas possessiones stabiles conferebatur, vel in usus Anglorum pauperum, qui in Urbe morabantur, distribuebatur. (33) Atque hæc quidem fuit Anglicani Hospitalis in Urbe forma ad annum usque Dom. 1578 quo (cum magna esset Anglorum copia qui ob fidem Catholicam sub Elizabetha Regina in Belgio, Gallia, aliisque locis exularent, summaque rerum egestate premerentur, maxime scholares ac litterarum studiosi, qui recenter hæreticorum furore e Duacena Belgii Universitate ejecti Rhemis in Gallia sub Revdo. Dom. Alano eorum præside consederant) propositum fuit Smo. Pontifici per Rev. Dom. Odoenum Ludovicum Anglum Ecclesiæ Cameracensis Archidiaconum, qui per id tempus in Urbe degebat, utilius multo Angliæ ac universæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ futurum, si inter hos ipsos Capellanos Hospitalis Anglicani (qui veterani jam erant et a studiis alieni) nonnulli juniores collocarentur, qui cursum literarum prosequerentur, eoque absoluto in patriam redirent eorum more qui ex Seminario Duaceno ac Rhemensi jam illuc profecti uberrimos fructus in Anglia collegerant.

Seminarium Duacenum postea Rhemense.

A nonnullis enim ante annis Alanus Duaci Seminarium Anglorum Studiosorum incœperat, quod plurima juventutis copia ex Anglia Hæresim fugientis brevi tempore auctum est: horum institutum erat emensis studiis, aut [recepta] quantum satis existimabatur Catholica institutione in Angliam clanculum Catholicæ fidei seminandae causa remeare, quod adeo Hæreticis ac Conciliariis Reginæ progressu temporis formidolosum fuit, ut tandem tumultuantibus Hæreticis Belgii Duaco ejiciendos curaverint, Alanumque nominatim ad necem quæsierint: at illi Rhemos (uti diximus) se conferentes ibi substiterunt, longeque maius ac numerosius Collegium brevi tempore compleverunt, quam antea Duaci, nihilque magis optandum illis multis de causis jam videbatur, quam si Romæ locum aliquem nancisci potuissent, in quem deducerent suorum colonias, inde enim futurum, ut præterquam quod multitudine nonnihil levarentur, (quæ extra numerum centesimum jam excreverat, eique alendæ solos aureos menstruos centum a Sede Apostolica assignatos habebant) haberent jam Seminaria duo, tanquam duas operariorum officinas, qui inde in vineam Anglicanam proficiscerentur.

Occasio Collegii in Urbe.

Quæ ratio cum Pontifici explicata fuisset, vehementer placuit, iussumque est ut tot Alumni seu Scholares ex Seminario Rhemensi Romam evocarentur, quot alendis sufficerent Hospitalis redditus ultra Capellanorum ac peregrinorum expensas, qui tamen Studiosorum numerus cum exiguus videretur, auctus est paulo post mandato Pontificis, pecuniam etiam ex ærario suo contribuentis; et non multis deinde interiectis diebus cum principia hæc Pontifici non parum probarentur, universum (34) Hospitale cum omnibus iuribus, redditibus, cæterisque com-

modis in Collegium seu Seminarium (amotis Capellanis) authoritate Pontificis commutatum fuit, ejusque regendi atque administrandi cura D. Ludovici Archidiaconi consilio, commissa cuidam Dom. Mauritio Clenocho Anglo quidem sed ex ea parte Angliæ oriundo, quæ antiquos Britannos ab Anglis victos olim exceperat, quæque ex ijs hodie Cambrobritannia seu Wallia dicitur, cujus etiam regionis seu Provinciæ, cum ipse quoque Archidiaconus esset, facileque inter Wallos hos verosque Anglos tanquam diversorum populorum soboles ex antiqua maxime æmulationis memoria nascantur dissidia, causam præbuit nonnullæ postea difficultatis et discordiæ (ut dicetur) et ideo hoc loco memorandum fuit.

D. Mauritius Clenochus.

Usus fuerat Archidiaconus Mauritii hujus opera præcipue in cæteris Cappellanis ab Hospitali amovendis, et ad alumnos introducendos; erat enim Mauritius non solum Capellanus, sed pro eo anno Custos etiam domus et[1] apud Cardinalem Moronum nationis Protectorem non mediocri in gratia; hujus ergo consilio cum Archidiaconus effecisset, quod maxime cupiebat, et Seminarium 40 plus minus alumnorum ex sententia constitutum cerneret, obtinuit facile a pontifice ut eidem Mauritio totius negotii regimen committeretur. Mauritius autem, etsi vir bonus habebatur, nec alienus a literis, et ad longe majorem solicitudinem idoneus (Mariæ enim temporibus Reginæ ad Bangorensem Episcopatum nominatus[2] fuerat) unus tamen cum esset, et multum iam ætate provectus, nec unquam eiusmodi regiminis experientiam habuisset, non potuit facile primis illis initiis scholarium necessitatibus ac usibus satisfacere. Itaque multæ nascebantur quærelæ, multæque suspitiones de rebus non recte et æquabiliter administratis, variæ accusationes de Wallis indulgentius[3] quam Anglis in rerum domesticarum dispensatione tractatis. Illud etiam accedebat quod Walli seu Cambrobritanni hoc suæ genti Seminarium maxime institutum esse existimare viderentur, quod præcipua quædam Archidiaconi opera in eo procurando intercessisset, unde multæ litteræ ad hunc finem in varias Europæ provincias scriptæ ferebantur; quibus scholares undique ex ea gente, licet inidonei, Romam invitarentur quibus Angli paulatim excluderentur.[4] Quæ animorum discordia semel orta, eousque processit ut triginta tres scholares Angli (totidem enim erant, reliqui vero Walli) conditionis suæ pertæsi, alio regimen transferri postulaverint, et potius e civitate, collegioque ejici, quam Mauritio amplius subesse voluerint. Petebant autem instantissime Patribus Societatis Jesu sui curam deferri, quemadmodum et cæterorum fere Seminariorum quæ Romæ instituebantur, delata jam erat; hos enim (35) solos, et numero, sufficientiaque magistrorum, repetitorum, cæterorumque qui gubernarent, gubernandi etiam peritia et experientia,

Occasiones quærelarum contra Mauritium

Prima Petitio Scholarium.

[1] pro . . . et] B omits. [2] Bangorensem . . . nominatus] curam Episcopalem electus. [3] indulgentius] melius. [4] Illud . . . excludcrentur] B omits the whole sentence.

finis præterea ac instituti sui cognitione, et amore, ac denique favore et authoritate tum apud Pontificem, tum alios quoque Magnates, rebus suis ac necessitatibus prodesse maxime posse existimabant, clamabantque. Quæ vox, cum non tam ex seditione ac tumultu juvenili, quam ex zelo, rectaque sibi providendi ratione proficisci multis videretur, tantusque postulandi ardor, ut nullo modo nisi re concessa satisfieri illis posse putaretur, difficultatem peperit magnam, non tantum Archidiacono (qui merito pro Mauritio a se Rectore constituto laborabat) sed Patri etiam Everardo Mercuriano Generali Societatis, qui multorum iam Seminariorum onere pressus, aliorum libenter non admittebat. Itaque variis modis res delata fuit, et modo suasionibus, modo reprehensionibus ac minis, tum universim, tum privatim, cum scholaribus est actum ut a petitione desisterent, (maxime intercedente Rev. Dno. D. Spetiano, sacræ Episcoporum Congregationis secretario, qui impense Archidiacono et Mauritio favebat, et[1] multam in ea re navavit operam, ut scholares ab ea petitione desisterent[2]) sed frustra: erat enim scholaribus illis omnino fixum Urbe potius cedere, quam causam, quam illi putabant justissimam non obtinere. Cardinalis tamen Moronus nationis Protector, tum ut Mauritio a multis annis sibi cognito ac dilecto commodaret, Patresque Societatis non amplius gravaret (illi enim acerrime his initiis reluctabantur, licet postea Scholarium ardori indulsisse crederentur)[3] ne iuvenili hac Scholarium importunitate se cogi permitteret, diutissime restitit, iratum se ac aversum ostendens, Pontificique Gregorio (qui scholarium petitionibus facilius movebatur) persuasit, ut rejectis tandem eorum libellis supplicibus (quos favente eis Domino Blanchetto cubiculi Præfecto frequenter offerebant) juberet, ut aut Collegio excederent, aut Mauritio subessent: quorum illi duorum cum primum elegissent eodem ipso die Collegium omnes reliquerunt ad[4] principium Quadragesimæ anni Domini 1579. Jamque ad domum privatam cujusdam Angli civis se receperant, ut ad iter in Angliam se pararent, eaque res enuntiata (tum quod multi, tum etiam magnæ expectationis iuvenes, Sacerdotes etiam nonnulli essent, taleque propositum ac institutum haberent, ut in Angliam revertentes hæreticorum furori pro fide Catholica, vitas suas opponerent) tantopere mentes hominum commovit, maxime autem concionatorum, ut ubique fere e suggestis fidelium charitati scholarium horum necessitates commendarentur, jamque pecunia satis copiosa ad viaticum illis collecta fuisset nisi a (36) Pontifice audita re, statim eos post biduum[5] ad se advocasset remissisque ad Collegium, quicquid peterent liberalissime concessisset.

Contentionis initia.

Scholarium dimissio ac revocatio.

Ac iuvisse quidem egregie scholares in hac extrema rerum suarum difficultate existimatur P. Benedictus Palmius insignis Societatis Concionator, et per id tempus Assistens, P. Parsonii in-

[1] impense . . . et] B omits. [2] ut . . . desisterent] B omits. [3] illi . . . crederentur] B omits. [4] ad] circa. [5] post biduum] B omits.

ductus precibus lachrymisque: qui cum tot juvenes ejectos vidisset, P. Palmium adiit et obtestatus est ut tum apud Pontificem, tum apud alios intercederet. Ille vero cum Pontificis adeundi eo die facultas non esset, P. Franciscum Tolettum induxit, ut id prima oblata officii occasione præstaret, quod lubentissime fecit: enim Scholarium petitio, quam ex Personii consilio proposuerant, ut jurejurando quisque in Seminarium admittendus affirmaret, se paratum fore semper ad Superioris jussum in Angliam prædicandæ doctrinæ catholicæ causa, quibuscumque non obstantibus periculis redire (quod tam in hujus postea quam aliorum quoque Seminariorum institutum transiit), bonorum omnium animos studiaque mirifice lucrabatur.

P. Palmij, Toletti et Personii officia.

Quare Pontifex re omni intellecta totius regiminis curam Patribus Societatis iis verbis demandavit, ut illi nulla ratione recusare potuerint.[1] Advocati quidem antea fuerant (procurante hoc tam Archidiacono, quam Mauritio, et alumnis ipsis) Patres Societatis Jesu duo, P. Johannes Paulus Navarola, qui rebus spiritualibus, et P. Ferdinandus Capeccius, qui studiis præesset: Mauritio Rectoris auctoritatem et temporalium rerum distributionem apud se retinente, sed ii potius ad Collegium initio formandum, et Alumnos in ordinem redigendos in illis primis principiis vocati sunt, quam ut ibi[2] remanerent. Arbitrabatur enim Mauritius eos infra duorum mensium spatium id totum confecturos, deinde ad sua redituros; sed his querelis interim exortis longe aliter accidit, ut ostendemus.

Petrus Navarola et Capeccius primi Societatis ad Coll. Anglicanum.

Præceptum igitur Generali Societatis Præposito Everardo Mercuriano est a Pontifice, ut quamprimum Anglorum Hospitalis domus in Collegii formam pararetur: quæ res dum de Rectore idoneo consulitur P. Roberto Personio Anglo ad dies aliquot commissa est. Ille provinciam lubens, sedulusque obiit, ædesque ad usus Scholarium accomodat quoad Rector primus assignatus est[3] Alfonsus Agazarius Senensis homo valde industrius, ac nationis Anglicanæ amantissimus, qui septem postea[4] annis, quibus rexit Collegium non tantum in formam perfectam regiminis recte instituti perduxit, sed ædificiis

Institutio Seminarii ex Hospitali.

P. Alfonsus Agazarius pr. Rector et ejus industria.

[1] B omits from Ac juvisse at the beginning of the last paragraph.

[2] B inserts [in perpetuum.

[3] Præceptum igitur . . . assignatus est] B reads: Jussu enim Pontificis honorifice ad Collegium reducti fuerunt, patribusque Societatis mandata cura regiminis, quam jubente Pontifice recusare nequiverunt, præscriptum etiam in ipsorum verba ac petitionem juramentum, ut omnes, qui deinceps ex eo cœtu essent, propositum haberent sacros ordines suscipere, ac percursis literarum studiis in Angliam reverti ad fidem Catholicam proseminandam; quam jurisjurandi formam eorum [non]nulli, qui in Collegio remanserant ab eisque dissenserant (hos autem jam septem, aut octo esse diximus natione Wallos) admittere nollent, jubentibus Pontificis Commissariis ea ipsa de causa ad Collegium missis, e Collegio recesserunt, totumque reliquis permiserunt; quibus statim a Rdo. Pre. Generali Societatis, primus Rector assignatus est.

[4] postea] illis.

etiam, et redditibus auxit, ac demum bene formatum[1] reliquit: ultra enim trecentos aureos menstruos, quos Gregorius Pont. ex ærario Apostolico dum vixit persolvebat, assignavit etiam Abbatiam Sti. Sabini (37) in Civitate Placentina valoris trium fere millium ducatorum in annos singulos, quibus etiam hodie Collegium fruitur.

Alanus Romam advocatus.

Primis autem illis initiis nihil commodius aut opportunius ad res bene constituendas existimatum est, quam si R. D. Alanus qui Seminario Anglorum Rhemensi præsidebat Romam advocaretur, cum ob cætera, tum maxime, ut inter hoc Seminarium et Rhemense certa quædam unio ac conformitas in Missionibus, cæterisque erga Angliam officiis prosequendis stabiliretur. Itaque per Societatis Patres actum est cum Pontifice, ut Alano facultatem veniendi faceret, quod facile obtinuerunt, ille vero tum Scholarium, tum P. Parsonii litteris evocatus, advolavit,[2] eaque re perfectum est, ut Alano Romæ commorante, non tantum ea quæ diximus inter utrumque Collegium constituerentur, verum etiam ut quinquaginta quoque aurei menstrui ad centenos, quos antea Seminarium illud habuerat, Collegio Rhemensi ex ærario Pontificio adjungerentur, et ut Missio Patrum Societatis (quod nunquam antea factum fuerat) petente Catholicorum Anglorum nomine Alano[3] in Angliam decerneretur. In qua primi fuerunt P. Edmundus Campianus, postea Martyr, et P. Robertus Personius, eorumque exemplo nonnulli alii eodem ipso tempore tum ex Alumnis, tum etiam Capellanis ad idem opus profecti sunt; quorum aliqui deinceps Martyres, multi Confessores extiterunt. Atque ab hoc initio ad hunc usque annum exierunt ex hoc collegio plus minus operarii centum; alii in vineam Anglicanam, alii Rhemos ut doceant, aliaque ad loca nonnulli, maxime ad Religiosorum familias,[4] [ac nominatim in Societatem admissi sunt decem & novem.

Prima Missio Societatis in Angliam.

Causa novæ emulationis.

Qui numerus cum quibusdam e scholaribus vocationem eandem non habentibus, videretur magnus (quanquam si petentibus omnibus satisfactum fuisset, multo plures fuissent ingressi) suborta est æmulatio quædam, ac contentio inter studiosos utra utri præferenda esset vocatio, eundi scilicet in Angliam, vel ingrediendi in religionem; qualis eo usque paulatim producta est, ex ardore juvenili, et arte demonis, ut aliqui omnem quasi Religionis ingressum in istius Collegii alumnis improbare, alii, id ipsum cum facere nollent, ad alias Religiones a Societate (maxime ad Sti. Dominici) aperta æmulatione persuadere cœperunt, initis ea de re cum ejusdem Religionis quibusdam patribus frequentibus colloquiis; cumque iam ad rem melius inchoandam septem, aut octo alumni eodem fere tempore insciis ac invitis quodammodo Collegii Superioribus ad illam Religionem transiissent, major eorum pars non longe post ab instituto recessit, et ad sæculum rediit.

[1] B. inserts et fundatum.
[2] ille . . . advolavit] B omits.
[3] Catholicorum . . . nomine] B omits.
[4] The conclusion of this paper is taken from B.

Fuerat etiam his ipsis diebus, Anno nimirum 1586, Sixto Quinto P. M. propositum, ut a nonnullis Collegium hoc Anglicanum inter cætera visitaretur; designavit ad hoc munus Episcopos duos, Placentinum & Castrensem, qui singulis quibusque diligentissime examinatis approbarunt omnia, egregiis relictis approbationis suæ testimoniis chirographo proprio confirmatis, Pontificique exhibitis.

Atque hæc omnia sub patre Alfonso Agazario Rectore primo contigerunt, cui postea ad Senensis Collegii regimen translato, successit R^i P^is G^is mandato P. Gulielmus Holtus Anglus, exeunte fere anno 1586. Sub quo hactenus per Dei bonitatem, Collegii status tranquillus fuit, omneque penitus dissentionis æmulationisque semen ex Alumnorum animis sublatum videtur, tum inter se, tum erga nostros; nullus enim est, qui de ingressu Religionis amplius queratur, nullus qui de Wallorum Anglorumve discrimine verbum ullum loquatur; sed omnes quietissimis (ut videtur) animis studia morumque pietatem prosequuntur; ad quam rem non mediocriter profuit Rdi. Dni. Alani secundus post Collegium erectum in urbem adventus anno nimirum 1585. Ubi cum biennium fere ad res Anglicanas promovendas commoratus fuisset in domo quadam Collegio cohærente, ex eodem ipso loco factus est postea Cardinalis die septimo Augusti Anni 1587, sedente Sixto Quinto P. M., quo hæc quoque ipsa præscripta fuerunt.]

TRANSLATION

The Beginnings and Progress of the English College of the City from A. D. 1578, when it was first founded, to 1587

The Ancient Hostel or Hospice of the English

Like other nations of the Christian world, the English nation had from early times a hostel or hospice at Rome, founded by the liberality of its pious men and princes, for the purpose of affording hospitality to poor English pilgrims coming to Rome. The first hostel was opened in the Trastevere, near the river, under the name of St Edmund, King of England and martyr. * The situation was chosen that it might be seen, for the sake of sailors, either because that class of men seemed most in need of assistance or because in those times, owing to the continual wars, journeys by land being less frequent and less free, the greater portion probably of pilgrims came on shipboard from England to Rome.

A New Start

Afterwards, as the number of arrivals increased continually, and the fame of the holy martyr Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, spread everywhere, and the devotion of the English people to him, a larger and more commodious situation was marked out and designed to serve as the hostel of the English. It stood in that part of the city which is called the Sand-pit (Arenarea), near Campo

* "This hostel was not the first, for there certainly was a hostel of the Holy Trinity as early as 1358, and after that came the hostel of St Edmund, about 1404, as appears from documents in our archives." This note in the MS. seems to be in the hand of Father Nathaniel Southwell.

di Flore, and was erected in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury under the title of the Holy Trinity. In time the institution came to be a very convenient place of residence, with an annual income of about two thousand ducats. The money was spent partly on the keep of pilgrims, each of whom, if he were a person of mean condition, had his expenses for eight days, and if he were a man of rank, for three days; partly in support of certain priests, who were called Chaplains. Their duty was daily to say Mass in the church of the hostel, to receive and aid the pilgrims, and do other things proper to the purpose for which the foundation was made. One of their number was yearly chosen Warden. He took account from the other chaplains of their receipts and expenditure. Any surplus was applied either to the improvement and increase of the real property of the foundation, or was distributed for the use of poor Englishmen living in the city.

Proposal for a College

Such was the constitution of the English hostel till the year 1578. At that time there were a number of English in banishment for the Catholic faith under Queen Elizabeth, in Belgium, France and other places. They were very badly off, especially the scholars and students who had been recently expelled by the fury of the heretics from the University of Douay in Belgium, and had settled at Rheims in France under the Reverend Mr Allen, their President. The Reverend Mr Owen Lewis, Archdeacon of Cambray, at that time resident in the city, suggested to the Sovereign Pontiff that it would be much more useful for England and for the whole Catholic Church if among these chaplains of the English hostel (elderly men they were, and with no taste for study) some younger men should find place, who would follow a course of letters, and upon its completion return to their country, after the manner of the members of the Seminary of Douay and Rheims, who had already crossed over and gathered great fruit in England.

The Seminary of Douay, afterwards of Rheims

Some years before, Dr Allen had opened a Seminary of English students at Douay, which soon grew by an influx of young men from England flying from heresy. Their object was, when they had completed their studies, or received such Catholic training as was considered sufficient, secretly to return to England to disseminate the Catholic faith. In time this institution excited the alarm of the heretics and counsellors of the Queen; and they managed to get up a revolt of heretics of Belgium and expel the Seminarists from Douay. Allen in particular they sought out for death. But, as we have said, the Seminarists betook themselves to Rheims, and stopped there, and in a short time made up a College much larger and more numerous than they had had before at Douay. For many reasons it seemed now most desirable and opportune to get some place in Rome where they could send their overflow of students. Their numbers had now run beyond the hundred, and for their support they had only the monthly allowance of a hundred gold crowns

assigned them by the Apostolic See. The new foundation would ease them of some of their number, and besides they would now have two Seminaries, as it were two factories of labourers who would afterwards go into the English vineyard.

The Occasion for the College in Rome

When the state of matters was explained to the Sovereign Pontiff, he was much pleased with the proposal; and ordered that such number of scholars should be summoned from the Rheims Seminary to Rome as the revenues of the Hostel would suffice to support, over and above the expenses of the Chaplains and pilgrims. This number did not seem likely to be great, and was afterwards increased by command of the Pontiff, who also contributed money out of his treasury. The Pope was much pleased with this commencement, and before many days were over the Chaplains were removed by Papal authority, and the entire Hostel, with all its rights, revenues and other conveniences, was changed into a College or Seminary.

Dr Morrice Clenock

By advice of Archdeacon Lewes the care of its government and administration was entrusted to a certain Dr Morrice Clenock, an Englishman, but sprung from that part of England which had once been the refuge of the ancient Britons when they were conquered by the English, and was called Wales; Clenock himself was archdeacon in Wales, and gave rise afterwards to some difficulty and discord: for between these Welshmen and true Englishmen dissensions easily arise from memory of their ancient rivalry, they being of the stock of different peoples. This will have to be told, and therefore needed mention here. Archdeacon Lewes had employed the services of this Morrice particularly in removing the other Chaplains from the Hospital and bringing in the members of the Rheims Seminary. Morrice was not only Chaplain, but also Warden for that year, and in no small favour with Cardinal Morone, the Protector of the English nation. When then by his advice the Archdeacon had effected what he most desired, and saw a Seminary erected to his mind, consisting of some forty members, he easily got the Pope's leave to have the government of the entire undertaking entrusted to Morrice.

Occasions of Complaints against Morrice

Morrice however, though held to be a good man, and no stranger to letters, and fit for a far greater charge—for in the times of Queen Mary he had been named to the bishopric of Bangor —being but one man, and much advanced in years, nor ever having had experience of such a government, could not readily in those early beginnings meet the needs and wants of the scholars. So there arose many complaints, and many suspicions of a lack of right and fair administration, and various accusations of more indulgent treatment being meted out to Welshmen than to Englishmen in the distribution of the things of the house. Moreover the Welsh

seem to have thought that this Seminary was founded for the peculiar benefit of their race, inasmuch as the industry of the Archdeacon had been a principal means of bringing it about. Hence many letters were said to have been written to this intent to various provinces of Europe, whereby scholars of that race were invited from all quarters, however unfit. This disagreement, once started, went so far that thirty-three English scholars—the whole body of them, the rest were Welsh—thoroughly weary of the situation, begged for a change of government, adding that they had rather be expelled from the city and College than be under Morrice any more.

First Petition of the Scholars

They begged most earnestly that the care of them should be made over to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus; as they thought and loudly expressed their conviction that these Fathers alone could help their case and meet their needs, thanks to their number and sufficiency of masters, tutors and other persons of authority, added to their skill and experience in governing, their knowledge moreover and love of the scholars' end and institute, and finally their favour and influence with the Pope and other chief personages.

Beginnings of Strife

Such language seemed to many to be dictated not so much by a youthful spirit of sedition and tumult as by zeal and a right notion of taking care of themselves; and the only way of satisfying them seemed to be to grant their petition. But a great difficulty was felt in doing so, not only by the Archdeacon, who naturally laboured on the side of Morrice the Rector, whom he had himself appointed, but also by Father Everard Mercurian, the General of the Society, who, already oppressed by the burden of many Seminaries, was in no mood to accept the charge of others, if he could help it. Therefore the matter was put off in various ways; and the scholars were dealt with collectively and individually, now by persuasions, now by rebukes and threats, that they should desist from their petition. The most active negotiator was the Reverend Monsignor Spetiano, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops, who eagerly took the side of the Archdeacon and Morrice, and went to much trouble in trying to induce the scholars to give up their request. But it was all to no purpose. The scholars were fixed in their resolve rather to leave the City than not to win their cause, which they considered most just. Cardinal Morone however, the Protector of the nation, anxious to oblige Morrice, whom he had known and esteemed for many years, and not to lay any further burden on the Fathers of the Society—for they offered a strenuous resistance to these first overtures, though afterwards they were believed to have given in to the ardent desire of the scholars—stood out a long time, and would not let himself be moved by the scholars' youthful importunity. He showed his anger and aversion, and persuaded Pope Gregory, who seemed inclined to give way to the scholars' petitions, to reject the frequent memorials which they presented through the medium of

Monsig^r^ Bianchetto, the Chamberlain, who was favourable to them, and to order them either to depart from the College or to obey Morrice. They chose the former of these two alternatives, and all left the College on the same day at the beginning of Lent, A.D. 1579. They presently betook themselves to the private house of a countryman of theirs, an Englishman, to make ready for their journey to England. But when the news spread that so many young men of great expectations, some of them even being priests, were purposing and proposing to return to England, there to risk their lives for the Catholic faith, braving the fury of the heretics, there was a great stir in men's minds. The Lenten preachers especially took the matter up, and almost from every pulpit the necessities of these scholars were commended to the charity of the faithful. Already a sum of money sufficiently large to provide for the expenses of their journey was on the point of being realized, when the Pope heard of the business, and promptly after the lapse of two days called them to his presence and sent them back to the College, granting in ample form whatever they asked.

Good Offices of Father Persons

Great aid is thought to have accrued to the scholars at this time from Father Benedict Palmio, a celebrated preacher of the Society, and at that time Assistant. He was moved by the prayers and tears of Father Persons, who, on witnessing the expulsion of so many young men, went to Father Palmio and besought him to intercede with the Pope and with others. But as Palmio had no opportunity of an audience with the Pope that day, he induced Father Francis Toledo to render that service on the first occasion that offered, which Toledo very willingly did. The petition which the scholars presented by the advice of Father Persons gained the good will and sympathy of all good people. The petition was to the effect that every one seeking admission into the Seminary should declare on oath his abiding readiness to return to England, there to preach Catholic doctrine in face of all dangers. This oath has passed into a regular institution as well in this as in other Seminaries.

Final Erection of the Hostel into a Seminary

Accordingly, when the Pope understood the whole posture of affairs, he handed over the care of the entire government to the Fathers of the Society in such terms that they could nowise refuse it. It is true that two Fathers of the Society had been called in before, by the instrumentality of the Archdeacon, of Morrice, and of the students themselves. They were Father John Paul Navarola, who was charged with the spirituality, and Father Ferdinand Capecci, to whom was entrusted the management of the studies, while Morrice retained in his own hands the authority of the Rector and the administration of the temporalities. But those two were called in, not to reside permanently, but to give the College its first shape, and to introduce discipline among the students. Morrice thought that they would accomplish their task in the space of two months,

and would then return home; but meanwhile these complaints arose, and things turned out far otherwise, as we will show. Command accordingly was given by the Pope to Everard Mercurian, General of the Society, that the English Hostel should with all speed be transformed into a College. While consultation was being held about some suitable person for Rector, the execution of the Pope's command was entrusted for some days to Father Robert Persons, the Englishman. He took up the office willingly, and worked hard at adapting the house to scholastic purposes, until the first Rector was appointed, Alphonsus Agazzari of Siena.

Father Alphonsus Agazzari, the first Rector, and his Industry

Agazzari was a very industrious person, and very fond of the English nation. During the seven years of his government of the College he not only brought the administration into order, but added to the buildings, and increased the revenues, and left the place in good order. For besides the three hundred gold crowns a month, which Pope Gregory paid out of the Apostolic Treasury while he lived, the Pope assigned to the house also the Abbey of St Sabinus, in the city of Piacenza, of the value of about three thousand ducats a year, which the College enjoys to this day.

Allen called to Rome

In those first beginnings it was thought that nothing could be more advantageous or opportune, in order to get things settled, than for the Reverend Dr Allen, the President of the English Seminary at Rheims, to be summoned to Rome. Chief among other advantages looked for was the establishment of some union and conformity between this Seminary and that at Rheims in the carrying out of missions and other services in the cause of England. Accordingly the Fathers of the Society dealt with the Pope to allow Allen to come, and easily obtained their request. He came promptly, summoned by letters both of the scholars and of Father Persons. During his stay at Rome, not only the points that we have mentioned were settled between the two Colleges, but a further arrangement was made that there should be assigned to the College at Rheims an additional sum of fifty gold crowns a month out of the Pontifical Treasury, over and above the hundred which that Seminary drew before. Also that, upon the request of Allen in the name of the Catholics of England, a mission of the Fathers of the Society to England should be decided on, a thing which had never been done before.

First Mission of the Society to England

The first in this mission were Father Edmund Campion, afterwards Martyr, and Father Robert Persons. Following their example, some others set out at the same time to the same work, as well of the Scholars as of the Chaplains. Of these some were afterwards Martyrs, and many Confessors. And from this beginning even to this year there have gone forth from this College more than a hundred labourers, some into the English vineyard, others to

teach at Rheims, others to other places, especially to Religious Orders, [and in particular there have been admitted into the Society nineteen.

Causes of New Rivalry

As some of the scholars, who had not the same vocation, thought this number too great—although many more would have entered if all who sought admittance had been satisfied—there arose some rivalry and contention among the students as to which of the two vocations was preferable, that of going into England or entering religion. And, what with youthful ardour and what with the craft of the devil, this strife was carried so far that some condemned any entrance into religion in the members of that College, while others, not wishing to go so far as that, began in open rivalry to commend Religious Orders different from the Society, and particularly the Order of St Dominic. They entered into frequent conversations on the subject with some Fathers of that Order, and, to make the better start, seven or eight members of the College passed over to that Order almost at the same time without the knowledge and consent of their Superiors, but not long after the greater part of them gave up their purpose and returned to the world.

Also in these same days, namely in 1586, Sixtus V., Supreme Pontiff, had purposed to have the English College among others visited by certain visitors. He appointed to this task two Bishops, [Monsignor Sega] Bishop of Piacenza, and the Bishop of Castro, who after a diligent examination of every department approved all, and left testimonials of their approval signed with their own hands, and presented the same to the Pope.

All these things happened under Father Alphonsus Agazzari, the first Rector. When he was transferred to the government of the College of Siena, Father William Holt, an Englishman, succeeded him by command of Father General about the end of the year 1586. Under him hitherto by the goodness of God the state of the College has been peaceful, and all seed of dissension and rivalry seems to have been quite plucked out from the hearts of the students, as well in their dealings with one another as in their relations with us. There is no longer any one who complains about entrance into religion; none who breathes a word about the dispute of Welsh and English; but all, to all appearance, have their minds perfectly at rest, devoted to their studies and to real piety. This result has been helped on in no small degree by the second visit of the Reverend Dr Allen to the city since the erection of the College, namely, in the year 1585. When he had resided there for nearly two years to forward English affairs, in a house adjoining the College, from that same situation he was afterwards made Cardinal on the seventh day of August in the year 1587, Sixtus V occupying the Papal Chair, in which same year this is written.]

Father Persons obtained the documents printed in Chapters 8 to 21 from the English College Archives, and most, if not all, the originals are still to be found there. They are preserved both in a series of drafts, *Scritture dei Scholari*, bundle 29,—and also in a small register, presumably made from

the documents when finished. It is entitled *Memorialia exhibita a primis scholaribus Collegii Anglicani pro regimine &c. contra Archidiaconum Cameracensem, et D. Mauritium, 1579,* and is numbered "Lib. 304." Father Persons has as a rule followed the register, and the variant readings here given show the differences from the drafts.

The dates supplied in this recension are perhaps all wrong. It seems almost certain in this case that these dates were only supplied tentatively. But, as the reader will have seen in the notes to the Autobiography, Father Persons had the habit of trying to assign events to definite days by memory. Those who know how extremely fallible the best memories are at this sort of chronology, will wonder at his always being so very nearly right, though, from a historian's point of view, it tells of course against not for the writer. It shows he trusted to his memory (*labilis memoria* he calls it, p. 13) not only more than was safe, but even more than could be justifiable.

It is however very possible that the fault may in this case be rather that of the copyist than that of the editor. It is clear from an inspection of the drafts that Persons began to work on them before he knew of the register, and in order to get them into order he noted upon them the dates at which he believed they would have been delivered, and of course was constantly wrong in his calculations. But *this dating is not continued* throughout the series, from which we may conclude that, when he found the register and recognized it as more reliable in point of text (as appears by his following its readings), so he also perceived that its sequence, etc., was more reliable than the order in which he had arranged the drafts. Tacitly therefore he seems to give up his chronology for that of the register. On the other hand the copyist, while following the register for the texts, has reverted to the drafts for the dates! May it not be that in so doing he was going beyond his instructions?

Here followeth certayne Memorialles given up by the Schollers against Mr Morrisse his government first unto Cardinall Morone at that tyme Protectour of the Englishe Nation, and then afterwards to Pope Gregory the 13th in the yeare 1578* and in the monethes of January and February, whereof the first is this that followeth &c.

The first Memoriall given to Cardinall Morone, after some priests had in vaine talked with him, in which the Schollers desired to be called before him..... Cap. 8.

Illustrissimo Domino et Benign^mo Patrono nostro Card. Morone, obligatissimi filii sui, Scholares Seminarii Anglicani, cum omni humilitate hæc offerunt, in conspectu Dei consideranda.

(38) Finis noster is est, Illustrissime Domine,[1] in hoc exilio nostro, cum cætera amiserimus, quæ patria nostra tribuere poterat,[2] id assequi, (si fieri potest), ut aliquam idoneam cognitionem acquiramus, qua postea in Angliam[3] redeuntes fidem Catholicam proseminemus, et pro eadem, et pro sedis Apostolicæ Authoritate tuenda, a qua hic liberalissime nutrimur, vitam (si opus fuerit) Deo adjuvante libentissime profundamus. Hæc est meta ad quam collimamus. Hic scopus, finisque propositus ad quem anhelamus, et alter alterum adhortamur, huic proposito quicquid contrarium aut incommodum nobis videtur gratum esse non potest, quia hanc etiam esse

* Father Persons here, and in several of the succeeding dates, has apparently got confused between the "Old Style" and "New Style" of commencing the year, and meant 1578-9. But at Rome this old style was *not* observed. He should have written 1579.

Suæ Sanctitatis de nobis voluntatem non dubitamus. Quot autem et quanta in hoc Collegio sub D. Mauritii regimine huic fini adversantia experiamur, ultra quæ verbis coram aliqui nostrum retulerunt, scripto hoc explicanda duximus.[4]

1. discrimen spirituum.

Primo aliqui admittuntur in numerum nostrum, qui hunc spiritum non probant, imo aperte profitentur se hoc propositum non habere, sed potius propositum antiquorum capellanorum, ut quiete scilicet hic vivant, et fruantur commoditate Seminarii ad otium: et hæc illorum tepiditas tantum fovetur a quibusdam, ut zelus aliorum appelletur temeritas et seditio. Sed hæc si multum cresceret, tua Ill^ma^ Dominatio videt, quam ad nihilum reciderent omnes Suæ Sanctitatis cogitationes. Oportet ergo ut tales viri nobis præsint, qui excitent et foveant hunc fervorem in juvenibus, nam ex alia parte Diabolus satis laborabit ad extinguendum.

2. diversarum nationum æmulatio.

Secundo, cum inter duos Angliæ populos, Anglos et Wallos, sit aliqua naturalis radix discordiæ, videtur necessarium, ut tales nobis viri præsint, qui sint alieni ab utriusque partis affectu, alioquin experientia jam probatum est, hos populos simul non posse vivere: imo quod infinito cum dolore nostro dicimus, hoc tempore probamus. Et nisi tua Ill^ma^ Dom^tio^ mature provideat, res indies in peius progredietur, a qua re abhorremus vehementissime. Nollemus enim animas nostras, quas Deus ab hæresi sua gratia exemit, contentionibus, odiisque in discrimen adducere.[5]

3. petitio ut omnes nominatim interrogentur.

Petimus ergo humiliter a tua Ill^ma^ Dominatione, ut nobis non irascatur quod vulnera nostra ei aperiamus; ad te enim[6] Protectorem et Patronum nostrum, tanquam ad Patrem nostrum communem recurrimus, et si dignabitur plura cognoscere de vero nostrarum rerum statu, et de necessitatibus, angustiisque maximis quas patiamur, dignetur, quæso, scholares ad se vocatos jurejurando etiam proposito de rebus omnibus interrogare. Sic veritatem D.V. Ill^ma^ exquiret, eaque intellecta, pro sua singulari prudentia ac pietate, omnia ex S^mi^ D. N. voluntate Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam constituet &c. 12 Januarii, anno 1578.[7]

In noting the readings of the MSS., D will be used for the *Draft* (English College, *Scritture* 29), R will signify the *Register*,—(*Lib.* 304). The following readings are from D, unless otherwise stated: [1]omit. [2]quæ . . . . poterat] omnia. [3]insert statim. [4]Quot . . . . duximus] omit. [5]in discrimen adducere] perdere. [6]ad te enim] ad Cardinalem enim Moronum. [7]omit. This date has been added in R by Father Persons himself. The year is of course erroneous, and the day of the month is perhaps too early.

(39) This Memoriall being exhibited the Cardinall called a good parte of the schollers before him and gave them a sharpe reprehension and bid them be quiett, wherupon followeth another Memoriall of the said schollers unto the same Protector Cardinall

Morone of the 20 of Januarie 1578 saying thus.

Aliud Memoriale
ad eundem Ill^mum Card. Moronum de eadem re. &c.....Cap. 9.

Nos Sacerdotes et reliqui omnes scholares Angli S^ae S^tis Alumni et tuæ Celsitudinis obligatissimi filii, primo protestamur coram Deo et Sacratissima Virgine et coram tota reliqua curia cælesti nullo nos affectu (id quod iniquissime objicitur), nec ulla cujusquam hominis inductione hoc quod petimus a Sua Sanctitate et a tua Celsitudine petere; id quod et privato uniuscujusque iuramento parati sumus testificari; sed petimus cum Divinæ Gloriæ amplificandæ causa, tum etiam ut S^ae S^tis piissima intentio et nostrum iuvandæ patriæ desiderium[1] privatorum hominum commodis non impediatur. Si quæreremus libertatem et licentiam (ut aliqui solent iuvenes) non miraremur tam aspere nos accipi a tua Celsitudine, ut nuper verbis accepti sumus[2]; sed cum disciplinam tantum cupiamus,[3] qua jam fere ad biennium, cum maxima temporis morumque jactura[4] caruimus, cum[5] adjumenta spiritus, fomenta zeli et devotionis, amotionem otii, inertiæ[6] et licentiæ, qua nunc defatigamur, postulemus,[7] cum nihil aliud petamus et desideremus quam coerceri disciplina, bonis monitis instrui,[8] tolli a nobis occasiones discordiæ ac tribulationum,[9] quibus incommodis hactenus[10] languescimus et fere opprimimur. Denique cum nihil supplicemus[11] aliud, nisi ut S^ae S^tis intentio de nobis impleatur, et ut hoc beneficium perinsigne Gregorii XIII sit patriæ nostræ non privatorum hominum: pro nobisipsis autem cum nihil aliud postulemus,[12] nisi ut ardor[13] noster juvandæ labentis[14] et afflictæ patriæ, et moriendi pro Religione Catholica (quæ nunc sic oppugnatur) sustentetur tantisper, dum sufficienti scientia instructi redeamus ad Angliam juvandam[15] unde sumus egressi.

Scholares non petunt nisi disciplinam.

Cum hoc solum precemur,[16] si erimus tamen rejecti duorum hominum privatorum potentia atque obnisu[17] in hac tam justa et pia causa, feremus etiam et hoc sicut alia quæ tulimus Christi causa, et existimabimus aliquod esse peccatum occultum nostrum aut patriæ nostræ, quod tantum bonum, quantum ex hoc Seminario expectari poterit, impediat. Hoc tantum necesse est D. V. Ill^mae[18] dicere et profiteri, tam alienum esse (40) a nostro spiritu ac desiderio hoc D. Mauritii[19] regimen quod hucusque pertulimus, ut nemo nostrum qui hic modo sumus,[20] nec ullus in posterum Anglus qui eodem animo quo nos patriam reliquerit, tantum virtutis ac vitæ spiritualis detrimentum[21] ullius commodi humani causa perlaturum facile fore existimemus.[22]

contra Archidiaconum et Mauritium.

Quod autem sine causa hæc non dicimus, ex iis quæ per alios[23] tuæ Celsitudini aperuimus, ac nunc etiam (quia jubes) diximus,[24] poterit intelligi.

Sed quæret fortasse tua Celsitudo, quis sit hic[25] cui hanc Seminarii[26] administrationem committi petimus? Jam tuæ Celsi-

tudini cognitum est, nullum certum hominem nos postulare,[27] quia absumus in hac causa ab omni humano affectu, solum cupimus et ardentissimis votis a Sua Sanctitate et a tua Celsitudine propter amorem Christi, et per fervorem illum quem in causam Catholicam habetis, et per compassionem quam geritis in afflictam nostram patriam, ut res committatur Patribus Societatis Jesu, hominibus, ut novit tua Celsitudo, æquis, spiritualibus, doctis, et in erudienda juventute, expertis: qui licet hoc regimen maxime diffugiant propter magna onera, quæ jubente sua Sanctitate in hoc genere sustinent, tamen cum sciamus illam Societatem sic laborare ubique[28] et ad Ecclesiam Catholicam recreandam et ad Hæresim opprimendam, ut nullis laboribus, nullis difficultatibus defatigata esset.[29] Cumque videant etiam ejusdem Societatis Patres[30] ex conversione Angliæ pendere momentum sanandæ totius fere Reip. Christianæ,[31] non dubitamus quin, quæ causa Suam Sanctitatem movit ad sustentandum his difficillimis temporibus tot suis expensis Operarios, ea Patres[32] etiam impellat ad eos litteris moribusque informandos, maxime si accedat tuæ Celsitudinis gratiosa[33] petitio, quam tantum apud illam Societatem possè intelligimus, ut nihil sit tam arduum, quod ab ea tali agente patrono, non consequamur.

petitur Patrum Societatis Regimen.

Credat nobis tua Celsitudo, veritatem enim dicimus, æternum erit tuum in nos, in gentem nostram, in causam Catholicam, beneficium. Nam quæ memoriæ æternitas Gregorii XIII (sicut et primi) infinita beneficia apud Anglos conservabit, eadem et tuæ Celstitudinis magnam beneficentiam commemorabit. Neque dubitamus, quin tales fructus brevissimo tempore hujus Seminarii mundo extabunt, ut clarissimum fiat Deum favere Suæ Sanctitatis et tuæ Celsitudinis sanctissimis conatibus.[34] Hoc autem regimen si non consequamur, non erit fortasse minus vestrum beneficium, quia vos optimo animo omnia facitis, nec erit minor nostra in vos observantia. Ibimus enim[35] ad ponendas animas nostras pro causa, cui favetis, sed profecto non sequetur expectatus hujus Seminarii fructus. Unde iterum tuam Celsitudinem in visceribus Christi oramus ut causam nostram et patriæ nostræ spreto omni privatorum hominum respectu consideret. Hoc pro certo futurum speramus, ut hoc regimen Patrum Societatis Hæreticis confusioni, Catholicis consolationi sit futurum.[36] Jan. 20, 1578.

Conclusio petitionis.

Canon Tierney *(Dodd's Church of England,* vol. II, p. cccxlviii) has printed this document from the draft (D). It will be found to differ in a good many slight variants and one omission from the more polished text of the register which Persons has adopted.

[1]nostrum desiderium] noster zelus. [2]ut . . . . sumus] both R and D omit. [3]tantum [cupiamus] petamus. [4]maxima . . . . jactura] maximo dolore nostro. [5]insert petamus. [6]otii, inertiæ] dissolutionis. [7]omit. [8]bonis . . . . instrui] instrui et animari in spiritu et zelo. [9]ac tribulationum] otii et inquietudinis conscientiæ. [10]incommodis hactenus] rebus nunc. [11]petamus. [12]postulemus] petamus. [13]zelus. [14]juvandi labenti. [15]Angliam juvandam] vineam. [16]petamus. [17]duorum . . . . obnisu] D a tua celsitudine. R omits. [18]tantum. . . . Illmæ] solum dabit veniam tua celsitudo, quia Christi causa est. [19]D and R omit. [20]The next four lines have the marginal query mark. [21]virtutis . . . . detrimentum] animi et spiritus periculum. [22]perlaturum . . . . existi-

memus] perferet. Nos enim, illustrissime Domine, confirmandi non perdendi spiritus fervoris et zeli causa Romam venimus: quod si nunc cogemur tali conditione vivere (id quod tentatur), ut hunc zelum amittamus, et discordiis et dissentionibus nos impleamus, valeant omnia seminaria. Oportet Deo servire magis quam hominibus. Tantum petemus benedictionem suæ Sanctitatis et tuæ Celsitudinis æquum favorem: nos mendicantes redibimus unde sumus egressi: minori enim animarum nostrarum periculo ibi quam hic vivemus. [23]per alios] alias. [24]aperimus. [25]ille. [26]omit. [27]nos postulare] petimus. [28]insert hodie. [29]cesset. [30]videant . . . . patres] videat. [31]Reip. Christianæ] septentrionis, sicut ab ea egressa est infectio. [32]illam Societatem. [33]instans. [34]Deum . . . . conatibus, Tierney omits. [35]Inserts omnes. [36]The draft is signed, Martinus Araius, Sacerdos, and the whole may be in his hand. Apart from the rest is written, Hæc est petitio omnium quorum nomina sunt in privatis scriptis. The date has the marginal query, and the second hand has doubled this query, and also put dots under the date. It is certainly erroneous.

The following paper is alluded to in Father Persons' next heading. Though he omitted it, it is well worth attention, as it mentions incidentally a great many customs of the English College. It is printed from the register (R).

[*Defectus in præsenti administratione Seminarii Anglicani.*

1° De partialitate in admittendis scolaribus

Duo Angli habentes propositum eundi in Angliam post longam et assiduam petitionem propter ætatem solum alias valde idonei, rejecti sunt, quorum unus ingressus est postea Societatem. Ab illo autem tempore venientes duo Walli non tam idonei ætate longe provectiores non habentes hoc propositum, seu potius reclamantes intentioni S^tis^ Suæ, quorum unus tantum abest a sacerdotio, ut potius velit seminarium relinquere quam minores ordines suscipere, recepti fuerunt. Post hæc venit unus Wallus in quo testimonio patrum, a quibus examinabatur, nihil erat neque rei neque spei, qui statim admissus, vestitus, et in numerum scholarium relatus, et breviter post idem se in Angliam vocari fingens recessit cum duplici ut fertur viatico, jactans se singulis mensibus septem scuta, alios tantum quinque a D. Maur accepisse. Iste denique vestrorum scolarium nomina consiliariis Reginæ, Catholicæ ecclesiæ et Suæ Sanctitati maxime inimicis, detexit. Accedit quod puer quidam Wallus neque rudimentis grammaticæ instructus, diu gaudebat mensa studiosorum, et [nunc] etiam nescimus sub qua conditione fruitur eodem beneficio licet non in eadem mensa. Cum e contra alii Angli ante hujus adventum multo magis idonei cum deteriori conditione in studiis vivere expectantes, obtinere non potuerint. Denique Angli difficulter sæpe accepti, et 4^or^ ad minimum penitus rejecti. Walli semper cum magna facilitate et eorum omnium provisione expeditissima statim sine notitia vel commendatione ullius admissi. Accedit quod unus Anglus post multorum Anglorum assiduam intercessionem admitti non potuit, donec per unum Wallum hic sumptibus pontificiis degentem commendaretur, non obstante magna commendatione et D. Alani et testimonio patrum de ejus sufficientia.

2° De partialitate præsentis Rectoris

Ad hunc Rectorem cum Angli sæpe propter necessaria adeunt, audiunt semper, 'non habeo pecunias,' vel si quid dederit sic dare solet, ac si suum non pontificis beneficium esset. Et non obstante

suæ sanctitatis maxima liberalitate, cum 300 scuta ad togas et alias vestes emendas a sua sanctitate elargirentur, de vestitu novo nihil cogitatur, sed veteribus togis et aliis vestimentis antiquorum scholarium, etiam suis privatis pecuniis emptis, eos qui advenerant vestivit, aliis omnibus in maiori necessitate quam antea relictis, cum tamen Wallis superabunde in omnibus provideatur.

Angli multi maxima rerum necessitate hoc longo tempore sic laborant, ut unus indusium a Rectore sæpius petens, licet uno solo, plura enim non habebat, per multas hebdomadas uti cogeretur, obtinere non potuit, et tandem necessitate magis premente a patre Societatis indusium dono accipere cogitur. Porro duo sacerdotes Angli sæpissime indusia petentes, semper inanes repelluntur, cum tamen unus Wallus nuper ad Urbem adventans tria indusia comparavit, nec adhuc satisfactum est sacerdotum necessitati. De penuria caligarum, diploidum et aliarum rerum necessariarum dictu esset laboriosum, tanta enim est ut propter nimium prudentem hujus œconomi dispensationem multi et soli Angli, quod pudet dicere, vermibus tota hieme scateant. Imo cum Rector omnia necessaria duobus Wallis nuper venientibus providisset, uni eorum super quam opus erat talarem vestem interiorem fecit, dicens ei: 'Hanc pro te reservabo, ne si jam dedero videar esse partialis.' Et cum postea Angli maxime egentes eandem vestem rogassent, negat sibi aut vestem aut pecuniam ullam esse.

3° De impedimentis disciplinæ

Cum patres Societatis Jesu ad magnam utilitatem scholarium et in disciplina et in regimine multa prudenter constituerint, per contradictionem hujus Rectoris omnis bonæ disciplinæ ratio impeditur. Cum enim in mensa pater Joannes Paulus lectorem finem imponere juberet, Rector publice cum admiratione et scandalo scholarium et bonorum patrum erubescentia jubet progredi. Alio autem tempore cum ex patris mandato sacerdos quidam ex nostris mensæ benediceret, Rector cum gravi objurgatione reclamans dixit: 'Unde patri hæc auctoritas qua talia mandet.' Accedit quod sæpissime conatus est verbis parum amicis studiosorum animos a patrum disciplina alienare: famuli autem Collegii ejus favore nixi patris mandato publice contradicere et patrum disciplinam improbare ausi sunt. Propter eas et alias contradictiones Rectoris patres disciplinæ habenas laxare coacti sunt, unde dissolutio non mediocris orta est, quæ per Rectorem tantum abest ut comprimatur, ut per illum vel maxime foveri videatur. Nolumus loqui de Wallorum concursu et compotationibus in Rectoris cubiculo, et quod Wallis in civitate viventibus ex Suæ Sanctitatis impensis culina nostra diversorium sit. Inde enim victum habere quotidie cognoscuntur, an autem gratis habeant non ita constat, sed quicquid sit hoc beneficium solum [?] parandi hic cibos nulli Anglorum licet ægrotanti et petenti concessum est.

4° De insufficientia præsentis Rectoris

Cum alioqui vir bonus videatur ut non frustretur Suæ Sanctitatis intentio nec gentis nostræ fructus expectatus impediatur, cogi-

mur quod omnibus notum est dicere, quod nec sufficienti scientia nec prudentia, nec experientia ullo modo ad tantum onus sustinendum valeat, maxime cum præteritis annis dum custos hospitalis tantum esset, ita se gessit ut cum totius nationis consensu illo munere depositus, tanquam dissipator bonorum communium hospitalis pronunciatus fuerit. Hæc omnia si justæ querelæ sufficientem occasionem dare non videantur, de singulis punctis coram celsitudine tua ille nobiscum examinetur. Multa enim facile dilui possunt, dum non est qui explicet. Iudicet igitur tua celsitudo an Seminario Sanctitatis suæ et hospitali simul preesse mereatur, qui ita se gessit in custodis officio ut propter imprudentem dispensationem tanti muneris pondus nec ad mediam anni partem sustinere non potuerit, sed cum non parva famæ jactura et hospitalis incommodo depositus sit.]

After the second Memoriall given to the Protector, and perceaving that it was like little to prevaile, they gave up another to the Pope showing the defects of Mr Morrisse his government,* to which His Holiness giving no answere they wrote this second that followethe.

A second Memoriall[1] to His Holiness thus inscribed:

Sanctissimo Domino Gregorio Papæ XIII, etc. ...Cap. 10.

Scholares Seminarii vestri Anglicani (Sanctissime Pater) ne ex disciplinæ defectu[2] a perfecta pietatis norma ad morum et studiorum laxationem indies magis magisque prolabantur, sanctitatem vestram ardentissimis votis obtestantur,[3] ut hujus Seminarii[4] regimen Patribus Societatis Jesu reliquorum Seminariorum more commendare dignetur; ut enim nunc est, Patres[5] nec facienda præcipere, nec prohibita punire audent. Cum enim Rectoris Mauritii nutu[6] omnia administrarentur, nihil nisi beneficii Sanctitatis Vestræ inconsiderata[7] dispensatio et morum in Collegio insignis dissolutio expectari poterit, exhibuimus non diu ab hinc vestræ sanctitati præsentis regiminis defectus, quibus nullum responsum datum esse perhibetur. Atque ne videantur non esse vera quæ exhibuimus,[8] sed a nobis fictæ potius[9] calumniæ, rogamus supplices ut æquis Judicibus res tota Sanctis vestræ iussu permittatur.[10] Non enim sine causa suspicamur, sinistrâ aut D. Mauritii[11] qui nunc regit, aut alterius privatum fortasse commodum magis quam publicum spectantis,[12] suggestione Illmum Protectorem nostrum sic de rebus nostris informatum,[13] ut quæ a nobis licet æquissima adferantur nullius fere ponderis[14] existimentur. Cum tamen, Sanctissime Pater, res tanti momenti sit, ut nisi maturius ei provideatur non pauca incommoda sequutura inde videantur.

Rogamus igitur supplices Sanctitatem Vestram ut sic Collegii hujus fundamenta jaciantur, ut inde Ecclesia Dei illustretur, et gens nostra aliquorum privatorum hominum ambitione hujus beneficii uberrimo fructu non fraudetur. Quod si Archidiaconus[15] causam Christi et nostrum sicut sæpius ab eo postulavimus, cum Sanctitate Vestra sincere agere voluisset, diu abhinc his miseriis fuissemus liberati, sed quia privatæ amicitiæ commodum magis quam bonum

* i.e., the paper printed above.

publicum respicere videtur, idcirco nosmetipsi nostras calamitates urgere cogimur &c.[16]

Januar 28. 1578.[17]

[1] Of this document there is in *Scritture* 29 (D) a duplicate copy, as well as a much corrected draft.

[2] Ex defectu] laxioribus vivendi regulis. [3] petunt. [4] huius Seminarii] quam brevissime fieri possit scholarium suorum. [5] insert illi boni, ne alterius officio injuriam facere videantur. [6] Mauritii] insufficientissimi. [7] imprudens. [8] vera quæ exhibuimus] veritates. [9] omit. [10] rogamus . . . permittatur] rogamus humiliter ut æquis judicibus nobis præsentibus res tota examinetur. [11] D. Mauritii] huius. [12] alterius . . . spectantis] aliorum privatum fortasse commodum sperantium. [13] sic . . . informatum] sic informari. [14] nullius . . . ponderis] magni ponderis nequaquam. [15] Archidiaconus] Referendarius suæ Sanctitatis. [16] D concludes as follows: Cum tamen Sanctissime Pater res tanti momenti sit, ut nisi maturius ei provideatur 30 et plures Angli vestri seminarii alumni potius malunt cum benedictione vestra pacifice discedere, quam hic iuramentorum vexatione, et expulsionis comminatione, et eius qui nunc hospitale cum seminario regit non ferenda partialitate opprimi. Parcat nobis sua sanctitas si propter Christi causam, cum ipsius Christi vicario liberius agamus: melius enim nobis esset, vel in patria carceribus includi, vinculis constringi, et propter fidei catholicæ confessionem, sicut iam aliquos vestros presbyteros duacenos, ad omnium catholicorum in Anglia consolationem audimus, iam ad mortem duci, quam hic sine prudentissimis magistris sic viuere, ut vestro et sedi apostolicæ dedecori, et genti Anglicanæ ignominiæ et animabus nostris simus detrimento.

Dignetur igitur piissimus pater filios obligatissimos misericorditer respicere: et cum ex gente nostra plurimi sint viri doctrina, pietate, et æquitate eximii, qui hospitalis curam gerere possint, iis potius tanti muneris functio demandetur, quam ei qui communium bonorum hospitalis dissipator in eodem hospitali, multorum consensu fuerit denunciatus. [17] D omits the date, which should probably be February, 1579.

With this and other Memorialles which I heare omitt for brevities sake his Holines seemed so much moved to favour the schollers, as he showed onely to make some difficulty how thinges might be best accommodated betwene the Hospitall and the Colledge, (42) and asking what others of the English Nation then present in Rome did thinke thereof, seeming also to be desirous to heare more opinions in the same matter; whereupon the said Schollers made a supplication unto the Bishoppe of St Asaphe and to the Lord Prior of St Johns being then present, and to other principall men of their Nation there at that tyme, alledging unto them there reasons, requesting there furtherances and frendly judgments to His Holiness in there behalfes. The contents of there Memoriall was as followeth.

The Schollers Memoriall to the Principall of the Englishe Nation at Rome.

Rev^mis et clarissimis Dom^is, Dom. Episcopo
Assaphensi et Dom. Ricardo Shelleio Ordinis
Sti Johannis Priori, et reliquis Venerabilibus
Dom. Anglis &c.....Cap. 11.

Scholares Seminarii Anglicani, quo in Studiorum et pietatis cursu fælicius proficerent, cum propter plurima præsentis regiminis impedimenta omnia ad dissolutionem declinare conspicerent, ne Suæ Sanctitatis piissima intentio frustraretur, et sperandus gentis nostræ fructus in nihil redeat[1] ad curanda hæc mala Illmum Pro-

tectorem adeuntes supplices petierunt,[2] ut Seminarii cura Patribus Societatis Jesu integre commendetur. Sic enim semper hic recipientur alumni idonei, et in Vineam Domini emittentur maturi. Accipiunt responsum ab Illmo Protectore petitionem quidem esse justam, sed difficultatem rei impetrandæ in sua Sanctitate residere. Sedem igitur Apostolicam confidenter adeunt[3], causam aperiunt, instanter rogant, ut diligenter sua Sanctitas Scholaribus eos præficeret[4] Magistros, per quos ad adjuvandam patriam melius instituantur.[5] Res bene visa est placuisse Pontifici; respondit tamen debere constare, quemadmodum res fieri possit, ut duplex sit regimen, Hospitalis ac Seminarii.[6] Nos his contenti libenter[7] acquievimus; id tantum urgentes, ut Collegii cura Patribus Societatis Jesu remittatur, reliquum vero vestro judicio relinquimus[8]. Atque hoc est Clarissimi Domini quod nostræ Nationis Studiosa juventus desiderat; ad hoc consequendum propter solius Christi gloriam, et communem patriæ utilitatem, vestrum adjumentum implorat. De illo vero altero regimine, a quovis Nationis Anglicanæ pendet, vestræ prudentiæ erit decernere aut serio cum sua Sanctitate tractare. Nos rem non personas (ut Deum attestamur) respicientes et animis et studiis ad id quod maxime honorem Dei et splendorem patriæ illustrabit vestris conatibus libentissime subserviemus.

Januar 30. 1578.[9]

[1] in nihil redeat] fraudetur. [2] adeuntes . . . petierunt] consulunt, petunt. [3] confidenter adeunt] alacriter petunt. [4] diligenter præficeret] dignetur præficere. [5] proficiantur. [6] quemadmodum . . . Seminarii] in duplici regimine. [7] contenti libenter] bene. [8] remittatur . . . relinquimus] concedatur. [9] In MS. the marginal query sign stands opposite to the date. The second hand has doubled it, and put dots under the month and day. The date is neither in D nor R, which give instead the signature—Seminarium Anglicanum.

Upon the exhibiting of which Memoriall the aforesaid L. Bishop[pe] and L. Prior gave there sentences as followethe in wrytinge.

Sententia Nationis Anglicanæ Romæ degentis, de petitione Scholarium ejusdem Nationis, qua petunt regimen sui Seminarii, summa liberalitate suæ Sanctitatis nuper instituti, committi Patribus Societatis Jesu.

Existimamus hanc petitionem Scholarium Anglorum propter multas causas justam esse ac piam, et ab insigni quodam zelo et disciplinæ virtutisque desiderio profectam. Videmus enim eos in hac re nihil petere præter media necessaria ad finem suum, hoc est, bonam disciplinam, et spiritus ac literarum adjumenta, ut possint redire ad patriam quam citissime propagandæ Fidei Catholicæ causa, quod jam vidimus multos illorum fecisse, et posuisse vitas suas cum maximo Religionis Catholicæ[1] fructu,[2] quod et ipsi qui hic sunt, facere paratissimos sese esse ostendunt. Hæc ergo media si illis concedantur, non dubium est, quin brevissimo tempore tales fructus in Ecclesia Dei faciant, ut Sanctitas sua lætetur de tam immensa sua erga illos bonitate, de qua bonitate etiam nos omnes reliqui Angli ingentes ei gratias agimus. Reliquos etiam illorum fautores non pœnitebit, ut speramus, de favore et auxilio in hac petitione illis præstito. Hæc autem media ad finem illorum tam

necessaria non putamus posse per ullum genus hominum illis tam commode præstari, quam per Patres Societatis Jesu. Unde ne impediatur spiritualis horum juvenum profectus[3] et ut tollantur multa alia incommoda, quæ sequerentur si hoc regimen aliis hominibus committeretur, putamus pertinere valde ad honorem Dei et ad animandos hos juvenes in bono proposito suo, præterea, ad utilitatem patriæ nostræ et ad implendam sanctissimam Summi Pontificis intentionem, ut concedatur hæc petitio illorum. Romæ, 30 Januarii, 1578.[4]

Variations of R: [1]Religionis Catholicæ, omit. [2]insert pro eadem causa. [3]Spiritualis profectus] spiritus et zelus. [4]No date in R, which on the contrary reads, Hæc cum rationibus simul Pontifici exhibita in Pallia. This date should therefore be February 25, 1579, as appears by consulting the letters in Tierney-Dodd, vol. II, Ap. pp. cccIxi and cccli. The *rationes* are those which are printed below, p. 114.

Togeather with this judgment of the Nation they sent also a certayne forme in writing how the English Hospitall and the Colledge might stand togeather under one government, in these words followinge.

> De modo, quo Seminarium et Hospitale Anglorum facillime in unum regimen reduci possint, ad magnam utilitatem Studentium et peregrinorum et totius Nationis Anglicanæ, et ad vitationem multorum, quæ alioqui erunt incommodorum ..... Cap. 12.

Poterit is, qui Rector erit Seminarii, pro tempore committere curam recipiendorum peregrinorum alicui Sacerdoti idoneo ex Scholaribus Seminarii cum titulo *Custodis Hospitalis*, qui Sacerdos eo tempore, quo peregrini ibi erunt (quod non nisi raro est) poterit providere illis de rebus necessariis, et conversari cum eis, et etiam poterit cum licentia et arbitrio Rectoris assumere sibi alios ex dictis Scholaribus Sacerdotibus ad instruendos in Doctrina Christiana dictos peregrinos: quod nunc non fit. (44) Reliquo autem tempore, cum peregrini ibi non erunt, poterit totaliter conversari cum suis condiscipulis sicut prius, nec hoc exercitium esset impedimento illi in literis, quia conversatio cum peregrinis non requiritur nisi tempore refectionis et recreationis. Ex hoc ordine sequerentur multa commoda.

Commoda ex unione Hospitalis cum Seminario.

Primo. Jus recipiendorum peregrinorum remaneret penes Anglum, quod tota Natio desiderat.

2. Tolleretur omnis causa discordiæ quæ esset maxima inter Rectorem Seminarii et Custodem Hospitalis si distincta capita sunt.[1]

3. Hoc modo semper peregrini intra spatium illorum octo dierum, quibus ibi manent, diligenter informarentur in Fide et Doctrina Christiana, et multi in Fide dubii confirmarentur, quod nunc penitus omittitur, imo multi discedunt alieniores a Fide Catholica, quam cum huc venerunt, quia nemo est, qui animos illorum curat.[2]

4. Esset hoc exercitium erudiendi peregrinos valde utile

Scholaribus Sacerdotibus, qui postea ad simile exercitium mittendi sunt in Angliam.

5. Parceretur hoc modo multis inutilibus expensis, quæ alioqui faciendæ sunt. Nam si Custos Hospitalis, seu ille qui hospitalitatem exhibebit peregrinis, sit unus ex Sacerdotibus scholaribus subordinatus Rectori Seminarii, tum eadem provisione, qua providetur Seminario, poterit etiam provideri peregrinis. Et cum pauci huc veniant peregrini, parvæ etiam expensæ illis sufficient, et tanto plus supererit Seminario. Si autem pro hac exigua cura peregrinorum constituatur distinctum regimen et Custos distinctus non subordinatus Rectori Seminarii, tunc vel ille turbabit disciplinam, si communibus utatur cum scholaribus coquina, promptuario, et cæteris rebus ad victum necessariis, vel si omnia hæc habebit distincta et separata, tum major pars reddituum Hospitalis ab ipso consumentur, nam oportebit eum habere famulos, stipendium, et cætera necessaria.

6. Ex hac Unione et subordinatione Regiminis cresceret quotidie et ampliaretur Seminarium, nam poterit locus commodus recipiendis peregrinis attribui et omnia reliqua ædificia[3] applicari ad usus magis necessarios Scholarium, quod si duo hæc regimina distincta maneant, vel oportebit dividi ædificia (quod maximum erit incommodum) vel unusquisque accipiet sibi cubicula meliora, et sic Scholares nunquam habebunt loca commoda repetitionibus, disputationibus, et reliquis Exercitiis literariis, sicut hactenus non habuimus.

7. Hoc modo abscinderetur omnis occasio ambiendi hoc officium *Custodis*, cum nullum commodum nisi laborem haberet.

8. Ut jus reddituum Hospitalis Anglicani apud Anglos remaneret, quod illi videntur velle, et ut cura rerum temporalium non aggravet Patres Societatis, quos petimus in Rectores Seminarii, possint eligi annuatim duo Angli extra Seminarium degentes pro Camerariis, quorum officium sit percipere redditus totius Hospitalis et reddere eos Rectori in usum (45) Scholarium et peregrinorum. Item locare et reparare possessiones Hospitalis cum consensu Rectoris, et de iis omnibus reddere rationem eidem Rectori quolibet semestri spatio. Rector vero poterit reddere rationem de omnibus acceptis et expensis quolibet anno vel Protectori aut substituto ejus, vel toti Congregationi Anglorum, si sic videbitur.

Temporalium cura externis permittenda.

Hæc posuimus non quo nos immiscere nosmet regimini constituendo velimus (nos enim unum solum petimus ut Patres Societatis nobis dentur in Rectores, et erit nobis plenissime satisfactum) sed ut ostendamus non esse tam difficile hæc duo regimina in unum coadunare, quam aliqui philosophantur, idque magis (uti veremur) quo nostram petitionem impediant[4], et ut ipsi semper habeant quod in nostris rebus agant, quam quod ulla boni publici tangantur cura.[5]

[1]Inserts et neuter alteri subordinatus. [2]Insert ibi. [3]et omnia . . . . ædificia] et postea omnia reliqua ædificia potuerint accomodari et. [4]philosophantur . . . . impediant] faciunt magis ut impediant nostrum bonum. [5]boni . . . . cura] alia de causa.

Notwithstanding all this the Protector Cardinall Morone would not be satisfied being still resolved to continewe Mr Morrice Clenocke in the government, though neverthelesse he gave the schollers sweete and faire words, seeming to coniecture and thinke that there earnest request of having the Fathers for Governores of the Englishe Colledge, was founded upon small or noe ground att all, proceeding onely to the end to avoide and escape the government of the said Mr Morrice for particular grudge, or for that he was a Welchman and favored by Mr D. Lewes, then for any other reason. The which conceyte of the Protector the schollers perceavinge, concluded presently to make another Memoriall unto him alledging and laying downe divers reasons in particular whie and wherefore they demanded so earnestely to have the said Fathers above all others.

Another Memoriall of the Schollers to Cardinall Morone, with divers reasons, why they demaunded the Fathers for their Governoures ... Cap. 13.

Existimamus semper, Illme Domine, eam esse mentem Celsitudinis tuæ, illum animum, qui in vero principe, et locum in Ecclesia Dei summum obtinente, esse debet, pium viz. et plenum prudentia. Quam autem demonstravit nobis dies superior tuæ Celsitudinis perinsignem humanitatem, charitatem infinitam, et in causa Catholica ferventem zelum, quanto minus expectare poteramus, tanto vehementius admiramur expertam. Vere bonus est Deus ac providus qui in tempora tam difficilia reservavit Ecclesiæ tales Rectores. Et quis nobis potentior esse potuit stimulus ad excitandos et confirmandos animos nostros, quam cernere in tali ac tanto principe illud ipsum desiderium (46) promovendæ[1] causæ Catholicæ, et liberandæ patriæ nostræ ab Hæresi, quod Dei misericordia nobis inseruit, et in quo omnem nostram consolationem sitam habemus. Itaque multis quidem beneficiis cum privatis tum publicis tua nos Celsitudo devinctos possidet, sed nulla tamen unquam res sic nostros nobis animos eripere potuit,[2] quam hanc pietatis et zeli summi significationem, qua sic penitus [devincti][3] sumus, ut non amare Celsitudinem tuam vehementissime non possumus, et illius potestati nos et omnia nostra submittere; ita ut quandocumque ei videbitur pro causa Catholica et Apostolicæ sedis dignitate vel ad ipsam etiam mortem nos emittere, paratissimos inveniet. Petimus tamen et obsecramus D. V. Illmam ut in hoc intermedio tempore, quo ad colligendum spiritum Romæ sumus, tales præceptores habeamus, quales ad hunc finem idonei esse possunt, quod tuæ Celsitudinis pietas nobis promisit, et nos hanc nostram petitionem, vestram viz. promissionem majoris beneficii loco accipimus, quam possit nobis in hac vita tribui. Non enim quærimus (Illme Domine) aut opes aut dignitates, reliquimus hoc in genere libenter quicquid a nobis sperari poterat,[4] quærimus tantum spiritus et literarum adjumenta, quibus armati succurramus labenti patriæ nostræ, et causam Catholicam promoveamus, quod assequi nullo modo poterimus, nisi informemur a talibus viris, qui in utroque hoc genere exercitati fuerint.

Isti autem viri qui sunt, tua Celsitudo bene cognovit, et nos

satis superque significavimus. Sunt quidem Rev. Patres Societatis Jesu, quos ardentissimis votis, conspirante animorum omnium consensu, disciplinæ ac pietatis Magistros totius Seminarii Sanctitatis suæ et Celsitudinis vestræ Rectores petimus.

Apud Societatis vero Præpositum Celsitudinem vestram tantum posse intelligimus, ut quamquam impetratu[5] satis difficile fore sciamus, id vestro patrocinio tamen facillimum futurum non dubitamus.

Quia igitur nulla in re alia magis quam in ista ipsius Dei honor, et patriæ nostræ utilitas, et hujus sedis Apostolicæ dignitas nostro judicio[6] illustrari poterit, ideo Celsitudinem vestram humiliter petimus, ut hanc causam communem, quam paterno erga nos affectu voluit suscipere, eam solita charitate perficere dignetur.

Et ne sine ratione maxima hoc nos petere existimemur[7] postulationis nostræ rationes proprio scripto Celsitudini vestræ proponendas judicavimus.[8]

Jan. 30, 1578.

Readings of R: [1]juvandæ. [2]potuisset. [3]So R. In MS. disiuncti, with marginal query, [4]libenter . . . . poterat] satis multa quibus domi frui poteramus. [5]In MS. query mark: quanquam impetratu] quod in se ad impetrandum. [6]nostro judicio] conspici et. [7]hoc . . . . existimemur] hæc facta videantur. [8]rationes . . . . judicavimus] pondus separatim et singillatim declaravimus. *Addressed* Illmo Protectori Card. Morono. In MS. the date has been written 3°, with marginal query.

The reasons annexed to the foresaid Memoriall were these that followe.

Rationes quibus moti scholares Angli tam instanter petunt[1] Patres Societatis Jesu dari in Magistros ac Seminarii Moderatores.

Has rationes ut[2] in conspectu et timore Dei nos proponimus deposito omni personarum respectu, et habita solum finis nostri, et (47) honoris Dei, et voluntatis[3] Suæ Sanctitatis ratione: ita easdem ponderari a nostris Superioribus humillime petimus.

1. Primo, cum gentis nostræ tanta sit hodie domi ex Hæresi calamitas[4] ut nullus in patria Sacerdos sine manifesto[5] vitæ periculo versari possit, valde nobis expedit atque[6] in optatis est, ut ad finem tam[7] arduum mediis idoneis non destituamur. Non enim hinc ad dignitatis titulos, aut ad opima[8] beneficia in patria nobis redeundum est; sed ad vincula, carceres (et si Deus dederit constantiam) ad Cruces revertendum. Petimus igitur Patres Societatis Jesu in hoc certaminis genere exercitatos [ut] moderatores[9], qui ut suos ad Indias ab Infidelitate revocandas instruunt, sic nos ad Angliam ab Hæresi liberandam Deo juvante commodissime informent.[10]

Patrum in regendis Seminariis talentum.

2. Experientia teste[11] Patrum Societatis in dirigendis Seminariis talentum[12] tam quoad spiritualia quam[13] temporalia satis per universum orbem Christianum cognitum est, ex quo constat, quod[14] ubi isti præsunt, ibi uberrimum in Fide et bonis moribus fructum exoriri videamus. In alendis etiam[15] sustentandisque Seminariis multo minores quam secularibus sufficient expensæ, ob rectam economiæ adhibitam rationem, cum interim[16] studiosis adjumenta longe majora ab eis præstentur.[17]

Patrum Charitas.

3. Quamvis illa Patrum Societas gravissimis oneribus in aliorum Collegiorum regimine adeo[18] premat, ut jure nobis ista petentibus difficilis inveniatur, cum tamen hoc eorum auxilio tot animorum salus et totius Patriæ nostræ reconciliatio speranda sit; non dubitamus, quin quos Deus his calamitosis temporibus ad Ecclesiæ ruinas resarciendas excitavit eos etiam nobis in causa Religionis propitios donabit.

Pauci Patres sufficient.

4. Onus hujus Seminarii Anglicani regendi non erit tantum nec tam grave, ut tantopere abhorrere debeat Societas Patrum ab eo subeundo, quantum abhorrere hactenus cernitur.[19] Nam cum in Seminariis Romano et Germanico, inferiorum quoque Classium alumni admittantur, longe major est cum labor tum molestia, multitudo etiam copiosior.[20] Hic autem cum admittantur solum Theologi et philosophi, paucissimi Patres[21] respectu aliorum Seminariorum[22] sufficere poterunt, nam etiam si ad numerum centesimum cresceret nostra Societas, pauci tamen Patres satis erunt.[23]

Nemo ex Anglis præter Bristoum regendo Seminario idoneus.

5. Inter omnes Anglos, qui extra Angliam hodie sunt, nemo præter unum Bristoum nominari potest,[24] qui huic regimini idoneus censeatur,[25] cujus opera Collegio Rhemensi (ubi jam degit) tam est necessaria ut inde sine maximo illius Seminarii detrimento discedere non possit. Isthic enim Theologicis exercitiis vacat, libros contra Hæreticos Vulgari et Latino idiomate scribit, mittit in Angliam maturos, instruit Novitios, cujus fama ex Natione nostra Hæreticos evocat, prudens disputatio convertit et pia conversatio vacillantes confirmat. Deinde si huc veniret unus solus est, et vel eo præsente non minus quam absente auxilio Patrum Societatis indigeremus, (48) atque cum infirmo corpore sit, si vel in morbum incideret, vel vitam citius finiret, cum non sit ex Anglis qui ejus locum suppleat, eisdem quotidie petitionibus et Suæ Sanctitati et tuæ Celsitudini molesti existeremus, ut Patrum regimini tradatur Collegium.[26]

6. Tanta est existimatio Patrum Societatis Jesu in illis remotissimis Angliæ et vicinorum Regnorum partibus, ut multi vel hoc solo nomine Jesuitarum retineri videantur[27] in Fide Catholica, vel ab impugnatione ejusdem prohibeantur. Cum enim nihil habeant aut audierint unquam quod istis hominibus aut in moribus aut in literis objiciant hæretici vel catholici,[28] coguntur dubitare de hæresi, quam tales homines tam vehementer impugnant. Hinc fit, ut propter opinionem maximam, quam Nostrates habent de Patribus, noster deinde ad eos accessus erit gratior et majoris authoritatis, si intellexerint nos in talium hominum disciplina educatos. Multi præterea nobiles[29] viri eo libentius huc filios suos mittent, si tradendos eos Patrum disciplinæ cognoscant.

Major eruditio ex Patrum regimine.

7. Cum scientia Theologica et Philosophica, Patrum in Scholis multo exactius, quam alibi doceantur, nisi dentur nobis tales Studiorum nostrorum Præfecti, qui hic educati exercitiorum onera sustinere va-

leant, (*q*) nec cæteris pares, sed omnium expectatione inferiores et ad finem nostrum parum sufficientes inveniemur. Cum tamen ab iis qui nostræ gentis in hac Alma Urbe Suæ Sanctitatis sumptibus aluntur, magis quam ab ullis qui alibi student,[30] et pietas major et disciplina præstantior et conversatio perfectior domi expectabitur.[31]

Fructus in Anglia.

8. Si Divinæ bonitatis misericordia (quod bene speramus) gens nostra aliquando ad pristinum Fidei Catholicæ statum reducatur, fiet sine dubio ex hoc Patrum convictu et regiminis commercio,[32] ut inter presbyteros seculares et hos Religiosos tanta oriatur in gente nostra consensio et mutua in regendis animis solicitudo[33] atque in stabilienda denique Ecclesia Anglicana conspiratio,[34] ut summa tandem in Pastoribus perfectio, egregia in Laicis puræ vitæ conversatio citissime oriatur.[35] A talibus enim fundamentis si Ecclesiæ nostræ initium consurgat, ad summum splendorem quam citissime perveniet.

Nationum unio.

9. Ut inter [nos] divisi jam animi Wallorum et Anglorum qui hoc certamine exulcerati cernuntur, melius suaviusque iterum conglutinentur et ad concordiam reducantur,[36] valde est necessarium, ut nos eorum pio et æquo regimine gubernemur, qui ab omni istiusmodi nationum affectu sunt remotissimi.[37]

Magis obedietur Patribus quam cæteris.

10. Quia Patres Societatis non sponte sed inviti hoc regimen solo Sanctitatis suæ jussu admittunt,[38] hinc fiet, ut salubres nobis vivendi regulas liberius possint imponere et Studiorum rationem strictius exigere quam alii.[39] Neque nos ab eorum monitis vel imperio[40] sine gravi reprehensionis nota discedere poterimus, quorum regimen tanto cum ardore ac contentione expetivimus. Accedit etiam quod Ecclesiæ dogmata per nos (49) proposita Catholici sequentur libentius, Schismatici complexabuntur[41] ardentius et ipsi Hæretici veritate Catholica convicti ad Ecclesiæ gremium facilius revertentur.

Ab Alano judicium.

11. Quod si Alanus Collegii Rhemensis moderator vigilantissimus et Fidei Catholicæ propugnator acerrimus hic Romæ præsens adesset, non dubitamus quin apud Celsitudinem tuam serio intercederet, et si opus foret ad suæ Sanctitatis pedes provolutus, quod nos ardentissimis votis desideramus, ipse tanquam medium ad patriæ nostræ afflictatæ calamitatem sublevandam penitus[42] necessarium et beneficium plane divinum enixissime efflagitaret. Hic namque (ut nos Duaci sumus experti) Presbyteros suos in Angliam mittendos semper ad horum Religiosorum Patrum vivendi normam conformari et studiosissime elaboravit.

12. Cum reliquæ Nationes totius orbis Christiani horum Patrum[43] opera feliciter contra Hæreticos fruantur, sola Anglia per Hæreticam pravitatem cæteris omnibus magis misera eorum auxilio hactenus non usa est, quo præ cæteris tamen indiget, et meliori quam ceteræ jure expetere eorum opem posset, eo quod multi his annis ex nostris[44] illam Sanctam Societatem sint ingressi, quorum loco aliquos ex nobis,[45] in his angustiis nostris concedi æquum est;[46]

neque dubitamus quin si hæc quam postulamus combinatio Patrum ac nostrorum Sacerdotum ex regimine Seminarii fiat junctis postea operis animisque (quod maxime omnium expetendum videtur) tam illi quam nostri hanc convertendæ Angliæ provinciam prosequentur.[47]

Hæ rationes exhibitæ fuerunt Illmo Protectori, postea suæ Sti et Cardli Como suæ Stis Secretario.[48]

The following variants are from R (lib. 304 p. 24). There is only a fragment of the draft in Scritture 29.

[1]petimus. [2]in Magistros . . . . ut] nobis gubernatores (no break), quos ut nos. [3]intentionis. [4]miseria. [5]quotidiano. [6]expedit atque] omits. [7]inserts arduum et tam. [8]aut ad opima] et. [9]in hoc . . . moderatores] omit. MS. omits ut, but has query sign in margin. [10]Deo . . . informent.] optime instruunt. [11]Experientia teste] Prudentia et experientia. [12]omits. [13]tam quoad. [14]Satis . . . quod] in universo orbe Christiano tam feliciter comprobata est, ut. [15]In quibus etiam alendis. [16]ob . . . interim] et. [17]longe præstentur] majora præstabuntur. [18]aliorum . . . adeo] collegiorum cura. [19]tantopere . . . cernitur] tantum abhorreat Societas ab eo quantum videtur abhorrere. [20]inferiorum . . . copiosior] multorum laborum requiratur. [21]MS. inserts sufficiant, but has query sign in margin. [22]respectu . . . Seminariorum] omits. [23]etiamsi . . . erunt] si essemus vel 100 numero satis nobis ad omne regimen sex ad summum existimemus. [24]qui . . . potest] præ ceteris solum Bristoum nominare possemus. [25]videatur. [26]ut . . . Collegium] omits. [27]retineantur. [28]The query sign in the margin of MS. seems to show that Schismatici was expected. [29]educatos . . . nobiles] educatos fuisse. Præterea nobiliores. [30]vivunt. [31]domi expectabitur] ab omnibus expectari et sperari constat. [32]Sine . . . commercio] omits. [33]cura. [34]sollicitudo. [35]ut . . . oriatur] ut brevi tempore i. p. perfectis in l. p. v. c. spectari possit. [36]Ut . . . reducantur] Ut inter nos divisi populi charitas nutriatur hic et in patria. [37]omni . . . remotissimi] omni affectu sunt remotissimi. Et quia ad hæreticorum auditionem hæc nostra petitio rumoribus hominum dispergetur, nisi hos vitae magistros quos serio petivimus consequamur, statim et verbis et libris (minoribus enim his sæpe triumphant) divulgare non erubescent: aut patrum vitam et doctrinam nobis, aut mores nostros ipsis displicere. Et sic quod in hoc loco existimatur perexiguum, in patria nostra gravissimum scandalum judicabitur. [38]Patres . . . admittunt] omnes in hoc seminario et ubique Catholici Angli hos patres pro pietate et doctrina merito venerantur et amant. [39]strictius . . . alii] commodiorem praestabunt. [40]vel imperio, omits. [41]*sic*] amplexabuntur. [42]unice. [43]huius Societatis. [44]hactenus . . . nostris] carere videtur. Cum tamen ex Anglis 40 aut plures viri et juvenes delectissimi. [45]quorum . . . nobis] sic ut nobis aliquos ex suis. [46]concedi . . . est] concedere non graventur. [47]The concluding paragraph runs as follows: Ultimo, hæc est animis nostris insita et confirmata persuasio, nunquam votis nostris et vocationi nostræ expectato cum fructu posse satisfieri, donec omnis nostra gubernatio istis patribus integre committatur. Quod si fiat Sanctitatis suæ et Celsitudinis tuæ piissima intentio adimplebitur, et patriæ nostræ hæresi oppressæ immensa utilitas procurabitur. Humiliter igitur obtestamur ut ea ratio habeatur postulationis nostræ quæ haberi soleat petitionis adeo justæ et ad finem nostrum ad gloriam Dei et ad intentionem Suæ Sanctitatis tam necessariæ. [48]The last three words are added in R by Persons, who omits Palliæ, 1579. This fixes the date as February 25, 1579; see above, p. 111.

Of the sending in particular the hands of all
the Scholars in the English College.....Cap. 14.

After that the Cardinall Protectour had sene the foresaid reasons, persuading himselfe that they were not the particular opinions of every one, but rather proceeded of the generall indignation of the schollers themselves, he willed them that everyone in particular should wryte downe his opinion and judgment upon his conscience and subscribe the same with his owne name and hand and with an oath and protestation. He willed them also to sett downe whether they would

not be contente to have the Fathers onely for matters of manners and learning, leavinge the care of temporalities to Mr Morrice; which they refused, demanding the whole care to be comitted to the Fathers, as appereth by the scedules wrytten and subscribed by there owne hands yet extant, whereof for brevytes sake I will note here some few of the breefest by the which the others may be coniectured, for that they are to longe and over many to be alledged.*

(50). Amplissime Cardinalis et gentis nostræ Protector vigilantissime. Ego Rodulphus Cervinus Deum testor cordium omnium servatorem, me ejus tantum honoris amplificandi patriæque juvandæ causa regimen Seminarii hujus Patribus Societatis committendum censeo [*sic*] atque supplex peto [*sic*]. Celsitudinis Vestræ humillimus filius
Rodulphus Cervinus, Sacerdos.

Illme ac Revme Domine. Ego Richardus Haddocus proprio et fratris mei Georgii ✠ nomine, coram Deo et Gloriosa ejus Matre, supplex peto a Celsitudine Vestra ut tota Collegii nostri cura Patribus Societatis committatur, et ut in causa nostra tanti momenti loqui permittatur, quandoquidem non desint per Dei gratiam, qui eam sine affectione promoveant, et ut vocentur (si bonum videbitur C. V.) gentis nostræ viri præcipui, qui judicium suum interponant. Væ. Celsitudinis amantissimus filius
Richardus Haddocus, Sacerdos.

Benignissime Domine Protector. Humiliter deprecor Celsitudinem tuam, ad cujus tutelam et protectionem confugimus omnes, ut plenum regimen Seminarii Anglicani ad Patres Societatis transferatur, nam D. Mauritium (absit verbo malitia) ad tantum onus sustinendum minime idoneum esse testor.
Ego Georgius Birquettus, Sacerdos.
Celsitudinis Vestræ humillimus Orator, &c.

Illm̃e Protector. Multæ causæ et considerationes me cogunt petere, et a Celsitudine vestra deprecari, ut non quoad mores tantum et literarum disciplinas, sub Jesuitarum protectione educari ac instrui possimus, sed ut Patres isti sagacissimi rerum recipiendarum atque dispensandarum, quæ ad Seminarii hujus usum spectare videantur, summam authoritatem et integram potestatem habeant. Quæ quidem gubernatio nisi ita sit stabilienda, quantæ discordiæ et disceptationes, quantæ calamitates et miseriæ toti societati nostræ accidere possint, non solus ego, sed nostrum unusquisque maxime intuemur. Itaque pro hujus causæ defensione non tantum expulsionem pati statutus sum, sed quodcumque aliud tormentorum genus mihi propositum subire paratus.
Robertus Woodroffus, Sacerdos.

* These papers are now missing in the English College, and Canon Tierney (Dodd's Church History, II, 175, § 3) mistakenly assumes that they never existed.

✠ This was the martyr.

Illme Protector. Ego humiliter peto a Celsitudine Vestra ut totum regimen huius Seminarii Anglicani transferatur ad Patres Societatis Jesu, protestans coram Deo me hoc petere solum propter Dei Gloriam et patriæ meæ utilitatem. Celsitudinis vestræ humillimus filius Leonardus Hidus, Sacerdos.

(51). Amplissime Protector. Ego Sethus Fosterus desidero et humiliter peto Patres Societatis Jesu in Rectores hujus nostri Seminarii stabiliri, quoad omnia quæ pertinent ad hoc Seminarium [sine]* limitatione, dispensatoresque studiorum et bonorum morum institutores et censores fieri. D. autem Mauritium nullo modo huic officio posse satisfacere proprio motu judico sine ullius ad istam rem invitantis consilio aut suasu, atque ita Deum sincere testor. Sethus Fosterus, V. Celsitudinis filius.

Illme Protector et Cardinalis Amplissime. Ego Joannes Mutius propria conscientia et motu ob magnum D. Mauritii insufficientiam, Patres Soc^tis^ Jesu, pro Rectoribus, gubernatoribus et æqualibus omnium rerum nostrarum in Collegio Anglicano dispensatoribus, tam ad Majorem Gloriam Dei promovendam, quam ad magnas seditiones, atque alia mala, quæ jam exorta sunt, et posthac facillime exoriri poterunt tollenda ab Illma tua Celsitudine humiliter peto. Johannes Mutius, Sacerdos.

Illme Domine ac benigne Protector. Humiliter et obnixe deprecor Celsitudinem Vestram ut plenum ac totale regimen Seminarii (*q*) Anglicani suæ Sanctitatis et tuæ Illmae Dominationis ad Patres Societatis Jesu, viros pios et doctos, dispensatores etiam æquissimos, et in omni disciplina expertissimos tam quoad corporalia quam spiritualia transferatur. Ad quorum alterutrum, tum propter varias rationes quas ante retulimus, tum etiam propter defectus, quos reticere et rescindere institui, D. Mauritium virum inidoneum ac insufficientem coram Deo ex certa scientia et experientia probata obtestor.

Celsitudinis Vestræ observantissimus filius
Martinus Arraius, Sacerdos.

Illme Protector. Ego Gilbertus Giffordus ad studiosorum utilitatem communem et tranquillitatem, propria conscientia non aliorum instigatione motus, cum indies magis, magisque seditiones ex D. Mauritii insufficientia (quod et ipsemet sæpius ore protulit) jam se manifeste prodiderint; hæc, inquam, me, cum reliquis pene omnibus ex junioribus impulerunt a Vestra Celsitudine humiliter petere, ut nobis ex Societate tales dari dignetur, qui et pro nostra in bonis litteris et in pietate educatione et pro rerum omnium distributione, nec Anglos nec Wallos inique respicientes omnia secundum æquitatem et justitiam distribuent. Gilbertus Giffordus.

Amplissime Cardinalis et Protector optime. Ob multa ac

* Wanting in MS., but query mark in margin.

gravia Studiosorum incommoda, necnon ipsius Collegii detrimenta facilius propulsanda, ac potius reprimenda, quæ in Superiorum Præfecturas ac munera plus æquo et insolentius insultasse perspecta habemus, Cardinalis Amplissime, Vestram Celsitudinem supplex obtestor, hoc unum efflagito, in hoc laboro, ut (52) Patres Societatis Jesu (quos ea qua possumus observantia colimus) rerum omnium nostrarum Administratores ac præfectos, in quos solum totius Collegii cura recumbat, Vestra Amplitudo dignetur substituere; cum ad Majorem Dei Opt. Max. Gloriam propagandam et in studiis nostris progressum uberiorem assequendum, tum ad turpis cujusdam seditionis notam extirpandam, quæ jam (neque tamen sine culpa) in nostros videtur irrepsisse.

Tuæ Amplitudinis observantissimus Alumnus,

Gulielmus Hartus.

Amplissime Cardinalis. Ego solo Sancti Spiritus motu (ut spero) instructus ab Illma Dominatione Vestra vehementer peto et obtestor, ut unum illud remedium contra infinita prope incommoda nimis late jam diffusa, ut Patres Societatis Jesu, non solum internarum sed etiam externarum rerum, quæ ad hoc Collegium quomodocumque spectant, dispositionem et curam suscipiant, quo fiet ut fructum quem inde capturi sumus uberrimum, ad Dei Opt. Max. Gloriam et Vestræ Celsitudinis dignitatem illustrandam relaturi sumus. Tuæ Celsitudinis obligatissimus Filius,

Christophorus Owenus.

After all these Memorialls and reasons exhibited, yet could not the Schollers prevaile with Cardinall Morone, who being a severe man and persuaded by Mr Archdeacon and Mr Morrice that this was but perversity and stubbornes in the English youthe against the Welche, and that except this animosytie were repressed at the beginninge there would be no rule with them, he persuaded also the Pope therein, being a very wise and grave man and a greate lover of order and obedience; and so when the Schollers expected some favorable answere of all there former travailes, the answere was that Cardinall Morone calling them to him upon the Munday before Ashwednesday after a very sharpe reprehension willed them under paines of most severe punishment eyther to obay and be quiett under the government of Mr Morrice, or presently that night to go out of the Colledge, which they did, but yet wrote the next morning another Memoriall to his Holines and gott it delivered by the favoure of Lodovike Bianchetto, Master of the Popes Chamber who specially favored and pittied there cause, the former part of which Memoriall insueth, but the rest for that it was longe and over bitter against some particular men, I thought good to leave it out.

The Schollers last Memoriall to his Holiness, when they were put out of the Colledge, by Cardinall Morone Protector, in his Holines name.

Beatissime Pater.

(53). Nos Sacerdotes et reliqui Scholares Angli Vestræ Sanctitatis obligatissimi Alumni humillime ei ad pedes provoluti in visceribus Christi instantissime petimus, ut dignetur hanc unicam et ultimam supplicationem legere, qua intelligat causam propter quam Roma cogimur discedere, ne post discessum nostrum adversarii nostri (quod nunc iniquissime faciunt) inobedientiæ nos insimulent erga Vestram Sanctitatem, a qua nos semper tantum abfuimus, et nunc absumus, ut pro Obedientia ei rite præstanda reliquerimus sponte omnia, quæ nobis hic mundus dare potuit, et pro eadem causa etiam nostras animas ponere, si Deus voluerit, brevi cogitamus. Ut ergo videat Vestra Sanctitas, innocentiam nostram in hoc tetro[1] objecto crimine, humillime obtestamur, ut breviter summum totius nostri negotii intelligat.

Narratio facti contra Archid. et Mauritium.

Cum videremus ante aliquot menses regimen D. Mauritii tam contrarium esse proposito nostro et Vestræ Sanctitatis de nobis piissimæ intentioni, ut nullo modo sperarem us sub eo nos posse ad finem nostrum pervenire: (nam aperte fovebat inter nos factiones et seditiones: introducebat etiam et alebat in Wallis contrarium plane propositum et spiritum nostro repugnantem, revertendi in Angliam:) præterea cum eundem D. Mauritium bonum alioquin virum ordinis et disciplinæ inscium esse cerneremus, neque idoneum, qui ea nobis subministraret adiumenta, quibus opus habemus, ad eum qui nobis propositus est juvandæ patriæ finem,[2] conquesti sumus apud Archidiaconum Cameracensem intimum D. Mauritii amicum, sed tamen (ut tunc videbatur) non tam acrem nostræ causæ et communis boni, ut postea se probavit, adversarium; sed cum ab isto nullo modo esset nobis satisfactum, imo cum omnis D. Mauritii mala gubernatio ab hoc homine defenderetur,[3] necessitate compulsi recurrebamus ad Illmum Protectorem optimum sane

Contra Card. Protectorem.

natura sua principem, sed horum duorum hominum incitationibus tam durum nobis jam factum, ut in omnibus Anglicanis persecutionibus et carceribus (quos aliqui nostrum multis annis pro Fide Catholica passi sumus) vix ita rigidum[4] judicem experti fuerimus, quam illum, quem sperabamus Patrem et protectorem. Nam in omnibus his petitionibus nostris, quas humillimas esse semper voluimus (et ipse justissimas[5] confitebatur) nunquam ab eo quicquam præter minas et objurgationes obtinuimus, excepta solum una vice, qua ex authoritate Vestræ Sanctitatis removebat a regimine D. Mauritium, sed paucis post diebus adversarii nostri eum iterum contra nos verterunt, et asperiorem quam ante fecerunt; ita ut omnia quæ optime prius fecerat, revocaret, et nobis vel D. Mauritio subesse, vel a Seminario discedere ex authoritate Vestræ Sanctitatis præciperet; addens præterea carcerum et flagellorum[6] comminationem nisi hoc impigre fecerimus.

Quo nos accepto mandato discedendo statuimus parere, cum (54) talis hominis regimini subesse, cujusmodi est Mauritius, sine manifesto periculo[7] animarum nostrarum non possimus; cum ipse in

nobis seditiones foveat ac discordias quæ usque adeo creverunt, ut metuamus quotidie ne insigne aliquod malum in dedecus hujus causæ Catholicæ propter quam exulamus accidat. Nam cum Mauritius et sui in nos nostrosque [hostiliter] se gerant, cumque Illmus [Protector omnia][8] contra nos, nihil pro nobis audire velit, imo dicat aperte se obdurasse jam aures ad omnes querelas nostras, sic, ut nonnulli ex juvenibus nostris, qui nobili loco nati sunt ad ferendam tantam oppressionem impatientes, ad magnam redigantur rerum suarum desperationem,[9] et jam se forsitan vi vindicassent (a Wallis provocati)[10] nisi diligentia nostra illis restitisset.

Quare ne aliquod tale scandalum accidat, et ut consulamus quieti conscientiarum nostrarum, reputamus melius cedere necessitati temporis et potestati adversariorum, et Collegio exire (quod jam fecimus ad 33 numero statim discessuri)[11] quam ultra manendo subire majoris incommodi atque scandali periculum. Solum id cupimus, Beatissime Pater, et a Deo petimus in his malis nostris, ut decedamus in gratia tua et cum bono favore, et benedictione Væ Stis. etc. 23 Februar, 1579.[12]

[1] Omits. [2] Contrarium . . . . finem] contrarium plane spiritum spiritui nostro, qui est reverti in Angliam, ad propagandam fidem, nutriebat dissolutionem et disciplinam impediebat. Denique quum videremus illum multis modis omnem conscientiæ nostræ pacem perturbare. [3] foveri videretur. [4] vix ita rigidum] nunquam tam rigidum ullum. [5] non injustas. [6] Inserts per urbem. [7] Cuiusmodi . . . periculo] sine periculo. [8] The query mark in the margin shows that insertions were here expected. [9] ad . . . desperationem] redigantur fere ad desperationem. [10] MS. inserts ad quam, but with query sign in margin. D. omits parenthesis. [11] omits parenthesis. [12] Solum . . . 1579.] This sentence is an abbreviation by Persons of some forty lines of MS., which however add nothing further to the sense. The true date should have been March 3, 1579. (Tierney-Dodd, II, App. ccclvi.)

When the Schollers departing the Colledge was knowne in the towne and that they had sent this last Memoriall as for a farewell to his Holiness there was greate motions of mindes about the same, and divers begane to pitty and favoure them, that before did rather persuade them to yelde and accomodate themselves to Mr Archdeadon and to Mr Morrice, and among others the Bishoppe of St Asaphe, the Lord Prior, Doctor Morton and others of the Nation joyninge togeather made a Memoriall to his Holiness in there favour which begane thus.

A Memoriall of the English Nation in the favour of the Englishe Schollers expelled the Colledge.....Cap. 16.

Beatissime Pater.

Natio Anglicana humiliter ad pedes Vestræ Sanctitatis prostrata supplicat et petit per misericordiam Salvatoris nostri, et per illam mansuetudinem, qua Vicarius Christi ad illius exemplum solet uti, et semper Vestra Sanctitas usa est hactenus, ut non dimittat hos juvenes Anglos spem patriæ nostræ, nisi examinata prius illorum causa. Tantum enim abest ut illi nolint Vestræ Sanctitati obedire, ut etiam pro illa jam gravia in Anglia passi sunt,[1] longas nimirum persecutiones, et (55) aliqui multorum præterea annorum incarcera-

tiones, et in iisdem exquisita tormenta, quarum rerum sunt modo Romæ oculati testes. Neque solum hoc, verum etiam parati sunt omnes, ut vel unico Vestræ Sanctitatis verbo mittantur in quascumque mundi provincias, etiam cum vitæ periculo præsenti ad propagandam Fidem Catholicam, et ad Sedis Apostolicæ tuendam dignitatem. Non ergo ullo modo detractant obedire, ut eorum adversarii conantur persuadere Vestræ Sanctitati et Illmo Protectori, sed cum proponantur illis duo, scilicet vel subesse D. Mauritii regimini vel Collegio exire, illi tutius reputant decedendo controversias exortas consopire, quam manendo majoris mali periculum incurrere.[2]

Certe, Pater Sanctissime, illi prætendunt multas et magnas et graves causas, quare sine læsione conscientiæ amplius[3] non possunt D. Mauritii imperio[4] subesse, quas nos causas[5] neque approbare, nec improbare penitus[6] volumus; tantum solum petimus ut ad vitandam eam offensionem scandalumque, quod ex horum juvenum ejectione consequi possit[7] dignetur V. Sanctitas [per] aliquem e suis eos prius audire quam discedant, qui Vestram deinde Sanctitatem et Illmum Protectorem de veritate informet, et de his causis, quas Scholares se habere justissimas prætendunt, dicat.[8] Nam quicquid obgarriant aut insusurrent eorum adversarii, proprii commodi causa, in contrarium tamen veritas ita se habet, quod post abjectionem horum juvenum cum tanta contumelia, nunquam hic Romæ talis iterum congregabitur multitudo Scholarium; nam isti sunt omnes vel Theologi aut Philosophi, et major eorum pars (imo fere omnes) nobili loco nati, et sic collecti ex omni Regno Angliæ, ut per omnes ejus provincias habeant parentes aut cognatos, aut amicos, quo major futura est omnium Anglicanorum animorum commotio, si 33 tantæ spei juvenes duorum tantum hominum privatorum factione Roma ejici permittantur.[9]

Variants from draft D in "Scritture 29":

[1] gravia . . . sunt] omits. [2] subesse . . . incurrere] obedire D. Mauritio vel decedere, illi reputant multo minus malum discedere, quam obediendo D. Mauritio majoris mali periculum incurrere, et gravioris scandali. Quod scandalum accidisset forte jam in ignominiam totius Gentis et Religionis Catholicæ nisi diligentia aliorum restitisset. [3 4 5 6] omits. [7] ut ad . . . possit] ad vitandum magnum scandalum quod in S. Rom. Ecclesiam ex discessu illorum accidere possit ut. [8] Protectorem . . . dicat] Protectorem nostrum informet de his causis quæ prætendunt, ne dicant se justitiam eo loco non potuisse obtinere, ubi sperabant etiam favorem habituros. [9] The last sentence runs as follows in R, p. 35:

[Hoc unum V. Sanctitati omni asseveratione affirmamus discessum illorum ab hac Sancta Sede maximum habere periculum non levis scandali; mille enim conciones aut libri scripti hæreticorum alienare non possent tot animos infirmorum a devotione et obedientia hujus sedis sanctæ quam hoc factum: præter infinitas insultationes hæreticorum qui triumphabunt de hac re, et per pulpita ubique buccinabunt. Præterea quicquid dicant aut insultarent adversarii illorum ad proprium suum commodum, tamen veritas ita se habet, quod post ejectionem istorum nunquam iterum talis hic Romæ congregabitur multitudo Anglorum juvenum. Nam isti sunt omnes theologi aut philosophi et majori ex parte, imo fere

omnes, nobili loco nati et sic collecti ex omni regno Angliæ, ut per omnes ejus partes habeant parentes aut cognatos aut amicos: quo major futura est omnium Anglicanorum animorum commotio si 33 tales juvenes propter duorum solum hominum favorem a Gregorio 13°, quem omnes Angli merito patrem Angliæ nominant, eiici permittantur. Non deest Ill^mo protectori nostro bonus animus, sed recta informatio, quæ ut habeatur in causa tanti [est] momenti. Nunquam enim Romæ tractata est pro regno Angliæ causa majoris momenti, et a qua pendet major animorum vel conglutinatio ad Sedem apostolicam, vel alienatio ab eadem. Petimus instantissime a V. S^te ut informet se de toto hoc negotio, qua re facta, si dimiserit postea eos juvenes, tamen eos dimittet contentos, et omnium piorum animis Vestra Sanctitas satisfaciet.]

And at the same tyme that this was done by the nation for the banished schollers, Fr Parsons also as hath byn said, though hitherto he had medled little, but onely to comfort the said schollers in there wants and necessities, and exorting them to accomodate themselves to Mr Archdeacon and Mr Morrice, yet now seeing the matter comen to this extreame issue of publike expulsion, and fearing the sequall if they should departe so highely discontented, and persuading himselfe also that the progresse of the newe Colledge would be to small purpose if it went forward with this dissension, procured as before is said, that partely by F. Benedictus Palmius, a famous Preacher, partly by F. Tolett and by Bianchetto the Master of the Popes Chamber, his Holiness was rightly informed of all the whole affayre and circumstances thereof, and how that English Schollers desired nothinge els but order and discipline and that Comissionars should be sent to offer each man an oath about there intentions in there studies, whereunto Pope Gregory harkened presently, and so immediatly to witt, the next day being Ashwednesday 24 of February, having understood also that the most Preachers in Rome had recomended there case that day in the pulpitt, he sent to seeke the expulsed schollers to come before him, and after many sweet words sent them home to the Colledge againe by there good frend and patron the Master *de Camera*, promising them they should have the government and discipline which they desired, and that he would name men to come and minister the oath to all, to see who would be priests and returne to there contryes or noe, and so he did within 3 or 4 days after, as shalbe declared, and those that would sweare that they had that desire, were stayed in the Colledge (who were all the expulsed English without exception) and the rest were dismissed, who were the most part of the opposite party, and this was the end of this sharpe contention.

F. Persons dealing for the schollers.

A Letter congratulatory and of thanksgiving wrytten by the schollers to there good frend the Master of the Popes Chamber after they were restored to the Colledge and had obtayned all there desires.

Illmo Patrono Domino Ludovico Blanketto
Cubiculi Pontificii Præfecto.....Cap. 17.

Gratias Blankette debitas, tuisque meritis pares, ideo minus reddere nos posse existimamus, quia tua in nos beneficia, non ab ulla humana persuasione, sed a secreto quodam Dei instinctu profecta esse, firmissime nobis persuasum habemus. Cum enim essemus quorundam hominum potentia suis commodis servientium in tantam rerum nostrarum desperationem adducti, ut nihil nobis refugii in terris videretur relictum, facta prius oratione, et re Deo communicata,[1] ad tuam recurrere Illmam Dominationem statuebamus et per illam ad Christi Vicarium a quo aliquid subsidii in tantis nostris malis plurima nos jubebant expectare, vel quia Vicarius esset Christi, qui Protector est omnium afflictorum, vel quia Gregorius, quod nomen Anglis tam est faustum atque propitium, ut in ejus sola recordatione universa illa gens Catholica exultet; vel denique quia in cæteris hominibus et causis etiam[2] rebus multis nostris (57) piissimum hunc Pontificem intellexeramus. Atque hæc nostra de bonitate Summi Pontificis animis nostris infixa tunc vel spes vel præsumptio, cujus[3] tamen bonitatem majorem omni spe nostra postea sumus experti.

De te autem Magnifice ac Illme Blankette nostræ causæ adjungendo[4] ut verum fateamur, exigua spes effulgebat,[5] cum enim egentes et ejecti, peregrini,[6] sine authoritate, sine gratia, perdifficile nobis videbatur, ut vir tantæ dignitatis et tantorum negotiorum humillimam causam nostram susciperet,[7] sed omnia nobis longe aliter ceciderunt atque metuebamus. Nulli enim unquam filii magis benignum patrem aut afflicti promptiorem patronum nacti sunt,[8] quam nos te in hac[9] habuimus. Quæ egregia officia ac beneficia tua et propter animum generosum, quo illa nobis sponte et sine cujuspiam rogatu præstitisti, et propter maximas utilitates ex iisdem in universam gentem nostram emanaturas, sunt sane nobis et esse debent gratissima, et monumentis in Anglia firmissimis,[10] si unquam nobis Deus reditum dederit, ad omnem æternitatem consignanda; nihil enim unquam majoris momenti Romæ hactenus[11] pro regno Angliæ tractatum existimamus, quam fuerit institutio hujus Seminarii Anglicani propter quam vitas et animas nostras primum[12] Gregorio Anglorum afflictorum parenti et patrono munificentissimo, et post eum tibi Blankette cum gratiis immortalibus nostra omnia debemus. Et quæ æternitas Gregorii XIII infinita beneficia in Anglia[m] posteris intuenda confirmabit, eadem Ludovici Blanketti ejusdem Gregorii Cubiculi Magistri insignem in Anglos tam difficili tempore exhibitam benignitatem omnibus sæculis demonstrabit.

Modo ergo nihil restat, nisi ut Illmam Dom. tuam rogemus, ut conservet in nos amorem suum, velitque esse quod modo suscepit, nobis nostræque Nationi perpetuum patrocinium. Non enim deerit, in quo tua se pro nobis frequenter exerceat et laboret benignitas, quia non deerit inimicus homo, qui huic tanto nostro bono a sua Sanctitate per te obtento invideat, et quantum poterit insidietur.[13] Et ut apertius loquamur antiqui adversarii nostri non feren-

tes æquo animo[14] hanc egregiam[15] disciplinam a Patribus Societatis introductam, quærent modis omnibus pacem nostram turbare.[16] Et cum multas jam his ipsis diebus[17] conspirationes occultas contra nos et Superiores nostros inierint,[18] videntur palam jam provocasse contra nos gentem Scotorum, eisque persuasisse, ut libello Sanctitati suæ ante aliquot dies exhibito postulent Scotos etiam in hoc nostrum Collegium admitti. Quæ postulatio quam iniqua et quantum periculum paci nostræ apportet non solum hujus Collegii, verum etiam majorum Rerumpublicarum (58) et Regnorum perturbatio inde enata demonstrabit, quam nos postea[19] aliis litteris separatim duximus demonstrare.[20]

Scoti petunt eidem Collegio inseri.

[1]Inserts [cuius causa oppugnari videbatur cum nostra. [2]sic in R: in MS. query sign in margin. [3]cuius] quam: in MS. query sign. [4]nostræ . . . adjungendo] omits. [5]effulgebat] erat. [6]inserts [et incogniti tibi essemus, sine patronis. [7]susciperet] attenderet. [8]patronum . . . sunt] ac paratiorem patronum habuerunt. [9]hac] in his omnibus angustiis. [10]omits. [11]id. [12] id. [13]insidietur] resistat. [14]omits. [15]egregiam] pacem ac optimam. [16]pacem nostram turbare] eandem pacem perturbare. [17]jam . . . diebus] omits. [18] inserts [nihilque iisdem proficere potuerint, quia nobis statim patefacta res est. [19]omits [perturbatio . . . postea. [20]So R: in MS. demonstrabimus with query sign. In R Father Persons has added with his own hand the date March 17, 1579.

There ensue certayne gratulatory verses and poemes to the foresaid Master of the Camera which the Schollers sent him.....Cap. 18.

Ad Illmum et Revmum Dnm, D. Ludovicum Blankettum, Nobilem Bononiensem apud Smum D. N. Gregorium XIII. Cubiculi Magistrum, Scholarium Anglorum Ode.*

Qualis vagantem libere, et anxiis
Curis solutum, perculit impetus
Formidolosus quem repente
Ira dedit calefacta motu.
Tunc mens nec illi pectori, nec color
Vultu remansit, nec calor ossibus
Circumque diffusis tenebris,
Cunctam scitam timuere mortem.
At forte si quis non sine Numine
Ægrum levavit semianimum, et sinu
Fovit benigno et spem reduxit
Aspera non merito ferenti.
Emersus alta nocte, natantia
Nitendo, vix vi, lumina pallidam
Tollitque frontem, nec peracti
Immemor, et metuens futuri:
Linguæque solvit vincula, quæ diu

* Both text (e.g., stanzas 2, 4) and scansion (e.g., lines 8, 10, 21, 24) of these verses are often at fault.

Inclusa vox seram inveniat viam,
Vitamque servatam professus
Devovet egregio Patrono.
Blankette talis compulit timor
Et mortis instar tale periculum
Urbi commissos Britannos
Et veteres tremefecit Anglos.
Quam pene pulsi, vix bene cognitam
Pelli dolentes, liquimus Albulam;
Fœdaque concussi ruina
(59) Artibus excidimus decoris,
Si non moratus consilio dato
Esses migrantes, apposita et manu
Non sponte fulcisses labantes,
Gregorii auspiciis secundis.
Jam perge, et æque si quid adhuc preces
Afferre possunt, fortiter effice
Incepta, sic res Angla priscis
Moribus eniteat, virisque.
Quam turpis, heu, nunc crimine non suo.
Huc nostra tendunt, hic manet exitus
Justus laboris, si beatis
Annuerit Deus ille cœptis.
Hæc dum parantur, munere dum tuo
Majora pubes Anglicana parturit
Enutrita Romæ: sume magni
Parva licet monumenta amoris.

Anglia ad Ludovicum Blankettum.

Proh quantus tibi pectus amor Blankette fatigat,
Quanta meæ gentis versat tua viscera cura,
Intima cui Summi reseras penetralia Patris,
Et faciles aditus cupide læto omine pandis,
Dum pavidas imitatur oves, perque avia cursat
Pastorem quærens Summum, qui pectora firmet
Alloquio atque avide sancto det pabula vultu;
Viscera Gregorius divina in pectora servat
Tertius a decimo, fama super æthera notus:
Gregorius primus Fidei me lumine claram
Reddiderat quondam; sed postquam lurida pestis
Hæreseos mea regna atro dente undique pressit,
Et fudit diras humana in corda tenebras,
Gregorius me alter Cælesti numine plenus
Roborat, et certam Fidei sperare salutem
Consiliis jubet æthereis et mente benigna.
Ergo quid mirer, sapiens Blankette, subactæ
Proli propitiam nostræ[1] per singula mentem
Affulsisse tuam, qui primus numina tanti

[1] MS. vestræ

Gregorii officio observas? Hinc flumina manant
In tua corda piæ mentis, studiumque faciendi
Seu fonte ex vivo, felix hoc pascere vultu
In terris Blankette sacro: qui sidera torquet
Pontificem tantum tibi servet, servet et oris
Nostris et servet Fidei per sæcula mille.
Vive diu Blankette: tibi tota Anglia grates
Solvere dum tentat, stupet, audet, vincitur illa
Tandem: quis possit verbis[1] æquare benignam
Mentem: polliceor memori tua nomina proli
Clara fore æternum, et seclis celebranda futuris.

After all this comfort and congratulation, yet were not the Schollers quiette in minde, for that they saw not all performed which was promised them by his Holiness at there departure from his presence—for albeit the government were by his Holiness comended to F. Generall of the Jesuits, yet was it but slowly accepted by them, and both Mr Archdeacon and Mr Morrice had often recourse to his Holiness and to the Datrye, and unto the said Cardinall Protectour about the same, and besides there came two rumors abroad that greeved much the schollers, first that though the government for studies and manners were given to the Fathers, yet should the care of the Pilgrimes with a good part of the Hospitall rents for that use remaine unto Mr Morrice, and the second was that the Scottishe nation had given up a Memoriall that they myght be admitted also to the participation of this new Colledge, and the like was doubtfull of the Irishe, and this was suspected to be favored also secretly under pretence of more publike good by Mr Archdeacon, partely to be revenged that way of the English schollers as ungratefull, partely also for that having both Welch, Irish and Scottishe schollers in the Colledge and they three joyning togeather against the Englishe (as easily they are wonte) they might the better hould downe the other; but the schollers presently thought good to oppose themselves against the first, and so made a Memoriall to his Holiness against it, in these words followinge.

Two new rumours which caused much greefe.

A Memoriall of the Schollers against the leavinge the Hospitality of Pilgrimes unto Mr Morrice..... .....Cap. 19.

Sanctissime Pater.

Seminarii vestri Anglicani scholares et filii obligatissimi jam diu justi regiminis formam avidissime expectantes, quo felicius in pietatis et studiorum curriculo proficiant, Sanctitatem Vestram (alium [enim[1]] in Patronum et Parentem in his suis angustiis non inveniunt) humiliter implorare coguntur, ut eorum necessitatibus gratiosa benignitate provideri jubeat.[2] Nam ab illo tempore, quo Sanctitatis suæ pedes ad perpetuam animorum nostrorum consolationem exosculati sumus, nihil quicquam[3] de nostris rebus intelligere

[1] R omits.

potuimus. Cum igitur Collegii vestri corpus sine capite maneat, fit ut litterarum et virtutum exercitia minus floreant, et gravissimis rerum necessariarum molestiis Alumni vestri premantur: protinus igitur sicut semper antehac, ut nos instruendi et regendi cura R^dis Patribus Societatis plenissime commendetur.

Quia autem constat Sanctitatem Vestram ad utilitatem Seminarii Domum hospitalis Anglorum transtulisse, propter quod antiqui Capellani loco cesserunt, valde inconveniens esse videtur, ut posthabita communi Nationis nostræ utilitate et Sanctitatis Vestræ intentione privati alicujus cupiditate hoc perpetuum beneficium opprimatur. Et tamen Archidiaconus Cameracensis (quod non sine dolore experimur) cum familiari suo D. Mauritio, qua potest arte et authoritate maximam redituum partem a Seminario avertere[4] nititur. Cum enim annui Hospitalis fructus ad 1560 aureos plus minus perveniant, Archidiaconus 700 solum aureos ad usum scholarium elargiendos aperte asseruit. Peregrinorum enim recipiendorum prætextu (quorum perexiguus his temporibus solet esse numerus) magnam pecuniæ summam avertere, et diversi præterea regiminis titulum D. Mauritio conquerere videtur, cum tamen id necesse non sit.[5] Peregrinorum enim[6] cura et instructio alicui Sacerdoti ex Scholaribus vestris magis idoneo[7] a Patribus committi possit, qui nihil pro eo pietatis officio aut nominis titulo solvendum sibi[8] speret. Quo quidem fiet, ut diversitas regiminis et divisio in eadem domo et bonorum Hospitalis dissipatio tollatur. Et præterea (quod maximum est) ad minus 12 Scholarium numerus augeatur, et Seminarium ipsum quotidie crescat, cum non sit distinctus Custos et familia diversa, quæ inutiliter Hospitalis bona devorans quietem scholarium[9] ac Patrum regimen perturbet.

Hospitalis redditus.

Venerandos igitur Patres Societatis nobis præfici et plenissime præesse suppliciter postulamus; sic enim fiet, ut ex Archidiaconi variis modis hanc petitionem acerrime oppugnantis et aliorum Adversariorium manibus erepti, tum Deo Omnipotenti et Apostolicæ sedis dignitati et etiam patriæ nostræ utilitati quieta et secura mentis alacritate serviamus.[10] Martii 5, Anno 1579.[11]

Persons has followed the Register R; the following are the variants of the original duplicate:

[1]MS. in, with query mark. [2]Jubeat] dignetur. [3]Nam... nihil quicquam] Non enim... quicquam. [4]maximam... avertere] grandem... consumere. [5]omits. [6]omits. [7]inserts [pro tempore semper. [8]solvendum sibi] propter laborem et fructuosum in catechizando exercitium. [9]Studiosorum. [10]inserts [Si vero Suæ Sanctitati placuerit de veritatibus istis plura intelligere, aliquem ex Patribus Societatis nobiscum commorantem ad se vocare dignetur, qui eas equissime declarare et confirmare possit. [11]This date is an erroneous addition by Persons. On the back of the duplicate, in a contemporary hand, Exhibitum fuit 18 Martii, et 19 eiusdem responsum [per] scholares Anglicanos super eiusdem seminarii introitibus et redditibus ad Cardinalem Moronem: et hoc eodem die vocavit ad se P. Generalem, et nomine Pontificis [jussit eum] suscipere curam seminarii nostri. Postea vocati [sunt] nostri Patres [et] Cardinalis illis plenam authoritatem concessit.

After all matters ended as it seemed betwene the English and Welche about contention of the new Colledge, there arose another

with the Scottishmen who beinge mooved thereunto as was suspected by the Archdeacon Mr Morrice by the way of revenge, as before hath byn tould, and furthered by the authority of the Lord (62) John Lesley, Bishope of Rosse in Scotland, residing then in Rome, they gave up a petition to his Holiness to have parte also in the English Colledge, against which demaunde when much had byn said by the English abroade in the Cytty, the schollers gave up also certayne reasons to the same effecte, which do here insue.

Rationes quare iniqua sit judicanda postulatio Scotorum ante paucos dies Sanctitati suæ exhibita: qua petebatur, ut Scoti admittantur in Collegium quod nuper Sua Sanctitas erexit pro Anglis.....Cap. 20.

1. Prima ratio est,[1] quia manifestum fit,[2] etiam ex confessione quorumdam Scotorum illos hoc petisse[3] instigatos a[4] Wallis, idque in odium Anglorum: Walli enim sex vel septem numero, cum inter Anglos hic degant, nec præsentem Collegii pacem æquo animo ferant,[5] vellent Scotos in partem factionis suæ contra Anglos advocare.

2. Quia cum Angli et Scoti populi sint finitimi, et semper fere armis contendant de imperii finibus, nullo modo pacifice poterunt vivere in eodem Collegio, quia statim erumperet naturalis illa animorum[6] dissensio, et sic hoc Collegium, quod modo in pace est, continuis seditionibus vexaretur, maxime cum certissimum sit Wallos et Scotos se in factione contra Anglos conjuncturos.

3. Quia paucissimi Scoti vel etiam Walli eum habent studiorum finem quam Angli, nimirum, ut absoluto litterarum curriculo in patriam docendæ Religionis Catholicæ causa redeant, periculisque se pro eadem objiciant[7]; et de Scotis manifestum est, toto hoc tempore quo Scotia infecta fuit Hæresi, vix ullum hactenus[8] audivimus ex his partibus illuc ivisse ad juvandam patriam, cum tamen id tuto propemodum[9] facere potuerint, neque istiusmodi ibi Leges contra Catholicos latæ sunt atque in Anglia.[10] De Wallis vero quod hunc spiritum raro habeant, patet ex recenti nostri Collegii examine ante biduum ex commissione Suæ Sanctitatis et Illmi Protectoris[11] de Alumnorum omnium voluntate facto; de quo paulo post.

Variants from Lib. 304, fol. 65 v. [1]omits. [2]videtur. [3]petere. [4]ab adversariis nostris. [5]ferre possent. [6]inserts inter eos. [7]Quia . . . objiciant] Quia videtur paucissimos Scotos, vel etiam Wallos habere finem in studiis Anglorum, qui est quam citissime redire in patriam et vitam exponere pro fidei Catholicæ defensione. [8]omits. [9]omits. [10]neque . . . Anglia] quia nunquam tam crudeles leges ibi contra Catholicos latæ fuerint, atque in Anglia; ad quam tamen [plures] videmus multos [per] annos ivisse et quotidie ire ad præsentem mortem. [11]The conclusion is as follows [facto, in quo ex parte exigua Wallorum tres recusarunt ire in Angliam, ex parte vero Anglorum nullus, sed 40 juvenes maxima ex parte nobili loco nati alacri animo jurarunt, se ituros ad omnem nutum Suæ Sanctitatis et superiorum ab ea constitutorum, ad quamcunque etiam præsentem mortem pro defensione fidei Catholicæ.

4ª. Quia nihil potuit unquam tentari a Scotis tam periculosum Reginæ Scotiæ, jam in Anglia incarceratæ quam hoc postulare. Nam cum Angli Catholici quorum potentia liberanda est, si unquam liberanda, intellexerint Scotos

tam odiosum quid postulare contra Anglos a Sua Sanctitate, vehementissime alienabuntur ab illis, et consequenter etiam fieri non poterit, quia diminuetur amor multorum erga ipsam Reginam, quod Deus prohibeat. Unde nos humillime petimus a Sua Sanctitate ut Scotis benefaceret quantum nobis, sed non in hoc Collegio, quia sic et illorum et noster progressus in litteris et virtute et spiritu ea ex re impediretur.

The Scottish petition by this and other meanes was rejected, and the Colledge assigned only to those that are borne in England and Wales, then followed an examination appointed by his Holiness conforme unto the sundry demands made before by the English Schollers, who had mynd, and who had not, to goe into England when tyme should bee, for which case Cardinall Morone had order to send Comissioners to the Colledge, to examine every scholler upon there oath about there intention therein. The forme is sett downe in the Register of the Colledge in these words followinge.

This important document is an excerpt from the Register of the English College, called also the *Liber Rubrus*, or *The Annals*. There is a transcript in the Record Office (*Roman Transcripts* VIII), but the black sheep are there unfortunately omitted. In editing this Father Persons has (1) inserted the nationality of each scholar, *Anglus* or *Wallus;* (2) he has adopted the formula "juravit ut supra," where the text often gives "idem juramento firmavit"; (3) he has omitted the formula "Missus fuit in Angliam," or "Ivit in Angliam," the usual phrase for expressing that the regular college course had been followed, while "discessit" means the student had "left," perhaps under a cloud; (4) he has also as a rule (but not always) abbreviated in the margin the note which is appended in the register to each name, and which briefly mentions what the post-collegiate career of the student was.

Where the note "missus fuit in Angliam," etc., occurs in the *Annals*, it is here added in *initials* enclosed in square brackets. The date of the mission is not mentioned, but it can be found from the *Annals* printed by Foley, VI, 67, etc., or from Canon Estcourt's table in Knox, *Douay Diaries*, p. 297.

Father Christopher Grene in his *Collectanea N* (II, pp. 4-8), which relates to the English College, has commenced a commentary on seventeen of the names given below, and Brother H. Foley (*Records S.J.* VI, pp. 130-138) has published a translation with notes from the Record Office transcript. But owing to the above mentioned omissions and several inaccuracies this version must be used with caution.

[*Nomina Alumnorum.*]

Anno Domini 1579 die 23 mensis Aprilis quæsitum fuit coram Revdmo Domino Spetiano Mediolanensi, vices Illmi Cardinalis Moroni tenente, et RR. PP. Joan. Cola Provinciali Societatis Jesu et Ruberto Bellarmino ejusdem Societatis presbytero, ab omnibus infra scriptis scholaribus Sanctitatis suæ nomine, an sint parati vitam Ecclesiasticam ducere, et in Angliam proficisci, quotiescumque Superioribus visum fuerit; et responderunt ut infra.....Cap. 21.

1. Martyr. Pater Rodolphus Shervinus Anglus annorum 29. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ studens, dixit atque tactis scripturis juravit, se potius hodie quam cras paratum esse ad nutum Superiorum in Angliam ad animas

juvandas proficisci. [Missus fuit in Angliam, et factus est Martyr.]

2. Confess. in car. P. Richardus Haddocus [Lancastrensis] Angl. ann: 27. Sacerdos, sacræ Theologiæ dans operam, idem juramento promisit. [M. f. i. A. ad animas juvandas—Confessor in carcere.]

3. Confess. P. Martinus Arraius Angl. ann: 28. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, idem juramento promisit. [M. f. i. A. ut supra. Confessor, passus carceres.]

4. Confess. P. Jonas Meredith Angl. ann: 31. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, juravit ut supra. [M. f. i. A. ut supra. Confessor.]

5. Confess. P. Joannes Hascuus Angl. ann: 33. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, juravit ut supra. [M. f. i. A. ut supra.]

6. Confess. P. Leonardus Hidus Angl. ann: 29. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, juravit ut supra. [M. f. i. A. u. s. C.]

7. Martyr. P. Lucas Kirbeius Angl. ann: 30. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, juravit ut supra. [M. f. i. A. u. s. Martyr 2.]

8. Confess. P. Gulielmus Harisonus Angl. ann: 26. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, juravit ut supra. [M. f. i. A. u. s. C.]

9. Confess. mortuus in Galliis P. Edvardus Rishtonus Angl. ann: 29. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, juravit ut supra. [M. f. i. A. u. s. C.]

10. Confess. P. Georgius Birkettus Angl. ann: 29. Sacerdos, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, idem juramento promisit. [M. f. i. A. u. s.]

11. Audoenus Tomasius Wallus ann: 40. Laicus, Sæ. Theologiæ dans operam, dixit se non posse hoc jurare, non habens talem animum. [Dimissus fuit ex Collegio.]

12. Rogerius Smythus Wallus ann: 38. dixit se non paratum. [Dimissus fuit ex Collegio.]

13. Confess. Arthurus Pittus Angl. ann: 22. Sæ. Theol. studens, Minoribus Ordinibus initiatus, dixit se esse paratum ad jussum Superiorum, et reliquos suscipere Ordines, et in Angliam ad juvandas animas proficisci et hoc juramento affirmavit. [M. f. i. A., C.]

14. Apostatavit. Antonius Tyrellus Angl. ann: 27. Laicus, Sæ. Theol. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. e. i. A. Proditorem egit postea ad tempus, sed postea publice eum pœnituit atque declaravit ex suggestu—1588.]

15. Christophorus Audoenus Angl. ann: 19. Laicus, Sæ. Theol. studens, juravit ut supra. [Obiit in Collegio.]

16. Confess. primo, deinde obsedit in Inquisitione. Edvardus Grateleius Angl. ann: 23. Laicus, Sæ. Theol. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. e. i. A. Pessime se postea gessit, initis cum Walsinghamo Reginæ Secretario commerciis clandestinis una cum Gilb. Giffordo —1588.]

17. Incidit postea in maniam. Joannes Gorus Angl. ann: 32. habens primam Tonsuram, juravit ut supra. [M. e. in Galliam. Cecidit postea Parisiis in hæresim anno 1582, sed iterum rediit ad sanitatem.]

18. Apostatavit. Thomas Bellus Angl. ann: 28. studens Metaphyc. in quatuor Minoribus Ordinibus, juravit ut supra. [M. i. A. ad operandum in vinea Domini. Jam agit ministrum Præsidis Eboracensis—1594.]

19. Mortuus in Anglia. Rodulphus Standishius Angl. ann: 22. in Minoribus Ord., Metaphyc. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. i. A.]

20. Est modo Assistens. Morganus Clenocus Wallus. ann: 21. in Minoribus, Metaphyc. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. i. A.]

21. Præest modo monialibus Angl. Ulissipone. Sethus Fosterus Angl. ann: 22. Laicus, Metaphyc. studens, juravit ut supra. [Missus Remos ad docendum, ingressus est postea Religionem Stæ Birgittæ.]

22. Joannes Musheus Angl. ann: 27. in Minoribus, Metaphyc. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. i. A.]

23. Mortuus postea Parisiis in carcere ob seditionem. Gilbertus Giffordus Angl. ann: 19. Laicus, Metaphyc. studens, juravit ut supra. [Dimissus fuit. Multas postea proditiones contra causam Catholicam an. 1588 apparuit hunc Gilbertum fecisse.]

24. Incidit in phrenesim et rediit in se. Tho. Bruscus Angl. Ann: 26. Laicus, Phys. studens, juravit ut supra. [Discessit in Angliam.]

25. Apostatavit. Gulielmus Thederus Angl. Ann: 22. Laicus, Phys. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. e. i. A.]

26. Audoenus Robinsonus Angl. Ann: 19. Laicus, Phys. studens, juravit ut supra. [Discessit propter adversam valetudinem].

27. Mortuus est Jesuita Romæ. Gulielmus Hartus Angl. Ann: 18. Laicus, Logicæ studens, juravit ut supra. [Ingressus est Societatem Jesu.]

28. Joan. Bartonus Angl. Ann: 20. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Ingressus est Societatem Jesu.]

29. Societatem Patrum ingressus, in mari periit. Robertus Benettus Wallus. Ann: 19. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Mense Decembris 1581, ordines subdiaconatus et diaconatus accepit. Ingressus Societatem 1587 in Gallia.]

30. Thomas Wryghtus Angl. Ann: 18. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Ingressus est Societatem Jesu, Feb. 3, 1580.]

31. Oliverus Holovellus Angl. Ann: 23. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Mense Novembris 1582 suscepit omnes ordines sacros a R^mo Asafensi. Obiit in exilio.]

32. Robertus Wodroffus Angl. Ann: 25. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. i. A.]

33. Lancellotus Protterus Angl. Ann: 20. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Mortuus est.]

34. Apostatavit. Laurentius Caddeus Angl. Ann: 21. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Dimissus fuit ex Collegio. Male postea se gessit in Anglia.]

35. Mortuus est Præpositus Cameracensis. Hugo Griffidius Wallus. ann: 23. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Dimissus fuit ex Collegio.]

36. Griffidus Helisæus Wallus. ann: 23. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. f. i. A.]

37. Joan. Hargravius Angl. Ann: 18. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Mense Novembris 1582, factus est subdiaconus et diaconus.]

38. Martyr. Georgius Hadocus Angl. Ann: 22, Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [M. f. i. A: postea Martyr factus.]

39. Cecidit sed surrexit, Hispali mortuus. Edvardus Osbornus Angl. ann: 24. Laicus, Log. studens, juravit ut supra. [Dimissus fuit quatenus relapsus. Cecidit in Anglia, postea resipuit et lapsum suum confessus est, 1582.]

40. Thomas Lovellus Angl. ann: 19. Laicus, Log. studens, dixit se non esse paratum. [Dimissus fuit.]

41. Succes-sit post D. Alan. in regimine Coll. Rhemensis. Richardus Barrettus Angl. ann: 35. Laicus, Sæ. Theol. operam daturus, dixit se esse paratum pro arbitrio Superiorum sacros ordines suscipere et in Angliam ad juvandas animas proficisci. [Ivit Remos ad juvandum Collegium. Egregius vir, factus est postea Rhemis illiusque Ecclesiæ canonicus 1587, et collegii Rector 1588.]

42. Martyr. Gulielmus Hartus Angl. Ann: 21. Laicus, Sæ. Theol. operam daturus, juravit ut supra. [Ivit in Angliam, post illustris factus est Martyr, anno 158[4]2, *sic.*]

43. Gulielmus Biscopus Angl. Ann: 24. Laicus, Metaph. operam daturus, juravit ut supra. [Ivit in A. Confessor.]

44 Andreas Gibbonus Angl. ann: 21. primam Tonsuram habens, studiisque Logicis operam daturus, juravit ut supra [Obiit Bononiæ, 1583.]

45. Christophorus Theulesius Angl. Ann: 19. Laicus, Logicus, juravit ut supra. [Logicam aggressurus].

(65) 46 Christophorus Hodgsonus [Odhosonus] Angl. Ann: 18. Laicus, Log[icam aggressurus], juravit ut supra. [Mense Novembris facti sunt Diaconi a Rmo Asafensi. Pater Christophorus Odhosonus m. f. i. A. 1583].

47. Joan. Boltonus Angl. Ann: 19. Laicus, Log. juravit ut supra.

48. Robertus Middlemorus Angl. Laicus, Humanioribus litteris operam daturus receptus fuit tanquam convictor ut solveret ex suis, et ideo nihil juravit, sed promisit quousque in Collegio fuerit obedire, et eadem præstare quæ alii, quoad disciplinam domus pertinet. [Discessit in Galliam.]

49. Rodulphus Bycleus Angl. Ann: 22. Laicus, Sæ. Theol. operam daturus, promisit vitam Ecclesiasticam ducere,

et pro Superiorum arbitrio in Angliam ad juvandas animas proficisci, et hoc juramento firmavit. [M. f. i. A. in Aprili 158[3]9 *sic.*]

Omnes supradicti scholares qui tunc temporis in Collegio hoc Anglicano reperiebantur, de mandato Illmi Card. Moroni fuerunt recepti tanquam Alumni S. D. N. [Hic inferius notabuntur scholarium nomina qui de mandato Illmi Protectoris recipientur in posterum.]

50. Joannes Paschalis Ann: 27. Theol. studens, receptus fuit tanquam convictor eodem modo, quo supradictus Robertus Middlemorus; cum SS. Pontifex Greg. XIII. proprio ore dixerit P. Rectori hujus Collegii se fore contentum ut tales convictores recipiantur, etc. [Missus fuit in Angliam, et statim ex infirmitate cecidit, sed postea resipuit, anno 1580.]

How all contentions ended in Rome about the Colledg, relation thereof was given to Dr Allen President of the Englishe Seminary in Rhemes and he invited to come to Rome.....Cap. 22.

Albeit during the tyme of the troubles as well Mr Archdeacon and others of his side, as divers of the priests and schollers and English living abroad in the towne had written thereof largely to Rhemes and other places, and namely to Dr Allen, yet all now being ended it seemed a more fitt tyme to give fuller relation then before; and so besides many large Letters of the Priests and schollers, they intreated also F. Persons to wryte his judgment to Mr D. Allen, and to persuade him to come to Rome with all the convenient speed possible for better settling of all thinges and making peace betweene the minds exulcerated through the late contentions, and for many other good purposes and respects which appeareth by that parte of his Letter that here I have thought good to sett downe, for thus he wryteth.

F. Persons letter calling D. Allen to Rome.

Good Mr Doctor, I shall not need to wryte much at this tyme, partely for that I suppose the Priests and Schollers do, (and I have done also myselfe at other tymes) and partely for that I hope to see you here shortely, at what tyme we may more comodiously talke of all matters in presence, yet for that I am requested by some here to touch certayne points unto you, I shall do that breefely, to witt first what hath passed here in this great contention, and secondly the importance of your speedy coming hither.

For the first, though the issue of this contention hath brought forth some good effects for benefitt of this new Colledge, which perhapes woulde not have ensued (or at least not so soone) if this sharpe bickarment had not fallen out; yet have there many things passed therein, which I could wishe had byn undone, or at least done with some more moderation on all hands, and this for the creditt of our whole Nation.

Touching Mr Morrice his government, I thinke verely and do partly knowe also that it was insufficient for such a multitude: and how could it be otherwise he being alone without help and never practized in such a mannage before, the schollers also were very evill provided for necessaries, sometymes going all ragged, and in worse case (some of them at least, and these of the principall) as I have seene with myne eyes; nationall partialyties also in distribution of thinges I thinke was not so carefully avoyded as ought to have byn, yet could I have wished the schollers to have dealt more moderately for redresse, if it might have byn; and at least I would the difference betwixte Welch and English [had not been so][1] often named or so much urged here among strangers, seeing that of both nations there be very good and vertuous people[2] at home and abroad, who by this open contention may be driven into division, but who can stay yonge men or ould eyther once incensed on both sides by nationall contentions. You know what passeth in Oxford in like occasions. If I should tell you of particular excesses passed on both sides, you would laugh, and yet it would greeve you, as it doth me. When all the English were put out of the Colledge, one Hugh Griffen, Nephew to Mr Archdeacon Lewes, is said to have given a leape into the Colledge Hall sayinge *Whoe now but a Welchman*, which[3] when it came to the others eares you may thinke how it sett them on, though little heed is to be given to his words or deeds, being very free in both, for since that tyme, when one night he came very late home the gates being shutt, and I having charge of the Colledg, sent to knowe the cause of his being forth so late, he said I was a K. and with that answered all. On the other side a certaine Cardinall being desirous to know the difference betwene Welch and English, one answered well (as yt semeth to me) that it is almost (67) like the difference betwene the Biscayans and Castilians in Spaine, where the first are the reliques of the ould inhabitante Spaniards, and the second are more new, coming of the Gothes that conquered the country, but my L. Prior of St Johns hearing of this answere was offended therewith and said the difference was rather as betwene the Moores and Castilians, applying the Moores to the Welchmen, who yet see not in reason how it can stand, seeing the Moores are later in Spayne than the Castilians; but[3] thus you see when Nationall dissention is once raysed up, how hard it is to appease it, for which cause the more necessary is thought your speedy repare hither, and to that end have we procured you both license of his holiness to come and sent you also some Viaticum, so as we trust to see you shortely.

The difference of Welch and English to much urged.

A passionate answer.

To show you here the comodities and utilityes which may ensue of your iorney, it shalbe to small purpose, for your wisdome will farre better conceave it then we, yet these poynts have we proposed heere to moove his Holiness and others Superiours to consent and desire your coming, first the pacifying of grudges betwene the two Nations,

Profits expected by D. Allen's journey to Rome.

seing Mr D. Lewis is your great frende, then the uniting and combining of this Colledge to yours there in all good correspondence, and these two were sufficient for his Holiness: but further to ourselves we have proposed the confirmation and encrease of that Seminaries pension by his Holiness: the right informing also of F. Generall of the Society in our English affayres, where perhaps you may induce him to ioyne some of his also (seeing God hath sent so many now of our nation into the Society) with our other Priests to go into England, seeing otherwise you and others have wrytten that it is much desired by Catholikes there, and here I am sure there wanteth not desire in divers to adventure there bloud in that mission, among whome I dare put my selfe for one, if Holy Obedience imploy me therein, for seing I have offered my selfe a good while agoe to the Mission of the Indies and cannot obtayne it, it may be God will have me go to this other, but whether I goe or noe, I thinke the combination of other Fathers of the Society with our Priests of the Seminaries is so importing[4] a thing and of so great consequence, as if by your coming you brought no other thing to passe but this, you would thinke it well bestowed in tyme,[5] but I hope you shall do this and much more, whereof we shall talke more largely at our meeting, and so to that tyme I remitt all the rest, with my most hartiest comendations to yourself and Mr D. Bristowe, to Mr Licentiate Martyn, and all the rest. From Rome this 30 of March, 1579.

F. Persons offereth himself to the English Mission.

Yours wholy ever

ROBERT PERSONS.

This letter has been published from Father Grene's transcript, *Collectanea P*, fol. 381, in Knox, *Letters of Cardinal Allen*, p. 74. This supplies us with the following variants: [1]Inserts [had not been so. In the margin of the MS. the query sign. [2]Inserts [both. [3]Father Grene has left a blank for this which has not been filled up. [4]Important. [5]you . . . tyme] you would have well bestowed your time.

With this and other letters, D. Allen resolved to come to Rome, where he arrived the 10th of October the same yeare, and there came with him his Brother Mr Gabriell Allen, Mr D. Worthington and Mr Roger Baynes; and havinge stayed here all the winter departed againe upon Ashwednesday the year (1580) having brought to passe the moast of the poyntes touched in the former Letter, for he established a good correspondence betwene his Colledge of Rhemes and this of Rome, and obteyned of his Holiness 50 crownes a month more in gould for Rhemes, and that there should be a Mission of English Fathers sent into England, as soone after there was, and the persons were named before his departure, to witt F. Campion who lived in Prage and F. Persons in Rome. But as for the first poynt intended by his coming, to witt of making peace betweene the two Nations, though good words were given on both sides, yet was it not but from the teeth outward as afterward appeared, whereupon also ensued a

Mr Gabriell Allen, D. Worthington, Mr Rog. Baynes.

great contumacy of faction and contention still, as the sequell will show, there followed not also at that time the poynt which F. Persons thereupon and other frendes (especially Sir Francis Ingle-field in Spayne) had much desired and labored for, to witt that Dr Allen should be made Cardinall, to which effect some recomenda-tion was procured by the said Knyght and Father, and the Count Olivares Embassadoure of the Spanish King in Rome was well disposed thereunto, but yet the Pope would not yeld thereunto then, and so for that tyme he returned. And for that two Letters more have comen to my (69) hands since the writinge of this about this affaire, I shall set them both heere downe, the one of the first Rector of the English Colledge in Rome (though I put not his name) wrytten unto D. Allen after that the Colledge was begonne, but before the said D. coming to Rome, which Letter was wrytten in Latyn. And another of F. Parsons in Englishe unto F. William Goode of the same Society lying that tyme in Suetia, which Letter being very large I have seene of that Fathers owne hand, and remaineth in the Archivium of the Colledge. The Latyn letter beginnethe thus.

The Letter of the first Rector in Rome to Mr D. Allen President of the Englishe Colledge in Rhemes, about the subordination of the said two Colledges .....Cap. 23.

Admodum Rde et Magnifice Domine Alane.
Pax Christi.

Significavi jam antea R. Dominationi tuæ de principio bonoque progressu hujus Collegii, idque facere sæpius in posterum videor debere, cum sciam te maximam istorum juvenum, qui partus tui sunt et filii in Christo, curam et sollicitudinem habere. Nunc autem fere aliud non habeo quod scribam nisi ut præpares nobis novum subsidium, hoc est novos Scholares pro locis qui vacui[1] sunt, de quibus jam antea ad te scripsi, et ut optime speres de universo hoc Seminario, quod eo jam loco constitutum per Dei gratiam videtur, ut magnum brevi tempore progressum et certissimum Angliæ sub-sidium videatur. Intus enim tanto fervore scholares omnes sese præparant ad illud Anglicum certamen, sicque anhelant quotidie ad tormenta et mortem pro Fide Catholica, ut impossibile videatur quin Deus vehementer adjuvet tam pios et tam sanctos conatus. Foris, autem tanta est bonitas, tanta liberalitas, tam mirabilis affectio Sæ Sanctitatis erga hoc Collegium, Illmi etiam Protectoris tam solicita et tam paterna cura; ut zelus, fervorque scholarium cum per se (ut dixi) maximus sit, tum hac insigni Patronorum suo-rum bonitate atque benevolentia augeatur indies et crescat magis. Nunc autem (Domine mi Alane) omni diligentia, studio et cautela providendum nobis est in his initiis, ut quo spiritu cœptum est hoc Collegium, eodem perseveret, et ut zelus fervorque horum juvenum, quem habent nunc insignem ad juvandam Angliam et universam Ecclesiam, non minuatur in posterum, sed conservetur et roboretur

potius. Quæ res, ea mihi sola ratione, videtur fieri posse, et nulla alia; videlicet si erit recta subordinatio illius vestri Seminarii Belgici ad hoc Romanum; ita ut in eorum loca qui hinc in Angliam decedent, nova semper soboles, id est, selecti et probati juvenes isthinc per vos, (70) tanquam ex quodam novitiatu et probationis domo, successione perpetua nobis subministrarentur. Hoc enim nisi fiat, cum spiritus præsens hujus Collegii singularis sit, et qualis forte in Ecclesia vix alias auditus, professio scilicet publica et juramentum ad Martyrium, vel saltem ad Martyrii manifestum periculum; videtur vix fieri posse, ut diu conservetur, si cogamur ad implenda hæc loca homines vagos et incognitos admittere, [2]quales viz. perlustrandi regiones causa huc illuc pervagantur,[2] qui cum sine spiritu et devotione sint et pleni plerumque ambitione, perverterent facile aliorum animos, et ab altissimo, quem nunc habent, fine, ad alia vanitatum sæcularium desideria successu temporis dimoverent.

Hoc ego cum cogito, fit sæpe ut cupiam præsentiam tuæ Dominationis ut cum ea loqui possem coram de hac re prolixius, et ut ipsa apud S. Stem et Ill. Protectorem, principes per se zelosissimos conservandi hunc spiritum (vident enim quantum prodesse poterit Ecclesiæ) serio et diligenter ageret de modo, quo tantum bonum conservari possit,[3] idque maxime hoc tempore cum agitur de stabiliendis Constitutionibus hujus Collegii. Scio enim te multa de natura regionis et hominum, de necessitate (*q*) causæ et hujus temporis, de numero et qualitate scholarium Romam mittendorum; item de modo iterum eos recipiendi, et in Angliam transmittendi; postremo de genere, ratione, et tempore studiorum, et quod maximi est momenti, de modo conservandi hunc spiritum, quem a Deo per te acceperunt; de his inquam omnibus multisque aliis rebus multa te posse suæ Sti et Illmo Protectori Morono suggerere, quæ ad bene instituendum hoc Collegium non mediocriter prodessent. Sed in hac re quid ferant tuæ responsiones nescio.[4] Certe S. Stas cum paucis ab hinc diebus loqueretur me præsente de his et similibus rebus et de toto spirituali statu hujus Collegii, significavit se cupere, ut ad aliquot menses tua Dominatio hic adesset,[5] ad hæc et similia sibi suggerenda si modo habeat idoneos isthic homines, quos loco suo pro tempore substituat.

Sed tua Dominatio faciat in hac re, quod ei videbitur in Domino expedire. Certe vel præsentia sua, vel copiosis saltem litteris tractare deberet cum S.S. et Illmo Protectore, de hac subordinatione vestri nostrique Seminarii rite instituenda. Video præterea aliud quidpiam non levis momenti bonum confici posse a sua Dominatione si hic adesset, vz. ut si quid amaritudinis vel aversionis in cujusquam animo ex recenti contentione resedisset (quamquam nunc omnia pacatissima sunt) per suam Dominationem utpote omni parti gratissimam penitus extirparetur.[6] Sed utcumque fuerit sive præsens, sive per litteras hæc negotia tractet, non dubito (71) quin optimum successum habitura sit. Primo quia causa Dei est, deinde quia post S. S. et Ill. Protectorem quos propensissimos habet, alios etiam (opinor) Cardinales habebit faventes, maxime Illustris[um]

Comensem, qui et per se, et magis etiam fortasse propter Illm Moronum semper huic Collegio visus est favere. De Illmo Paliotto non est opus dicere, qui si Anglus esset, magis amare[7] Anglos non posset quam omnium sermone dicitur eos amare, maxime autem horum duorum Seminariorum Alumnos. Atque hic scribendi finem faciam, summopere rogans, ut particeps fiam Sacrificiorum et Orationum vestrarum, quo melius hoc regimen ad honorem Dei, et utilitatem Angliæ administrare possim. Quamvis enim hoc onus perinviti susceperimus, tamen impositum nunc Societati nostræ ab Obedientia sancta, non possumus omnes non magno studio illud prosequi, maxime cum certissime speremus fore ut ex isto Collegio Honor Dei non mediocriter brevi tempore augeatur.

Pax Christi.

Romæ Idib. Junii Anno Domini 1579,
Tuus in Xto totus. A. B.[8]
Rector Coll. Anglicani.

This letter is also printed in Knox, *Letters of C. Allen*, p. 398, from Grene, *Collectanea P*, fol. 384. Grene's MS. readings—[1] quæ vacua. [2 2] omits. [3 to 4] omits. [5 to 6] omits. [7] to end, omits. [8] The letters A. B. must stand for Alfonso Agazzari, the first Jesuit Rector.

The copy of a larg Letter and relation wrytten by F. Persons unto F. William Goode in Suetia, concerning the affayres of Rome, and of divers Missions, but especially of the trobles past in the English Colledge betwene Mr Archdeacon Lewes and the schollers.....Cap. .

Reverend and loving Father, I wrote unto you of late by F. Possevinus briefly as my business and the tyme then permitted me of English matters. Now because greater accidents hath fallen out synce that tyme, and also because never as yet after your departure I could have leasure to wryte to you at larg, I meane to cumber you with this longe Letter, albeit I know that longe Letters are wont to be more cumberous to the wryters then to the readers.

First therefore touching our Society, God be thanked, it proceedeth every day more and more in spirit and charity one towards another, and in greate fervour of desire to advance the honour of God, and to suffer for the same.

We have had of late heere Father Moranes, Portugall, Visitor of the Romayne Colledg, who albeit I thinke he hath had little to reforme, yet that great wisdome and charity of his, which you knowe of ould, also his vehement fervour of spirit expressed in his exhortations, hath inflamed much the mynde of all this Colledge, and hath left hoate coles in the bosome of many a one, which may in tyme perhaps breake out to the healing of other men besides themselves, and I would to God of me too. Missions since your departure hath byn divers of importance namely two or three to the East Indyes, (72) wherehence, and especially from Japonia, we have had Letters of great consolation which are newly printed. And amongst

these Missions was one Englishman, that is Thomas Stevens a yong man of a great fervour and reasonable talent, whome I would have diverted towards a certayne North India, but the lett you shall know after. To the West Indyes also there hath byn three or foure Missions, and that in good multitude, for that there came therhence from two divers contryes two Fathers of ours, demaunding with great instance both of the Pope and of our Generall fresh aydes, for that there was of late divers greate Countryes newly descryed, ready to receeve the Gospell, and amongst others one king who did possess alone a thousand myles in breadth, and much more in length, and all this in a pleasant playne ground and without hills, who sent unto our Fathers forty Embassadours, requesting them to come and preach the Law of God in his Kingdoms, but to bring no Spaniards with them who sought for their gould and not for their soules; and because betwixt these Countries where our Fathers now abyd and those kingdomes, there were some hilles, and some great rivers, this King offered to send so many of his subiects, as should bothe make brigges over the rivers, and hew thorough the hilles, wayes for them to passe. And because this King hath importunatly continewed his sute, I thinke our Fathers will take the enterprise in hand, but they must have help of many persons. Also there hath byn a Mission into Mesopotamia and Syria, and a part of that is diverted to Constantinople, God prosper them. The late Mission to Cracovia in Polonia at the King's earnest request, you have hard of I thinke, and F. Stephanus Hungarus, who comendeth himselfe to you, expecteth here to depart every day, as soone as the Polon. Embassadour (who is now in Venice) shall arrive at Rome, he hath to go, as I thinke you have hard, at the instance and charge of the said King of Polonia, to found a Colledg presently in Transilvania, and therhence to make excursions as occasion shall serve into his owne Contrey which is Hungary. In the meane space he hath not byn idle here, for he hath labored with the Pope for the erection of a Seminary for his Nation, and as is thought certeynly the matter is concluded, it shalbe at *S. Stephano rotondo*, where certayne Friars of Hungary were wont to be. The like Seminary is said to be concluded for the Flemings, and (73) this good Gregorye's purse is extended to every nation. But now will you say, heere are Missions for all Contryes but only for England which seemeth to be abandoned above all others. To this I answere, that you perhaps are much in falt of this, who had not solicited the cause, when you were heere and had more help than I now have, or can looke for. But yet I will tell you, that had not the enimy cast in an impediment which no man loked for, you had hard good newes perhapps before this tyme, and we myght have chanced to have pulled you out of your furres in Suetia. You know what great difficulties are in the entreprise, which many men do not consider; untill therfore that I see myselfe in my owne opinion able to resolve the same, and untill a way might be laid downe how the Company might beginne and go through with the matter to some purpose, I knew there was not hope to moove the matter: when I was somewhat

satisfied in that poynt, I begane the assault and it had such succesce, as I thinke you would marvell to understand the particulars which I dare not heere wryte to you, but the impediment you shall understand by that which I wryte here under: now it is enough for F. Darbishire and me if we can keep our Englishe men of the Company togeather, and from other Missions, which also we shall not be able to do long, for albeit our Superiours do not gladly grant any Englishe man to any other Mission, for desire they have to reserve them for England, yet the multitude of us dayly encreasing (for there hath entered at Rome 8 or 9 this yeare, besides divers in other places) and also many Englishe men dayly for the great zeale and desire they have to suffer somewhat for Christ, demanding instantly underhand and privily (for in this thing they will not lett us be of their councell, whome they know will lett them) to be sent in other Missions, seing England is shutt from them. For these causes I say it is hard but sometymes, some of them shall obtayne to be sent away, which wil be a diminishment of fit labourers when the tyme of harvest shall come, which is now indede more than ever. If only the way weare broken, which may be by the Grace of God hereafter, albeit for the present it be letted. Thus much I can assure you not only of the Englishmen, but also of all others that abid in the Roman Colledg, so great and marvelous is the affection they beare to England, (74) and to English Catholikes, that if our Superiours would but once give a signe of consent to sett open the Colledge gates towards the enterprise of England, they would all runne out, even from the Rector himselfe to the lowest scholler in the Colledg, and this I well perceaved in the handling of this matter past, for albeit none of them knewe of the matter, yet suspecting some such thing by my often recourse to the Generall, it was a thing wonderful to see, how many, and they who were of the best, made suits and insinuations to me, that if any such matter should fall out, that they might be named in the enterprise. But since that tyme they have much more confirmed their desire to joyne with Englishmen by the matters that have fallen out in these sturres since, which hath wrought such effect of all men here in their mynds, that it is impossible to imagine what conceat they have of D. Allen and those of his schoole, as of their rare spirite and corage in matters of adversity and conscience, which they have seene in schollers in the Seminary heere. For to come therfore to the principall matter whereof I purpose at this tyme to let you understand, so it is, that of late there hath fallen out here an open breach betwixt the schollers of the Seminary and Mr Archdeacon and consequently betwixt Englishmen and Welchmen, the which I will recount unto you as a man indifferent in that matter, and voyde of all affection of both parties, and, as an enimy to the raysing of them, so a more enimy to the continuinge of them. Albeit it may be that God will turne all to the best, and wrest out good of that which the Divell meant to have used to our hurt. I will judge of nothing, neyther touch any mans intention in this comedy, for yt may be that all parts have had a good meaninge,

only I will put downe the simple fact, and that which hath past, which I have partly seene myself, partly understood by the schollers, since the matter was ended. You shall understand therefore, that as you wished me at your departure, which now is (I thinke) almost foure yeares, and as you counseled me also by your letters after to be a sure frend to Mr Archdeacon in all things that I could, so I have sought sence by all meanes I could to use that faythfull and charitable service towards him as might be used by a Religious man, and one that medled not in worldly matters (75) farther than meere charity should for the help of other men drive me to do. Wherfore soone after your departure, seing in the harts of English men heere a great alienation from Mr Archdeacon and his proceedings (I meane not of the L. Prior and his party, of which mislike you know of ould, but of the whole Nation Englishe besides, I except also the schollers for they were yet in good opinion with him, and he with them) I did advise Mr Archdeacon of the same, and of the sequele that might follow of it, and exhorted him to seeke to stopp that gappe, showing him the causes of breach, and my simple iudgment of the easy repaire that then might have been made. Well, there passed on six monthes, and I saw that greefes grew on, and offenses multiplied, and every day the Nation more exasperated against him than other, whereupon I had recourse to my former conference with Mr Archdeacon, opening to him the grounds of all and the causes of these greifes and stomach conceaved, which consisted principally in these two points, that he separated himselfe against the Englishe Nation, and only conferred with his Countryman Mr Morrisse, and consequently dealt partially in preferring the causes of the one and thother Nation, and besides this many particularities dependent of these two principall points. Upon conference with Mr Archdeacon and my reasons laid downe to prove the importances of the sequents of these divisions and how they weare to be stoppt at the beginninge, I always found him resonable in answer and, as he seemed, willing to remedy the same; but what better consideration of the matter after permitted him to put in practice for the redresse, that can I not tell: but to my great griefe I saw the grudgings dayly grow on and some repyninge sometymes at Mr D. Allen's evill providence in this case, that had comended, and put in creditt (as they said) a man that oppugned the whole Nation. When I saw that by my labour I could do no good with neyther part, I lett them both alone, and comitted the matter to God, and our frend Mr Licentiate Martyn as weary of Rome as I of this cause, retyred him to Rhemes about this tyme.

Now all this while went our Seminary a little and a little forward, and the number grew towards 40, whereof 7 were Welchmen and the rest Englishe: and about the end of the summer past, by importunate sute they obtayned thither for the direction of (76) discipline two of our Company under Mr Morrice much against the inclination of superiors, and against the will of us Englishmen of the Company, who better acquainted with English matters and the natures of some men, with whome we should deale in this case,

could better suspecte and forefeare some of that, that fell out after, than straungers. For we having hard before of the great necessities of divers of the schollers in things convenient for their state, of which cause they might hope to have byn eased and provided for by our Fathers going thither, which we knew they could not bee, all the money being in other mens handes, for these causes (I say) and for divers others which I may not now recount, we Englshmen of the Company were loth that our Fathers should go thither to se the nakednes of our Nation, and the impossibility to redresse it. But importunity of sute obtayned them thither, and coming thither the schollers straightways opened their wants unto the Fathers, and by them to Mr Morrice, but seing neyther by themselves, neyther by our Fathers meanes they could be provided for, and seeing (as they say) great partiality in the distribution of things betwixt them and Mr Morrice his countreymen, they resolved presently to seeke redress otherwyse, but being by our Fathers earnest exhortations, and the counsell of some of the most ancient schollers themselves for that tyme appeased, they aboade so for the space of eight monthes that is untill Christmas last past, at what tyme there came out a *Breve* from the Popes Holines comanding all the ould Chaplines to depart within 15 dayes, and assigning all the rents of the Hospitall unto the use of the Seminary, which was presently obayed by the said Priests. And then Cardinall Morone who published the *Breve* appoynted for the tyme to come both Rector and *Custos* Mr Morisse.

This fact albeit it were very gratefull to most, for the better applying of the revenewes of the Hospitall unto the Seminary, yet was it cause of evil will against Mr Archdeacon for some respects: one, for that those honest and vertuous Priests were put out, as malefactors without any provision; the other for that he could choose no man of the Englishe Nation to give that rome, but only Mr Morrice, of whome neyther the Englishemen abroad, and much lesse the schollers of the Seminary for his former goverment remayned satisfied. Wherefore many now beganne both within and without to suspect Mr Archdeacons intent and drifte in this matter, doubting lest all his former labouring for the Seminary were not to this ende to advance his frends. And now begane many particulars (77) to fall out. For Mr Morrice perceiving the schollers somewhat revolting from him, proceeded (as it seemed to them) with more rigour towards them then towards his Contreymen, making for them in all things abundant provision, and denying to Englishmen things necessary. I will affirm nothing in any part, but yet I have seene and knowen somewhat which caused my hart to ake, concerning the necessities of these youthes. Thus I can say that after in the sturres they avouched to the Pope in word and wrytinge that many of the Priests and others of the best borne Englishe went all this wynter with naked thighes and full of lice, and all the Welchmen double apareled. Besides this there now appeared amongst them diversity of spirits; for some of Mr Morrice his frendes, not only refused to be Priests, but also discovered that they had no intention to go into England, dissuading also others

from that entent; which things being brought to Mr Morrice, were not only not redressed, but (as they said) openly favoured, and they threatned expulsion which preached or exhorted the contrary, which was named to be sedition. I recount the things as they have passed in wryting. I avouch nothing, albeit I know what I have hard, and of whome.

These things being so, the schollers begane to deale with some of their friends abroad, and I being advised of the tumult like to be, I went to Mr Archdeacon and told him of all the matter, and recapitulating unto him all our former conferences of matters of difference betwixt him and the Nation, requesting him for Gods cause and for the avoydinge of all scandalls, that by his and the schollers falling out might ensue, that he would stay this matter, and somewhat satisfie them, and showed him my opinion with what little care and diligence put in the matter, for the redresse of these things that went awry, all matters might be ended. He promised me; whereupon I dealt with the schollers to repare unto him, which also they were willing to do of themselves, for that they had moved him 7 months before (as they said) of the insufficiency of Mr Morrice, and had a promise both of him and Mr Morrice to establishe matters better. Well, after 2 or 3 conferences with Mr Archdeacon they remayned less satisfied at his handes then before; the which when I saw, and also when I talking with Mr Archdeacon and Mr Morrice togeather, I perceived the schollers request was, after the removing of Mr Morrice, to have our Society there to governe them; whereof Mr Morrice before me infered that we had eyther suborned or comforted them in this their request—I retyred myselfe and would meddle no more.

(78) At this tyme it fell so out, that the Father John Paul which had the care there must needes depart presently to be Rector at *Siena*. Whereupon the schollers more moved, out of hand gave a supplication unto the Cardinall Morone contayning the former two poynts, which was the insufficiency of Mr Morrice for that place and necessity of our Society for their government for that place. This act misliked much the Cardinall, as it seemed, for albeit he gave them good wordes that he would *curare omnia gravamina illorum* (for so he said) he underhand call[ing] unto him Father John Paulus at his departure, inquired of those seditious youthes that had given up that supplication. The Father tould him his opinion of the difference betwixt them and Mr Morrice, and began to speake somewhat of his opinion of these scholars, but not all, for that the Cardinall seemed not willinge to here him. Surely this Father had a great good opinion of their vertue, and bore more than an English hart unto them. But the conclusion was that he should from the Cardinall pacifie them for that tyme, and shortly they should have a new order from him: which thing was done and all was quieted for a tyme. In this meane space whilst this order was looked for, albeit there were given out many indirect words against our Society, as drawing them into suspicion that they desired this goverment, which much greeved our Superiors so to be rewarded for their paynes

taken. And therfore F. Generall labored by all menes possible to gett away from the place them of the Company, yet notwithstanding I did not abstayne to deale agayne with both partyes, exhorting them to make some agreement betwixt themselves, and this I did by Mr Archdeacons request. But finding the matter very hard to do, for Mr Archdeacon would have had them to relent, and referre all the matter *simpliciter* into his hand; but they in no case would except he would promise to deliver them from Mr Morrices his goverment, which had more offended them then before (as they said) with new iniury; and this thing Mr Archdeacon thought it not good to grante, and so I lost my labour.

And whilst these things were talked of, and the schollers much desiring to have audience of the Cardinall which they almost despeared, for that the Cardinall had given out that he would heare no more of their complaynts; *ecce*, upon a suddayne cometh a citation from the Cardinall appointing both Mr Morrisse and them all to appear before him. Which being done, and the Cardinall making a sharp reprehension unto them for their sturre, threatening them expulsion, except they admitted quiettly the goverment appointed, (79) otherwise yf they would be quiett, promising much favour, ended so his talke, and would have dismissed them. But when it was looked that they should have departed, one of them stood up and begane to give a reason of their doing, and how they could not with safe conscience remayne under Mr Morrice, for feare of worse inconvenience, and this was I thinke Mr Martyn Array or Mr Sherwyn, but he was of the Lord Cardinall byd hould his peace with some choler. But with that stood up on the other side Mr Gore, and with marvelous liberty and protestation that it was *Causa Christi* spoke three tymes more then the other, and touched Mr Morrisses goverment so pithely and vehemently that Mr Morrice stood up and said, *Illme Domine, iste est Gorus ille, qui decipit et seducit bonos hos juvenes.* Wherewith his Grace was very angry with Mr Gore, but presently all the Company spoke of one voyce, that they were all of the mynd that Mr Gore was, whereat the Cardinall was yet more angry. Then on the other side stood up Mr Haddock, D. Allens nephew, and more at larg spoke and more vehemently then they all, and so answered the threatening of expulsion, and how little they all esteemed that in respect of the least hurt that might be of their conscience, and how ready they were not only to begge but also to dy for the least part of a iust cause, that the Cardinall did never after threaten them more expulsion, but for the space of an hower harkened most patiently to all that they said; and they so handled their cause in that space, one answering and confirming the others sayings, and giving reason upon reason whie they could never attaine unto the end which they pretended under Mr Morrices goverment (Mr Morrice being there present), that in the end the Cardinall promised them to consider better of their matter, and willed them to give him in wryting both the defects of Mr Morrisse in particular, and the maner of goverment which they desired. This act of thers before the Cardinall was

straightway knowne and talked of all over Rome, for there were at it all the family of the Cardinall and did wonder to se such liberty of speech, before so great a personage. And albeit I thinke there must needes passe many excesses amongst so much as was spoken in that place, of so many Youthes; yet many men did imagine to see a certayne company of *Lawrences, Sebastians* and the like intractable fellowes, who brought Emperours and princes to desperation to deal with them, for that they could neyther with giving or taking away, neyther with faire wordes nor with foule bring them to condesend to any one little poynt that they misliked. Many also strangers made this consequent; if these fellowes stand thus immovable before such Princes in Rome, what will they do in England before the Heretiques? And many said that they doubted before of things reported of English Priests in England, (80) and of their bould answers, reported by Letters, but now they could beleeve anything of them.

Immediately after this according as the Cardinall comanded them, the schollers gave up in wrytinge to the Cardinall both the defects of the present goverment, and their desire of a new; and because they, both in their wordes before the Cardinall and in their wrytings the next day had earnestly requested our Society to governe them, now there begane a new storme against our Society, and it was cast abroad vehemently that we were the causes of this, or at the least wayes that we might stay them, if we would. And to make the matter more probable, it was said, and by one of that party avouched to F. Oliver * that the schollers the day before had openly affirmed before the Cardinall that they did nothing without the counsell of the Fathers. There was added more also by the same party against F. Darbyshire and me in particular, and of me he said that I was vehemently suspected because I was familiar with them that were seditious. F. Oliver asked who were those seditious persons, he answered *Angli.* F. Oliver replied, *Et non estis omnes Angli? Ego hoc non noveram, esse aliquos Anglos per excellentiam.* He added more over, that I, when I was in Oxford, was not a frend to their Nation neyther very quiet of behaviour. To which F. Oliver answered him as he thought best, and told him that he knew me to be a great good willer of Mr Archdeacons, but yet that I must use my liberty of a Religious man, which was to deale indifferently with all men, and especially with my contreymen. Thus you see Father that God wanteth not to give occasion of patience, and to see my defects which other men see better then I, and I pray God I may see them too, to my bettering. And in good fayth I love the man that spoke it the better for itt, as also I am sure that F. Darbyshire doth, who by that party (I know not whether by that man or noe, for nether of us have had great acquaintance with him) was touched much deeper then I; for he was accused first to the Cardinall, and many things were cast out of his behaviour against Welchmen in Oxford, and how he caused many of them to be expelled out of Broadgate, and that in Paris he was thought to

* Father Olivier Manare, generally called Oliverio Manareo.

love nether Scottishmen, Irishemen or Welchmen. Also words of his were brought and urged odiously against him to our Superiors. Many upon examination were found to be nothing so, but spoken by the good ould man to a very good end, and of themselves indifferent, as I marveled to see them so wrested by them which had byn his frendes (81) albeit no man would appeare to the avouching of them. But albeit F. Generall were nothing moved with these particular complaynts against F. Darbishire and me, as also against these poore Fathers (which to their great greefe and ours were constrayned to live in the Seminary amongst the schollers, for they could nether gett leave to come away, neyther yet stay there without suspicion of favouring the schollers), notwithstanding I say F. Generall thought it good to examine more diligently whether the schollers had touched the Society so before the Cardinall as was reported. And upon examination all the Priests and cheefe dealers and speakers there denied to have eyther spoken or hard spoken any such wordes before the Cardinall, and yet the Cardinall was informed that they were spoken there. But the next day upon further examination one of the yonger schollers confessed that he hard such words spoken behindes in the multitude, whilst other men spake with the Cardinall, and he said that they were spoken by Mr Archdeacons nephew contending against one of the Englishmen. This made some marvell, albeit it may be that Mr Archdeacon might be deceaved in this matter, as well as other, and so beleeve and report that the Englishmen had spoken yt. Notwithstanding these and other like rumors were divulgated every day against our Society, in so much that to avoyd the same, we much consulted what was best to doe, and every day F. Benedictus Palmius went to Cardinall Morone to gett away our Fathers from the Seminary: but it would not be, and Mr Archdeacon cried out that if they went away the matters would go much worse, and the Seminary not be able to stand three dayes, wherein I think that he was not deceived. Marry, he insinuated that our Fathers might restrayne more the schollers by putting scruples on their consciences and prohibiting them the use of Sacraments, which was impossible for that they made their consciences the ground of all their proceedings. The Englishmen also of the Nation were halfe afrayd, and much more the schollers themselves, to converse with those of our Company, lest they should give occasion of encrease or confirmation of this sclaunder raysed upon our Company.

In this mean space the matters going every day worse against the schollers, for they had no man to speake for them, and Mr Archdeacon, Mr Morrisse and the Cardinall every day more and more offended with them, and their matter being given out odiously as a matter of malice only against the other Nation.

Also Monsignor Spetiano a Prelate (as you knowe) of great reputation, of singular creditt with the Cardinall and a sure frend to Mr Archdeacon, vehemently reprehending them, and one day offering by one and one an oath for the obedience of Mr Morrice, which (82) they all refused, but yet look[ed] for some hard determi-

nation against them daylie. In all these adversities they quayled not, but went and got audience of the Pope, and there so handled the matter with him, that the next Sunday after, contrary to all mens expectation, the Cardinall having byn with his Holines called them all to him, and there in the presence of them all accepted Mr Morrisses resignation, and gave them leave to chuse a new Governour; this mutation made more talke about Rome of the matter then before. But heere because the schollers persisted in their desire to have our Society to governe them, and mynded to give up certayne reasons in wrytinge for the same, the matter was taken evill, and rumours before cast out, now renewed and amplified, insomuch that Mr Archdeacon himselfe of good will towards us, as he pretended, and it was so taken, came unto F. Generall and told him of great scandall like to come towards the Society by this meanes except it were prevented, for it was thought that both our Fathers with counsell at home and discipline abroade might stay them more then they did. F. Generall answered him for the tyme as seemed best, that is that the Society was evill handled for her paynes taken to be so slaundered, and that in so manifest a falsity, for besides that no man could lay in particular any cause of such suspicion to the dealing of any of our Company. And besids that the schollers all did offer to purge the Society by their oath. Besides this (I say) the Popes Holiness and all the Cardinalls knew what great sute our Society had used to be delivered of other the like charges which they sustayned, and therfore were farre of from seeking new charges by sedition. And besides this F. Generall thinking more on the matter that night following, was somewhat more mooved at the dealing of some men, and therfore the morning following sent F. Oliver and F. Alphonsus, which hath the care of the Seminary, and me to Mr Archdeacon to request him to utter in particular some further cause of that feare, which he had of daunger imminent towards the Company, and if he could not do soe, then to signifie to him that the Company knowing herselfe free in this poynt should be constrayned to impute all daunger that should follow unto him and his, for that no man would go about to burden the Company in this thinge, except they were the causes thereof. After this F. Alphonsus added, touching the relaxation of discipline misliked by Mr Archdeacon, that he could not now restrayne it, seeing that (83) by the Cardinalls commandement they had begone and prosecuted the sute touching the defects of the present goverment, and other then the prosecuting of that sute he could not complayne of any particular disorder of the one partie. Marry, of some of those that depended of Mr Morrisse he had great cause to complayne, and had complayned to Mr Morrisse, but no redresse was putt.

After 4 or 5 dayes the schollers having given up to the Cardinalls Morone and Como in wrytinge the reasons whie they demanded the Company (for from this they could not be brought by no persuasion of ours nor of F. Generall, which talked with them about the matter, neither with respect of any daunger which might come to our Company or to themselves by this demaund) after I say

they had given up to these Cardinalls and unto the Pope himselfe these reasons (which the Pope and Cardinalls much commended for wisdome afterwardes) also having given up to the Pope a discourse how the agreements of the Hospitall might he brought into one with great comodity of the nation, and saving charges to his Holiness (and to have the Pope at more opportunity foure of them went twenty myles on foote out of Rome to speake with his Holiness where then he aboad for his recreation)—notwithstanding I say all this, and the consent and request of the whole Nation, which they gave up to the Pope in wryting with their handes to it in favour of the schollers sute,—yet I say the importunate sute and the power of the contrary part was so great, that they reversed all agayne, and the Cardinall Morone recalled all that he had done before, and begane to establishe Mr Morrice againe, whereof ensued a marvelous tumult, and all their expulsions which begane as followeth.

Mr Morrisse seing now all sure agayne on his side, begane to beare himselfe as Rector agayne, which the schollers resisted straygh; whereupon immediately they being altogeather now in spirituall conferences in their congregation, Mr Meridith, who hath byn very earnest for Mr Morrice in all these busines, brought to them from Mr Archdeacon and Mr Morrisse (as was taken) a Bill to subscribe, contayning a promise to obay Mr Morrice, whereto they all resisted, and therewith some of the Priests used some hote wordes against Mr Archdeacon and Mr Morrice. Whereupon at dinner Mr Morrisse caused to be read certayne patents from the Cardinall, whereby he was appointed Rector, which astonied the schollers much. Marry at the end, albeit the day of the month wrytten in figures were scraped out and changed, yet the yeare which was wrytten in letters remayned, and so the date appeared to be for the yeare past, and when Mr Pitts, who read that day at table came thither, he stayed and saied *falsatum est.* Whereupon there followed straight such a contention at table betweene Welchmen and Inglishmen, that if our Fathers had not byn there, some evill perhaps had byn comitted. The which daunger also followed soone after betwixt the said parties, for a certayne supplication which the schollers found wrytten by the contrary part very bitterly to the Cardinall against Irishmen, but our Fathers stayed all matters for the present, and immediately 4 or 5 of the Priests went to the Cardinall to complayne of these disorders. But he would not heare of them, but showing himselfe very angry with them all, threatened them expulsion, except they presently obayed Mr Morrice. And to that effect the next morning came Mr Morrisse with the Cardinalls Chaplaine, and brought from the Cardinall the names of foure, that is Mr Haddocke and Mr Martine Priests, Mr Gore and Mr Mushe schollers, who all were commanded presently to subscribe to the Obedience of Mr Morrice or els *depositis palliis decedere.* Who receyving this commandment chose to depart, making presently in the presence of the same Chaplyn a short exhortation to their companions to remayne and obay Mr Morrice, which they said,

You may perhaps do with a good conscience and to your comodity but we cannott. To that all answered No, Noe: *sed ibimus et moriemur vobiscum,* and among other things that made this Italian Chaplyn wonder to se was, that little Christofer Owen (I thinke you know him; he is Mr Owens sonne of Godstow) having halfe an ague in his chamber, came running downe and would go out too, and said, *Volo potius mergi in Tiberim, quam sine istis hic manere.* The Cardinall had now underhand sent for our Fathers of the Seminary, to encorage them to joyne with Mr Morrice in governing the rest of the schollers, which he presupposed would be feared and so quieted, these foure being expulsed. But when they came to the pallace, they found there before them all the schollers, and first those foure before named with a short preamble tould the Cardinall that whereas he had comanded them to do one of too things, which was eyther to obay Mr Morrice or to depart, and because they could not do the first with safe conscience and without feare of greater daungers, because he maintayned factions amongst them, they ment to obey his Grace in the other poynt and to depart, and so they tooke their leave, wherewith the Cardinall was content; but presently all the rest doing the like at the example of the first, he was much moved, but yet to all their resignations he said, [If] you cannot abide with safe consciences, *Ite, et salvate animas vestras,* and so dismissed them. The schollers turning about and seing our Fathers there thanked them hartily for their paynes taken, and to the end the Cardinall might the better perceave and be satisfied in their proceedings and meaning in all (85) these matters and tumults, they gave their Confessor then openly leave to tell to the Cardinall all their meanings and intents and all their consciences from the beginning in these matters, and all other sence the Fathers came to governe them. This act was much noted and talked of, of many in Rome, and this was on Shrove Munday.

The next daye betymes they repaired to the Pope, and gave him a supplication contayning breefly the summe of all their suts past and the cause of their departing from Rome, craving in the end to depart in his Holiness favour, and to be admitted to kisse his foote at their departinge. In the delivery of this supplication, which was as the Pope came out of St Peters Church, Mr Sherwin begane to presse somewhat importunely to his Holiness, and to speake somewhat in their matter, but the Pope cutt him of saying: *Si non potestis obedire, recedatis.* And so that same day after dinner Mr Morrice from the Cardinall comanded them to avoyd the Seminary, which they did presently, and with carts conveyed all their stuffe to Mr Creeds house the Englishman, whome you know, who very gently receeved them and provided beddes for them all. And at their going out Mr Morrice would have had them left their gownes behind them, but they tould him they would leave them at the Popes feet when they tooke their leave of him, for now to their former supplication was subscribed by the Popes hande that before they went they should come and kisse his feet. And so they all departed the Seminary.

The avoyding the Seminary of so many youthes of that quality (for they were 33 all Divines and Philosophers) moved many men much, not only Englishmen but also strangers. For my part I could not looke on them, wherfore I spent most of the day forth, and being partly with our Generall, partly with Oliverius, I had a pull of weeping with each of them, as also with F. Darbishire and Mr Holt and others, and when I had now done then came F. Ferdinandus, one who dwelleth amongst them at the Seminary, and could not stay within when they were gone. He came, I say, to the Roman Colledge, and with his teares brought to me my ould byasse agayne. Thus did we celebrate Shrove Tuesday when all the towne was full of ioy and maskes. But surely the teares which were shed were not for compassion of the yong men, for they were most mery and should have byn well provided for, but for very love and joy that God had sent to our countrey such youthes of such conscience, patience in adversity and other the like vertues as in these their tribulations did appeare. And amongst other things it did much move me to see strangers not joyned unto them by any bond of nature (and they wise men too) so to weep at their departure. I may not tell you their names who they were; the wonderfull commendation which was given also of all those our Fathers which ever had goverment of them, for as for F. John Paulus of whom I spoke before, and who in the beginning of these troubles was taken from them and sent Rector to Siena, being a man of himself much reserved and austere, yet he so fell in love with their vertue, and gave them such a comendation at his departure to our Superiors, that they marveled. And touching his successor F. Alphonsus, he in very small tyme took such a liking of them, that one day in the midst of his troubles, being warned very gravely by F. Generall to take heed of medling any thinge in their matter, but to stay them what he could, because of the rumors cast against the Company, he answered that so he had done and would doe. "Marry notwithstanding," said he, "I must tell your fatherhood that I cannot but love the yong men, and if you will prohibite me that, you must take me from thence, for if your Fatherhood did live there amongst them as we do and know their consciences, and se their acts as I doe, you could not but extremely love them too." And after that he recounted a particular fact of one Mr Gore a good gentleman, and of nature very cholericke, yet one day being very bitterly used by words and iniurious tearmes by Mr Archdeacons nephew, gave him never a word in answere, and the said F. Alphonsus hearing and wondering of the matter (knowing the mans nature) called him and asked how he had borne that so patiently. He answered that not only he was ready to beare wordes but also blowes and death too, in that, or any other iust cause for Christs sake. And touching the keeping of charity with them of the contrary part, when they were admonished by me divers tymes in the heate of the contention, they alwayes answered me, that they were not only ready to pardon whatsoever the Welchmen had done against them, or should do, but also were ready to kisse their feet, and to serve them at table,

and otherwise wherein soever they should have neede, upon the condition that they would be content to ioyne in the procurement of a good goverment and discipline. And albeit I tooke these words then as spoken from their harts, yet I have more beleeved them since the end of the matter, for as sone as ever the goverment was comitted to our Fathers, they came in my presence to their Rector, and requested him very earnestly, that for the uniting better of the two Nations togeather and the better satisfaction of the contrary part, that in the begining of discipline all matters of burden and payne might be layd upon the Englishmen, and all prerogatives, both in apparell, bookes, chambers and all other thing might be given to the contrary part, which act much edified our Fathers, and giveth great hope of a good union shortly to be made. Marry truth it is, that one English Gentleman named Mr Pasquall, stept up and said that he understood this in all things except in his portion of meate, wherein he desired to be equall to any of the other partye, for that his appetite or stomacke yelded to none of theirs.

But to go forward in the matter, marvelous it was to see the œconomy and goverment of these youthes, also their provision for themselves when they were out. First they appoynted out amongst themselves all officers, so that some bought the meate, some dressed yt, some served the table, some did read, some other provided money, and I thinke they kept better order and discipline that little tyme they were out then in two months before in the Seminary. For money they had made this provision; first every man (87) cast into the comon purse all they had more or lesse, and he that had nothing lived and was provided for as well as he that had most. Mr Pasquall which I named before cast into the gazophylacium a chaine of an hundred crownes, some other sould their bookes and made money of them, and as for almes they had probability to find good store, for my Lord Bishopp of St Asaphe having given them 60 crownes a little before in bookes which they now sould, he now promised them a hundred more, and one other Englishman promised 50; and generally all the whole Nation was ready to spoyle themselves to furnishe them. F. Alphonsus also whome I named before having assigned before 30 crownes unto the poore Colledge of Siena where he was borne, which money came to his disposition eyther by patrimony or by almes, but he straightway wrote to Siena to our Rector there, not only to stay that to these schollers use, but also to provide some other good almes for them against their coming to Siena. Mr Hart also receyving a Bill of xl^{s} cast it to the comon purse. But yet besides all these and many other secret meanes that good men made for money for them, they had distributed out amongst themselves all Rome to aske almes, appoynting to every two a circuite. And besides this they beganne to be recomended in all Sermons throughe Rome, and one of our Fathers preaching at St Lorences in Damasso began the matter there in their asking of almes, yet uttered nothing of the cause of their departure for not offending any man, but they proposed their

case to be such that 33 yong men, some Priests, the rest schollers, coming out of England for their consciences were now to returne thither to defend the Catholike Fayth against the Heretikes and lacked some Viaticum for so long a jorney, and this kind of asking was compassionable to all men.

All this tyme albeit I thinke surely that Mr Archdeacon were very sory to see them out, and I thinke never thought that they would have stood to yt to such extremity, yet was I hartily sory to see what wonderfull and great displeasure was taken against him for this their expulsion, of all Englishmen and of as many strangers as hard of the matter too. And to encrease the Englishmens displeasure towards him were reported certayne odious wordes that he should speake, as to say that he cared not for their departure, for that he would fill up their places with Irishmen and Scotts. Also that he had three enimyes, *Boyes, Jesuits and Pratlers*, by pratlers understanding the whole Nation besides the schollers; the which words although he spoke them nott perhaps in that formality as they were reported, (for so he said afterward) yet because they and the like more bitter wordes were then from him reported, it mooved all men very much: and I thinke yf they had not byn recalled againe the sooner, many men of great authoritye without request made to them in that behalfe, had of very compassion, and to stay so great a scandall as might by their departure from Rome have ensued to the Church, would have dealt in their case, but the great and exceeding goodnes of the Popes holiness prevented all.

"For upon Ash-wednesday at afternoone, understanding that they were departed the Seminary, he could no longer hold himselfe nor hide the love which he bare towards them, but (88) straightway sent one of his chamber for them, and there gave them audience for almost an hower with such signes of an exceeding fatherly tendernes towardes them, that neyther they nor he could hould teares. For he making them to kisse his feet twice, asked them with great affect oftentymes, Whie went you out without coming to me first: and they answering that they had 3 comaundements by Mr Morrice to depart before they went out, he answered them: *Nunquam erat animus noster ut vos decederetis Roma;* and with that comended much unto them the comodities of Rome for the profiting both in learning and vertue. And then he asked them againe if they were expulst from the Seminary. They answered as before, and added that Mr Morrice comanded them to leave their gownes also, but that they answered that they would leave them at his Holines feet, at which the good ould man put his hand to his brest and shooke his head. I must omitt much other talke marvelous familiar and loving that he had with them, for he asked them very particularly in whose house they were receaved, what they eat that day at dinner, where they had money to pay for it, how it was drest. And then a little boy named Gratley answered, *Pater Sancte his nostris manibus*, whereat the old man tooke much delight. And having talked of this much past about their goverment, the Pope finally said: *De præteritis transeat, de futuris considerabimus et providebimus*, and willed them

to give him the next day in wryting their desire. And because a certaine care of temporality was to be had there, and to receave certayne pilgrymes of the Nation, which care he would have remayne in the nation, he willed them to name one or two of their Nation which seemed fitt to them to have that care, which they did the next day with expedition. But at their departure from the Pope, his Holines willed them all in any case to returne to the Colledge, and asked them twice, *Vultis ut ego mittam unum ex meis vobiscum*, and they said Yea. Wherupon straight he rung his little bell, and with that there came in his Chamberlaynes, of the which he comanded one of them to accompany them unto their Seminary and there in his name to restore them to their former possession. Which was done with great honor and solemnity, for he led them through the citty in the sight of all men and so replaced them in their Colledge with the benediction and protection of the Pope.

In this act one thing fell out pretily. There were two youths sent and arrived at Rome a month before this act fell out, and by no meanes cold be admitted into the Seminary, but had their answere from the Cardinall twice to depart againe. And albeit [it] was said that D. Allen had recommended them, yet there was answere made, *Si Alanus misit, Alanus provideat eis*, which moved much Englishmen, for (89) they doubted much what should become of those who after should be from that place sent by him, and yf his recommendation served not, who must be the fountayne to serve the Seminary here, then was all hope past. Whereupon the schollers themselves went to the Cardinall requesting him that, seing these youthes were like to perishe in the streets for want, that his Grace would be content to give them leave to devide their portion with them, and so to save them from perishing. This was Mr Martyn Array his request with others, wherewith the Cardinall seemed somwhat moved, but yet commanded them to shift for themselves for the present, notwithstanding he would talke with his Holynes about them: and after having talked, I thinke Mr Morrice brought a new commandement for them to depart, for that they could not be receaved. But within two days after, when all the English schollers were departed the Seminary, signification was given them that they might have new places; but they would not, and retyred themselves to the house of the schollers, meaning to depart Rome with them, and so went to the Pope with them, and ther hence the Pope sent them into the Seminary with the rest, and by this meane they got their interest as the others. It was insinuated also in this tyme of vacuity and desolation that the ould Chaplaynes should perhaps returne againe, but they also refused it.

The next day the schollers in their supplication, after manifold thankes and the manner which they desired of goverment for learning and discipline, they named for the care of temporalyties Mr D. Murton, and Mr D. Bavand, giving reasons whie they named eyther of them. And after one day they had answere by the Master of his Holines Chamber (who hath byn a speciall and singular deare frend in all these their suits, and hath given them audience to the

Pope when Patriarches have stood by) that they should repare to Cardinall Como (who is Secretary) for their answere; and reparing to him they had very good wordes and comfortable of him, promising them despach of their matter within two dayes, repeating twice or thrice that they should be *bono animo* for that his Holines had *mirum animum erga illos.* Upon this answere they stayed 9 or 10 days, and hearing of no resolution, and seeing Mr Archdeacon and Mr Morrice very busy every day at the Court as also at the Cardinall Morones house, feared some alteration and repared again to Como, who answered them as before very lovingly that *intra biduum* they should be dispatched. But within three or foure dayes after this, they were informed of certayne new devises (90) which troubled them much, which was that there was a division betwixt the Seminary and Hospitall thought upon, and that the Seminary should have only 700 crowns a yeare out of the Hospitall, and the rest which should be about 1000 crowns or more, should remayne to Mr Morrice with the best part of the house for the pilgrimmes. Also it was given out that Mr Archdeacon should demaund Viaticum of his Holines for ten of the cheefe schollers presently to be sent towards England, and that the number certayne of the Seminary for the tyme to come was to be reduced to 30 persons only, because the provision would serve for no more. These intelligences eyther true or false, but as they thought grounded upon evident signes and reports, moved very much not only the schollers but also the Nation; whereupon the Lord of St Asaphe, D. Murton and other had made their supplications ready to go to the Pope, but in the meane space the schollers expecting in Cardinall Como his Antichamber to speake with him, had understanding of certayne talke past betwixt the said Cardinall and another man, which had some compassion of the schollers cause, and how that the Cardinall said unto this man that he for his part utterly misliked of this Englishmens matter, for although they requested nothing but equity, yet he would not have granted it to them, but for his part would have lett them gone there wayes when they were goinge, but that a certayne compassion of the Pope himselfe had stayed them. To this that man replyed, that the matter was greate and touched a whole Nation, and seing that division betwixt Welchmen and Englishemen was such and so naturall, it would be hard to make a combination of the two parts, especially subiecting the greater Nation, and that which had the kingdome at home to the lesse part, and to that which was subiect at home. Whereto the Cardinall answered that he understood that the diversity betwixt Englishmen and Welchmen was nothing more than might be betwixt two divers provinces [as] *Tuscan[y] and Romagnia.* Whereto replyed this man that he understood the matter farre otherwise, and thought that his Grace was not informed in the matter, for that the Welchmen and Englishmen were (putting aside Religion) as might be Mores and Spaniards. For as the Spaniards got Spayne from the Mores and after held them under, so Englishmen had done in tymes past the ould Britans, which were now called Welchmen, albeit in successe of tyme they have now imparted to

them their privileges and freedoms, and do account of them as of Englishmen naturall, excepting only that they use great moderation in promoting them to honours (91) at home; and therefore naturally it is as much repugned to Englishmens harts to be subiect to the goverment of Welchmen as Spaniards to Mores or Frenchmen to Spaniards. These words seemed not a little to move the Cardinall, whereupon after a little pause he brake out and said, I knew not of this so fully before, but as for the Popes order, it is past to Cardinall Morone 8 dayes past and yt is that they be governed in all things as the German Colledge is, and I marvell that it is not yet published.

When the schollers hard of this, albeit it were late at night, they repared home and wached up that night and wrote a very earnest supplication to his Holines, showing how great need of dispach they had not only for the lacke of discipline, but also of all other things necessary; and after that very vehemently touched the dealings against them of Mr Archdeacon and Mr Morrice, and what designments were given out, and expressly beseeched his Holines to deliver them once from all dealing with Mr Archdeacon, who did oppugne the whole Nation, &c. The which supplication when it was knowen that they had given up in the morning betymes, there was much fearing what the event would bee, and I know who were right sory that they had touched Mr Archdeacon so farre. But this supplication straightway wrought the dispach of that which they desired, for the Pope immediately sent the same to the Cardinall Morone, and he the next morning betymes, which was St Josephes day, sent for our Generall, and there in the Popes name tould him that his Holynes commanded him expressly to take the whole charge of this Seminary upon him in all respects, as he had the charge of the German Colledge.

And when F. Generall began to request him to here his resons and difficultyes that he had to the contrary, why in no wise he was able to take such a new burden, being over much pressed with the ould the which he had in Rome, and of which he had sued to his Holines to be eased of,—the Cardinall answered that the Pope had expressly commanded him in this matter to take no reply, but for other charges and necessities of the Company they should be considered of, but in this the Pope was utterly determined to satisfie the schollers request, and to found for the present a Seminary of 50 schollers to be governed in all things as the German Colledg. And therefore (said he) F. Generall, be you content, and send me hither presently the two Fathers who remayne there. And so he tooke his leave, and presently sent the two Fathers thither, who had long talke with him, and the Cardinall protested marvelously his love towards the yong men, and the furderance of the Seminary, saying that there was great hope conceaved of yt, and of the good that yt may do to the Church: and that the Pope had (92) taken particular care to advance it, and that for the present there should be admitted to the number of 50: and that although the Divell had sought to extinguishe it, or at the least much to hinder it at this beginning, yet God had wone: and did thinke verely this sturre would be a great

cause of florishing of yt hereafter. And to comfort our Fathers the more in this labour, he removed all difficulties that they proposed, to their contentation. For whereas they said that they perceaved that there should remayne a Custos for the pilgryms, whereupon there would be some difficulties for the Chambers, to which he answered that this Custoship was but a by thing for the tyme, which his Holines would have remayne, but the whole consideration must be had of the Seminary, which the Pope meant to make a matter both of perpetuity and of great account. Wherefore, said he, we give up all the whole buildings with other appertenances into your hands to the use of the Colledge, and you shall this day take possession of all, and displace all that be now there, giving them such convenient lodgings without the Seminary, as you can best spare. Which was executed that day, for the Cardinall appoynted Monsignor Spetiano, Mr Archdeacon, and Mr Morrice, and F. Alphonsus to devide the houses, and so they did to the schollers great contentation, for they have now all themselves and may make roome for a little cost for 200 schollers, if it were need. Which number I pray God we may once see here, as I trust I shall yf I live in Rome two yeares, and if they be not slacke who may bring it to passe as I hope they will not, for they shall want no calling in. Another difficultie was that our Fathers proposed to avoid all petty dealings with other men in this matter, but only with his Grace. He answered that they should have to deale with no man, but immediatly with the Pope and him. Another was that there was great need of money at the first entrance both for reforming of Chambers and other buildings, and also because there was present want of provision for such a multitude; he answered them that the Popes purse should supply all necessityes. Finally when they saw all difficulties resolved, with promise of his favour, counsell and protection in the bearing of these burdens, they tooke upon them the whole charge, and begane that very same day to put it in execution; for with great quietnes they devided the house, so that all the body of the Hospitall with divers other romes annexed are for the Seminary. And Mr Morrice, who for the present is Custos, hath convenient romes appoynted him in a house next adjoyninge. Also Mr Talkerne and Sir Robert the Chaplayne the like, also my Lord of St Asaphe hath two chambers appoynted him in the same place; who is marvelous well contented therewith and like a good man as soone as ever he hard of this resolution, came downe in hast, and straightway avoyded his former chambers and resigned them to the Seminary, before he was spoken to, and before he ever asked (93) any provision of new. And to say generally of all the Nation, there was such generall ioy at the newes of this resolution, as I thinke St Josephes day was never so celebrated of Englishmen before, and throughout Rome in many places *Gratiarum actiones* were given of Religious men, and other which had hard of the schollers cause and matter. And for our Company although we had cause to be sory for the burden layd upon us, yet was there no man from the highest to the lowest which exceedingly reioiced not for the schollers sake. Thus much must I

say (Father Good) that had you byn in Rome that day to see the affection of strangers uttered towards Englishmen, you would have remembered it all dayes of your life. For never matter handled in Rome made England, English matters, or Englishmens natures so knowne in Rome, as this hath done. I pray God all may be to His Glory.

Thus you se (Father Good and good Father) that I have troubled you with an unmeasurable long letter, but pardon me, it shall suffice for my negligence these two yeares past, and you may read yt by little and little at your leasure, as I wrote yt. Now if you will have my judgment of the whole matter, or at least of some sequells partly already fallen out, partly likely to follow of all these troubles and of so good an end, I will in part say my minde, but without judging of any mans intention, as I protested before, and without justifying or condemning of any party. For it may be that every man hath proceeded in this matter with good intention and zeale, albeit it hath not perhaps so seemed to others. Let us therefore leave that to God.

First therefore these broyles hath utterly ceased the practise of the bringing our Company into England, and as I iudg is not like to go forward, except some other men take yt in hand, the causes hereof you may better gesse, than I can putt downe.

Secondly our Society, albeit it has receaved great blowes in the dealing of these matters by slanderous reports first given out against her, and finally by the burden wholy laid upon her here: yet (to confess the truth to you) I thinke she hath not a little encreast her love and good will towards the whole Nation, by seeing the extreme great affections that these schollers and all our Englishemen here have showed towards her in the handling of this matter, and in the great honor, which they have done her, in declaring their opinion of this Religion in those reasons which they gave to the Pope and the Cardinalls of their request. And consequently I know that in all things that possibly hereafter she shalbe able to show her selfe gratefull to them, she will not want. And here as you see cometh in my matter againe of the Mission to England, the which if it went forward well before, it will (94) now go ten tymes better, if we may gett a fitt man to follow yt, which I pray you that it may be D. Allen, for if he take it in hand, I knowe he shalbe able to bring it to passe with such helpe as he shall finde.

Thirdly touching the schollers, I will not take upon me to iustifie all that they have done: but this I can say of their constancy and courage in proceeding in this matter, especially having no man to speake for them and such potent adversaries against them, hath caused a wonderfull opinion of Mr D. Allen and his schoole, and what these fellowes will doe in tyme in England, which have showed themselves so invincible heer. And as farre as may appeare by the events here, the Pope and the Cardinalls have conceaved the same too, and for the Popes part he is so animated to do them and all England good, that yf it be followed, while tyme and occasion doth serve, he will establish us refuges for all tymes of adversity, and if these

occasions be let slipp, they shall beare the falt who might have taken them and would not. The Divell will not want to put in impediments and doth daylie, and perhaps by th[ose], which should in deed and would seeme in wordes cheefly to favour yt. But I must say unto you good Father to my great greefe, I would there were in all our Countrymen that spirite, zeale and conscience, which in men banished for so good a cause should be: but *omnes quærunt, quæ sua sunt.* Only almost is there that good D. Allen who is all good mens hope, and if he sturres not to goe forward manfully, as he hath begone, and as I persuad myselfe he will, to establishe these matters while he hath tyme and occasion, they are like by other mens slackness or perversity to stand eyther still or go backe againe. But if he now take the tyme, I trust shortly things shalbe past going backe againe.

Touching Mr Archdeacon, I am right sory to se things so stand as they doe, for I see bothe the schollers and all the Nation heere at such square with him and to have conceaved so deepe and rooted a mislike of his proceedings in English matters (how iustly God knoweth) that in mans reason it is impossible to thinke it able to bring them to deale with him againe, or to come any more to him. I have laboured in yt, but I loste my labour, and do utterly despayre in the same; and therefore what this difference may import to the hindrance of good matters I do much feare.

Anno Christi 1580. *Annus Christi 1580, Regni Elizabethæ 22.*

Of the first Mission of the Fathers of the Societye into England, and who went; and what issue the matter of faction and contention had after their departure.....Cap. 24.

Soone after Mr D. Allens departure towards Rhemes, (95) came to Rome in the Holy Weeke F. Campion from Prage, who disposing himselfe also to the iorney of England for 15 dayes by devotion and visiting the Churches (leaving all other cares to F. Persons his companion who was appoynted also Superiour of that Mission) they departed togeather from Rome upon the Sunday in Albis in the same yeare 1580, having with them a Laye Brother of there Order Raffe Emerson, and ten other of the Seminary and chaplines; as of the Seminary Mr Sherwin, and Mr Luke Kirby, Martyrs afterward, Mr Rishton and B——, Confessors with some others: and of the ould Chaplines there were D. Brombery, D. Henshaw, Mr Giblett and one other whom now I remember not. These men then being all ready to departe towards England where apparant probabilitie was of Martyrdome, for that the persecution was said to be very ardente upon the brute of there cominge, they dealt effectually with the heades of the discontented to surcease now, seeing all matters were ended, and return to unity. But this was very hard to persuade, for though the schollers now were quiett

and all contented for the tyme under the goverment of the Fathers, yet the grudgings raised by this and other occasions betwene others abroad in the Cytty could not be so soone appeased, who were growne unto an open faction. And on the one side was the L. Thomas Gouldwell, Bushope of St Asaphe, who having byn an ancient Governor and Custos of the English Hospitall from Cardinall Pooles tyme, whose Chaplaine he had ben, tooke part with the ould Chaplaines against Mr D. Lewes and D. Morrice, and with these stood also the L. Prior Sir William Shelley, Mr D. Parker brother to the L. Morley, Mr Licentiate Ely, and finally all other Englishe in the Citty saving Sir Thomas Stukeley, who came from Spaine and was lately departed againe: but during his aboad joyned himself strongely with Mr Doctor Lewis praysinge him to the Pope for the cheefest Cleargyman of our Nation, and the Doctor againe [the] said Stukeley for the cheefest Knight and souldier; and went so farre in this as he persuaded the Pope to make him Marquesse of Ireland and to give him 500 soldiers, with sufficient money to make a iorney into Ireland, where the other promised to do wonders. To which request the Pope agreed and gave him comission to go thither, and one night on the suddayne, he being ready to imbarke for the said voiage at *Cività Veccia*, he obtayned moreover a thing very odious and (96) many wondred that Gregory being a man of much moderation and great iustice, would ever yeld unto: to witt, to take perforce in the night out of their beddes so many men of marke of the Irishe nation as remayned at that tyme in Rome, and such Englishmen also as the Marques had a tooth against, excepting only the greatest. Which was done and all carried by night by order of Don Paulo Jordano, head of the House of Ursino, to whome the matter by the Pope was comitted. And among the Irishe was carried away (as prisoners unto the said Marquesse Stukeley,) D. Fagon now againe in Rome, and amonge the Englishe was also taken and carried away one Mr Miners, nephew (as he said) unto Cardinall Poole, who had 20 crownes a month pension of his Holiness, and had showed himselfe somewhat contrary unto the said Marquesse proceedings at his being in Rome; so that now this man being brought unto his Gallion at *Cività Vechia*, he adjudged him, after some dayes he had been there, upon some wordes uttered of discontentment, to be a traytor to his person, and consequently to have hanged him, as he should have byn, at the toppe mast, had not the Popes treasurour, who went with Stukeley to pay the souldiers, interposed himselfe and rescued him, untill the Popes opinion might be had therein. Yet nevertheless he condemned him to the Galleys in Portingall, where he was put as a slave, and so sent afterward to the King of Portugall his Navy into Barbary; and was never delivered till after Stukeley's deathe in that countrey, and this mans returninge to Lisbone, where

Bishop of St Asaphe.

Sir Thomas Stukeley.

Englishmen taken for the voiage of Ireland.

Mr Fagon taken.

Mr Miners taken.

The Pope's treasurour.

by the help of F. [L]uys de Granada, he was made free and so returned and died at Rome.

Mr Thomas Clement.

The said Stukeley also had caused the officers to seeke diligently that night for one Mr Thomas Clement, whome he had beaten a little before in his owne house and threatened to kill him, and had not the said Clement (fearing some such event) retyred himselfe before the search unto the house of Cardinall Hosious, it is like it would have gon hardly with him. The said Stukeley also had threatened greately one Mr Licentiat Ely an ancient man some little tyme before come from England, and for that he would not be brought to tell his tale to the Pope as the said Marquesse would have had him, nor forsake keeping company with the Lord Prior Shelley, he threatened to hang him at the Popes courte gates. Whereupon the said Lord Prior (97) was against the said Stukeley with all his force, as also against Doctor Lewes for adhering to him, but with these two tooke parte the L. Lesley Bishope of Rosse in Scotland. And these men to make there party more stronge and to weaken there adversaries labored much to bring in suspicion the said L. Prior as a frend or honorable spie for the Queene; which he made somewhat probable, for that the said L. Prior was wonte much to defend the Queens proceedings in divers matters, and excusing her persecuting of Catholikes, giving great hope of her conversion, whereby he seemed to crosse much Thomas Stukeleys purpose of going with armes against her. Whereupon matters were so farre urged against him, as once he was in daunger to have byn laid up in the Inquisition, if F. Persons being then Penetentiary of the Nation, hearing of it, had not given him warning presently to prevent the same, who ever held the said L. Prior to be most innocent in that imputation, but rather that he used such speeches to persuade the Pope to make a Cardinall of the Nation, and perhaps himselfe by that meanes to deal peaceably with the Queene, then to send Stukeley against her with armes, [as] was pretended by the contrary parte, and fell out evill as the sequele showed. For that Thomas Stukeley never went to Ireland, but to Barbary with the King of Portugall, and there was slayne and all the Popes money lost, which thing turned greately to D. Lewes his disgrace with Gregory. Thereupon [he] left Rome and went to dwell in Millane with Cardinall Boromeo: Mr D. Morrice also weary of Rome went to Roan in Normandy and there finding shipping imbarked himselfe for Spayne and was drowned in the way. The L. Bishop of St Asaphe and D. Morton seeing the Jesuits and the other Priests gone for England, whose example moving them to followe, tooke theire journey unto Rhemes, where hearing of the great persecution in England, and of the daunger of getting in and lyving there, they altred there myndes and returned backe againe to Rome, where they both died: and this was the end of these first contentions.

Mr Licentiate Ely.

Lesley Bishop of Ross in Scotland.

The death of D. Morrice.

Of the sending from Rome of the L. Prior, and of the Treatese he wrote against the Bishope of Rosse ..... Cap. 24.

As you have hard how the schollers were appeased by the goverment of the Fathers, and the Chaplaines most of them gone (98) into England, Sir Thomas slayne, and D. Lewes sent away to Millane, so thought the Pope best also to cause the L. Prior Shelley to retyre himselfe to Venice for more perfect ending of all contentions, of which inclination of his Holiness he being advised he obeyed presently, but yet before his departure tould the Pope his mynd touching both D. Lewes and the Bishope of Rosse. And for that perhapes he thought the said Bishop living then in Rome had bin a principall procurer of his remoovall from Rome, as soone as he came to Venice he begane to wryte a Treatesse against him in Latyn for a certayne Epistle or Oration that the said Bushope had wrytten to the Queene after his delivery out of prison in England, which Treatesse with the argument I will here sett downe.

A Treatesse wrytten by Sir Richard Shelley, Knight, L. Prior of England, against the L. John Lesley, Bishop of Rosse in Scotland with the argument.

Whereas the L. John Lesley Bishope of Rosse had byn for some yeares Embassadour in England for the late Queene Mary of Scotland, and upon the trouble of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolke had byn examined and restrayned also of his liberty by the Counsell of England, for suspition [of] dealing with the said Duke about the marriage of his Mistresse and Queene in the yeares 1570 and 1571, it fell out not long after that the said Bishope was dismissed with the Queens favour out of England into Fraunce, (having opened all against the Duke that he knewe, as was supposed) and from Fraunce he wrote a letter to her Majestie of England, which comming to the hands of the said L. Prior of England, he made this comment ensuing upon it about the yeare aforesaid of 1580, as by the copy wrytten by the hands of his most trusty and beloved servant John Haslocke (whome comonly he called his good Angell) appearethe, which is interlyned also oftentymes with the Priors owne hand, and saethe as followethe:*

* There is a copy of Lesley's tract in the British Museum—*Joannis Leslæi Scoti, Episcopi Rossen., pro libertate impetranda oratio ad Ser. Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam;* Parisiis, Olivier l'Huillier, Via Iacobea, 1574. The speech is dated at Farnham, 5 non. Octob. 1573; the letter at Paris, Idibus Martii, 1574.

Prior Shelley's Latin is extremely obscure, and it may be that our scribe (a careless, inconsistent writer) has increased the obscurity. Father Persons' hint above as to the confusedness of the original must also be remembered. It will be noticed that the sectional numbers cease with 14, 17. It is possible that the concluding paragraphs of the tractate have been curtailed. The present ending is abrupt, the bottom line of folio 111 showing the catchword *Episcopus,* while folio 112 begins a new chapter.

(99) ANIMADVERSIONES IN EPISTOLAM ET ORATIONEM Johannis Leslæi Episcopi Rossensis ad Elizabetham Principem, prætensam Angliæ Reginam, per Richardum Shellæum Equitem auratum et Ordinis Militum D. Johannis Melitensium in Anglia Priorem, dum in exilio Romæ viveret.....Cap. 25.

Catholico et intelligentis judicii Lectori S.

Affero tibi (Catholice et intelligentis judicii lector) ex Joannis Leslæi episcopi Rossensis Epistola et Oratione ad Elizabetham prætensam Angliæ Reginam ipsiusmet authoris verbis transcripta quædam, quæ collata cum inditiis Norfolcianæ conjurationis ex Episcopi confessione in judicio patefactis, (cum capitali Reginæ Scotiæ periculo) et viri factionum Britannicarum gnari interpretatione explicata, hominis omnino prævaricantis in assentatione impudentiam, in religione collusionem, et in legatione perfidiam indicare videntur. Quæ, quanquam Reginæ in illum clementiam [*sic*], (quasi ex officio laudandi specie) multiplici ejus oratione involuta, callideque rebus alienis immista sint, facile tamen agnovit interpres, pro eo quem habet Angliæ et Scotiæ rerum usu, et scriptorum artificii, qui aliud agunt, quam præ se ferant.

Ego vero ideo ea putavi proferenda, quo oratio illa in maximorum quorumque Principum aulis disseminata fuit, ad tentandum qua approbatione exciperetur ad Reginæ tuendam famam; quæ fama tum temporis, cum magna de ejus eventus expectatione, suspensa videbatur. Sed magno exinde scriptorum et principum hæreticorum applausu animata Angliæ Regina, et Catholicorum Principum freta vel tolerantia, vel incuria (q) (sese committendis, als componendis Galliæ, Flandriæ atque Scotiæ partibus) Christianorum Regum vires, non jam per præstigias, sed palam (et quasi facinore glorioso) suscepit omnino enervandas; ut libelli ejus, qui tali consilio talique successu divulgatus est, detectum artificium, committere non potuerim, quin[1] proferrem denunciaremque, quod plus doli et damni in Rempublicam libellus iste machinatus est[2] ad Hæreticas et Scoticas partes alendas, quam quantum possunt vel suspicare Senatores occupati et istarum insueti præstigiarum vel deprehendere, interrupta aut propera libelli lectione. Etenim egregius ille Reginæ laudator Episcopus ejus vitia virtutum specie ita scriptis exposuit ornata et obducta mangonizata, ut (peragratis hæreticorum Principum aulis) cum applausu etiam per Romanos ejus Reginæ hostes, quasi tacito assensu probata vitia illo scripto commendata transiverint. Quo rerum successu nec opinato mulier illa (quæ prius vel dubitabat, vel satis diffidebat rebus) jam confirmata est, et aliena suæ laudationis approbatione, vel expressa vel tacita, ad audendum projecta, vexatorum injurias Catholicorum, a quibus antea sibi timuerat, postea spernenda multiplicavit.

[1] MS. quam. [2] MS. machinatur est machinationis, with the query sign.

Itaque Joannes Leslæus Scotus, cum ne Sacerdos quidem sine dispensatione esse possit, se in Anglia pro Episcopo gessit, Titulo tamen, non Amictu, quem Regina Romanorum inimica desiderare videbatur. Is enim cum esset sub custodia in Castro Fernamensi Orationem scripsit ad Elizabetham prætensam Angliæ Reginam, quam Orationem Parisiis postea impressam Anno salutis 1574 cum illa jam Anathema esset et ille liber, (ne exceptioni locum relinqueret *Quod Metus Causarum*) ad illam misit sequenti inscriptione dedicatam.

" Serenissimæ Principi et omni Virtutum ge-
" nere Ornatissimæ D. Elizabethæ Angliæ
" Reginæ Joannes Leslæus Scotus Episcopus
" Rossensis felicitatem precatur."

1. Admirabilis sane laudatio Episcopi fœminam prædicantis ornatam omni virtutum genere (quod Theologicas continet et Morales) quæ suo atque Europæ infortunio, non modo ab Ecclesiæ Unitate ad hunc usque diem divulsa est, sed ipsa sacrorum imperium occupavit. Et præterea impudenti libidinosæ vitæ exemplo (doctrinæ quam hausit congruente) miserabilem muliebris impudicitiæ licentiam in aulam alioqui castam induxit, et sectis denique bellisque disseminandis, Fidem Christianam palam oppugnat. Quibus nominibus, non Catholici modo sed boni omnes, quamquam Divinæ Providentiæ omnia permittunt, quidvis tamen illi potius optandum putant quam istam, qua nunc utitur felicitatem, et ut Majestate vivat perpetuo incolumi. Sed Episcopus, nescio qua confidentia, orationem hanc ab eodem voto exorditur, quod pergens iterat, ut dicat, ejus

Successus stupeat, plangat et hostis opes;

ex quo denique concludit, Deum precatus, ut hanc ejus felicitatem amplificet, donec cælo excipiatur piis Regibus designato. Quod ego ideo monendum duxi, ne semel et solita ad Principes scribendi ceremonia, ac non consilio et de industria inscriptionem hanc additam putemus. De qua hominis in illam affectione, cæterisque magna dignis animadversione, nos in istis observationibus suis quæque locis monebimus opportunius, nulla in ipsum hominem malevolentia ducti, sed libelli dolose confecti, et impressione divulgati, non satis agnita contagione excitati.

" In illa Epistola Episcopus Reginam enixe imprimisque rogat,
" ne ullam mutati animi opinionem de illo capiat, quem ipsius
" æque observantem nunc esse atque ante (101) in Anglia fuit, pro-
" fitetur. In quam si nunc absens aliquid machinari vellet (a quo
" animum suum longe abhorrere dicit) nunquam se orationem
" hanc, quæ illum ingratitudinis arguere posset, fuisse typis com-
" missurum."

2. Cur Reginæ ab Ecclesia damnatæ tam observans domi forisque Orator alienus, et Dominam suam carcere coercentis et usque insectantis; quæ Scotorum aliquot subditorum hæresi et rebellione sceptro privata, in carcerem conjecta, et cum inde exiiset,

prælio denique Regno expulsa, ad illius pene patruelis miserationem profugit: periculo nimirum ut provideret quod sexu, cognatione, Regalique Majestate, cum illa constat esse commune [*sic*]. Quomodo istam orationem, quasi arrabonem voluntatis nefastæ quam in novam quasi Jesabellam Episcopus profitetur, typis excusam etiam Romæ toleramus: et quasi perfidi[æ] conniventia allecturi, Fidelium constantiam exemplo concutimus.

"Dicit enim se, qui illi tantum debet conatum conari, ut plus "etiam debeat: et quod nulla illum unquam rei difficultas deterre- "bit, quo minus obsequium suæ Majestati paratissimum præbeat: "et quæ verbis scriptisque sit pollicitus, re et factis (quantum sese "extendent ejus vires) præstaturum. Ideo et hac animi sui con- "scientia fretum ipsam rogare, ut (ejus authoritate apud Scotos do- "minante) patrimonium etiam fructusque suæ Ecclesiæ recipiat."

3. Scoticorum fructuum restitutionem, nescio an promissam, speratam certe (Norfolciani ut videtur judicii præmium) constat usque expectari, et Episcopum occasionibus imminere, ut recenti aliquo officio veteris meriti memoriam revocans, illorum remuneratione dignior habeatur. Ut in Concilium admittendus, ubi quicquam agitetur quod ad Angliam pertinet, mihi quidem non videtur. Nam toties petiti præmii (ut postea constabit) vel ad extremum impetrati gratia ductus, vel denique negati odio alienatus, nihil æqui consulet, aut boni, nihil sani aut synceri; sed affectione depravatam proferat sententiam. Quod ego ista commentandi opera monitum volui, ut ne hominem tam avidum atque varium Pontifex idoneum putet ad Insulæ Britannicæ reductionem. Nam mihi alioqui cum illo nihil est rei.

"Addit præterea, quod tantum Majestati suæ bonitatem exper- "tus sit, ut illi jam otio sua Religione uti liceat."

4. Quam Religionem suam vocet Episcopus, nescio. Illud miror quod cum in Gallia esset a metu vacuus apud hæreticam receptis Symboli Apostolici verbis non uteretur, ut diceret Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Fide sibi uti jam licere, et quod Catholici nomen, cum res postulat, in tota tamen oratione, quasi in navigatione confragosa scopulum aliquem, vitare videatur. Hæresiarcharum sectatores et sectarum dissectores suis singuli strepunt fidiculis, et propriam atque suam quisque Religionem aliis obtrudit. (102) At Catholicorum (quod nomen ipsum indicat) communis est, et eadem ubique fides ex perpetua Romanæ Ecclesiæ disciplina derivata. Itaque phrases istas "propriam atque suam Religionem profitentis," et quæ sequuntur "Theosophiæ ac non Theologiæ operam dantis," et "Religioso more" ac "non ritu Catholico Deum colentis" dico esse locutiones perfugis viris usitatas, et apud fæminam (quæ ab Ecclesia descivit) ab Episcopo ambigue prolatas et suspitiose: maxime si cum reliqua ejus Oratione conferentur. In qua magis etiam mirandum, quod mulierem, quæ Smi Pontificis principatum occupavit, alibi moneat (quanquam obiter et quasi aliud agens quo modo istius generis multa toto isto libro disseminavit), sed quod illam (ut

dixi) moneat nihil magis decere præclaras Principes, quam summi illius Regis, cujus Vicariam potestatem in terra gerunt, leges divinas moderari: quasi probet, quod illa tam impie suscepit et præpostere. Horresco etiam quod illam a pietate, illaque summa, prædicare non vereatur, ut quam a clementia laudaverat, eandem putet a pietate celebrandam. Quam narrat Episcopus pietatem: in Deumne? At illam Ecclesia propter scelera non minus manifestæ quam atrocis impietatis condemnavit. In Parentesne? At conjuratio ejus contra Sororem Reginam sanctissimam, custodia atque insectatio Reginæ Scotiæ, patruelis et Ducis Norfolciæ propinqui nex, hoc clamat esse falsissimum. In patriam ergo pietatem intelligat oportet? At illam quam accepit florentissimam quod ad Religionem profanavit, quod ad opes spoliavit, quod ad vires enervavit, quod ad pudicitiam prostituit; nisi si Episcopus novam aliquam pietatis speciem narrat omnibus antehac Theologis et Philosophis incognitam. Hæc tamen eo non commemoro, ut criminosius ad Religionem accipiantur, quam quantum ex locorum collatione deinceps colligi posse videatur. Verum, si Reginæ tantum debet quantum tanta profitetur loquacitate, se ill[i] gratum et publice Catholicum monstrare debebat, commentando et ad illam scribendo, quomodo scripsit Hieronymus Osorius* Episcopi sanctissimi munere functus, ut (rejecta nimirum consiliorum quæ sequuta est perversitate) veniat ad Ecclesiæ obedientiam. Sed Leslæus ad rem suam, quam ad Religionem magis attentus est; neque Reginæ salutem tanti facere videtur, quanti sua bona: neque resipiscentem apud Scotos, ad illorum restitutionem, tanta authoritate (quanta nunc est) valituram intelligit.

Et hæc ex dedicatoria operis Epistola. In qua Episcopus sua sponte, nullaque ductus necessitate, Reginæ (Catholicorum Principum hodie flagello, et impietatis ab Ecclesia condemnatæ) quasi Principi omni virtute ornatissimæ precatur etiam felicitatem. Et suum in illam studium affectatæ cujusdam gratitudinis nomine prætexens (nempe, quod Legatus cum esset, sit Regno dimissus) revera amissa ambit bona; et veteratoria quasi schisma probantis collusione, suum ad ejus usus obsequium quasi mancipii jure subjicit. Jam in ipsius Orationis contextu,

"Dicit Episcopus summæ prudentiæ existimationem (qua "Regina cuncta quæ suscipit rectissime ponderat) in omnium "Gentium atque Nationum animis insertam, facere ut sibi de ea "liberaliter polliceatur omnia, quæ ab optima Principe sunt ex- "pectanda."

Isto Scotorum Episcopus in vitiis virtutum specie fucandis hactenus in tota Oratione versatus, nunc etiam furias, quibus illa agitari videtur, nobis producit pro spiritu aliquo divino colendas. Regina enim (sive sua sponte, sive inductu alieno) haud scio an quicquam in suo Regno stabilierit, non modo quod Spiritum Dei

* Jerome Osorio, Bishop of Silves in Portugal. See H. Hurter, *Nomenclator Literarius*, 1871, i. 57. See also the various bibliographies of W. Haddon, who wrote answers to him, in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, etc.

sapiat sanctum, sed quod dictu (nedum factu) non sit nefandum; et tamen hunc spiritum locupletiorem, hoc est, loci et ditionis plenioremorem, opibus et copiis affluentiorem, et hunc honorem, atque hanc fælicitatem, illi Episcopus auctiorem cupit, et denique cœlo ut recipiatur piis Regibus destinato. Atqui in cælum ut ascendat, spiritu ducatur oportet, quem illa nunquam sequi cœpit, ut illo nunc magis, quam ante aut vehementius afflari posset. Certe qua non est ingressa, progredi non potest via; nec ei dies afferre ejus rei incrementum, quod nullum adhuc habuit principium. Utinam aliquando incipiat Spiritu duci Sancto, eoque indies auctiore; tum celsa erit cæli sede collocanda, quæ Reges pios, ejusque (ut nunc est) dissimilis revera manet. Sed antequam ad hanc venissem perorationem animadverteram Episcopum pietatis etiam laudem Elizabethæ tribuere. Quod præteriens attigi quidem sed illo loco non insistens, quoniam subdubitavi, an Leslæus illa voce uteretur, quasi Anglici soni similitudine allucinatus, aut ut illud suo more effugium (si urgeretur) paratum haberet. Quanquam a miseratione quod Anglice sonat ipsummet cum propius inspicerem sperasse deprehendi. Nunc ista precationis clausula, ipse videtur interpretatus, et suam Epistolæ inscriptionem, qua Reginæ, ut omni virtute ornatissimæ felicitatem cupit: et versum, quo denuo precatur, ut ejus *successus stupeat, plangat et hostis opes:* et sensum, quo ducitur, optans ut cælo denique recipiatur, piis Regibus annumeranda: eoque magis, quod Henricum 8^m^ prædicat non a rebus ante divortium pie Catholiceque gestis, nec a suscepta post defectionem ad Ecclesiam redeundi cogitatione, quod verissime profecto potuisset: sed ad ullum Religionis Catholicæ fructum istius orationis cursum non direxit Episcopus; nec Reginæ a se tam amatæ atque cultæ hac in parte saluti consulit, sed ejus patrem ab animi constantia nescio qua fronte commendavit. Is enim dum fureret, et in sua illa gynæcomania depravata innocentis filiæ educatione, Hæreticos tanto robore auxit, ut hodie Catholicos viribus æquent: et Scotiæ Regina (Principe una omnium lectissima) Regno expulsa, reliquorum Principum solia concutiant, in sedis præcipue Apostolicæ eversionem (ne longinqua putemus aut aliena) cupiditate imminentes; ut tales successus, talesque Patris et filiæ opes revera plangant illorum hostes, hoc est boni et Catholici omnes, sed nullo cujusquam, nisi Hæreticorum vel applausu vel approbatione, nedum votis atque precibus etiam ut vigeant et augeantur, quod Rossensis in hoc libro audet aliquoties exoptare.

5. Isto Scoticorum fructuum vel promisso vel spe quasi Alchimistica desipiens Episcopus eandem assidue canit cantilenam, eos ut recuperet nullum non movet lapidem sua fortasse in Reginam meritorum conscientia fretas in delatione Norfolciana; sed Principes in istiusmodi negotiis rem pluris quam hominem facere consueverunt. Et quod illam dicit "omnium Gentium atque Nationum opinione omnia quam rectissime ponderare": quam impia et manifesta est adulatio? Cum ubique terrarum pessime audiat, quoniam Regnum, quod pacatum accepit, (q) pervertenda Religione et vicinis molendis domi turbulentum, et se foris odiosissimam reddiderit.

Idque maximo suo et impendio et periculo, quando quiescens maximis divitiis, et summa omnium gratia securissime frui potuisset. Sed quam vere loquatur, Episcopus nihil pensi habere videtur, dum laudationem producat modo, et Reginæ in illum beneficii nescio quid verbis extollat, ut Scoticorum bonorum revera fructum sua recuperet authoritate, ut, qui rerum usu didicit, Principes illis quibus benefecerint magis favere, quam aliis qui de ipsis sunt benemeriti.

"Itaque addit a comparatione rethorizans: si parentes charis-
"simos habere debemus, quod ab illis nobis vita et patrimonium
"tradi soleat, immensum et infinitum quiddam esse, quod se Re-
"ginæ debere fateatur, quæ illi hanc eandem vitam donavit, et
"præterea sit pollicita de patrimonio etiam et fortunæ bonis illi
"restituendis se sollicite curaturam, et ut census atque fructus illi
"annuatim persolvantur."

6. Quæ est ista inexplicabilis et quasi divini beneficii [gratia], quam prædicat episcopus? Nempe quod oratorem jure gentium nullo modo violandum, cum carcere clausum tenuisset, et post expressum præmii spe, non tormenti cruciatu, conjurationis inditium contra Dominam suam, Anglia exire denique permisit, egregium vero beneficium narrat. Atque Elizabetha (si eius calliditatem satis novi ab ipsomet Episcopo postea prudentiæ nomine laudatam) isto delusi Judicis astu sibi applaudens, de fortunis illi in Scotia restituendis non magnopere laborabit. Quarum tamen promissarum restitutionem Jureconsultus Leslæus, quasi legitima bonæ fidei actione sibi videtur postulare; sed homo ex altera parte aulicus non tam summo jure nitendum, quam laudibus elicienda mulieris æquitate, sibi fidendum cogitavit. Itaque, Regina obiter monita de promisso ejus, in laudes denuo effunditur impia vanitate admirandas. Dicit enim,

"Quod Regina Dei Immortalis beneficio in summo honoris
"culmine constituta, cunctorum opinioni et votis in Reipublicæ
"administratione ita satisfacere studeat, ut malit moribus et vir-
"tute quam purpura et diademate Regina videri."

7. Regia revera specie Princeps multis sceptris digna evasisset (quanquam non summo honoris culmine, quod vulgo Papatum dicimus), quem nullo Dei beneficio, sed Hæreticorum (opinor) impulsione suscepit, nisi paterno primum, deinde fraterno imperio, et hæreticorum denique vigilantia provisum fuisset, ne Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ disciplinam aliquando agnoscere posset, quam (sua sive conscientia sive experientia docta) sæpe tamen duxit omnium esse usu optimam. Illo tamen gubernationis eventu, ut meliora probans, deteriora sequi non desistat, et proinde ab Episcopo nec moribus laudanda nec virtute. Dicit tamen,

"Quod Regiis moribus instituta, actiones ad præscriptam vir-
"tutis normam ita disponit, ut ex turbulentissimis negotiorum
"tempestatibus, in quietis et tranquillitatis portum tutissimum se
"populumque suum vexerit. Et quod inde dulcissimos fructus
"percipiens, benignitate potius, quam vi et armis subditos in pace
"servet."

8. Imo pessima institutione depravata, magna ingenii indole, Princeps ad mores, ut fit, deducta est doctrina, quam hausit, congruentes. Et regnum, quod accepit pacatum in turbulentissimas erumnarum tempestates conjecit, patriæ atque sibi (nisi resipiscat), bello vel intestino vel externo exitium tandem allaturas, ut si quid veri ex hac laudatione erui possit, illud sensu Episcopi verbis omnino contrario colligendum esse constet. Itaque suam persequens Antiphrasim addit,

"Quoniam Regina tanta humanitate exceperit externos Prin-
"cipes, et maxime Illustrissimam Scotiæ Reginam (majori enim
"titulo Dominam suam non honorat): non solum illam multis no-
"minibus sibi devinctam habet, sed inde et ob istam hospitalitatis
"famam evenire, ejus ut nomen sit ubique gratiosum."

9. Imo Serenissimam Scotiæ Reginam non tam illius odio, quam Scotorum aliquot rebellium accusationibus nitens, et sibi ab illa timens propter Religionis Catholicæ eversionem gravibus immerito affecit injuriis. Sed faciet Deus ut Anglici Hospitii laudandi major in posterum, quam antehac, occasio offeratur Serenissimæ Scotiæ Reginæ. Cui nescio majoremne bilem, an risum moveat: quod suam custodiam et libertatis ademptionem pro hospitalitate celebrari audiat ab Episcopo subdito et oratore suo: nisi putat Leslæus illam nunquam hæc audituram: quoniam de ejus liberatione (ut postea fatetur 29) nihil spei reliquum habet. Aut si Angla Scotam humanitate, ac non carcere (quod constat) devinctam haberet: cur illam Episcopus ejus clementiam tam affectate commendat in epistola Parisiis, cum liber esset, impressa? nisi aliud in Anglia revera probarit, aliud foris nunc (famæ ut consulat) præseferendum judicarit. Versutum est enim Leslæi ingenium: et Scoticarum hodie partium sensus atque studia (quod ad Reginæ liberationem attinet) Rege, quam præpostere intruserunt, nunc grandiculo, valde profecto vel corrupta sunt vel incerta; ut ad ista qualia sunt, propius agnoscenda Smus D.N. non humana solum sapientia, sed divino atque suo Pontificis afflatu opus habere videatur. Sed Episcopus, quasi de hospitalitate loquens addit,

"Quod multa hominum millia, qui suis sedibus exulare cogun-
"tur, Regina in suæ ditionis fines libere descendere patiatur: et
"ibidem illos ab omni injuria tutos quiescere jubeat, nec induci
"aliorum Principum vel blandis precibus vel tumidis minis, ut
"profugos et transfugas illis restituat."

10. Externa omnis hæreticorum generis multitudine miserabilis et incauta mulier Angliam hodie adeo complevit, ut coercendæ ipsorum audaciæ jam ipsa vix satis habeat virium: maxime si vel exulibus Principes reconciliati vel confederatis Hæretici eorum uterentur opera ad tumultuandum. Quemadmodum Orangius sibi auxilium per hosce dies neganti Reginæ respondisse dicitur; se in Anglia ipsa, velit nolit, satis habere sectatorum. Tantas in angustias se conjecit incauta mulier ista ab Episcopo tam laudata hospitalitate, qui subjungit,

"Quod hinc fiat, ut nulla sit in toto orbe Christiano gens aut "natio, quæ ex ejus hospitio exilii pœnam et deditionis metum non "effugerit. Adeo ut ejus ditio tutissimum miserorum Asylum et "munitissimum præsidium dici possit."

11. Chastilionum Cardinalem (publicum Dei atque sui Principis inimicum) et Scotogallum nomine Mongomuri (generis Catholici hostem famosissimum) in Anglia diu sustinuit Regina, præter infinitam Flandricorum atque Gallicorum hæreticorum atque proditorum multitudinem, maxima cum Regni corruptela, et cum manifesto vitæ suæ periculo, summaque Dei et externorum Principum ac bonorum omnium offensione. Nimirum hanc hospitalitatem hoc miserorum Asylum vocat Episcopus, quod speluncam latronum et malorum sentinam hac quidem ratione verius dicere potuisset. Et tamen illum addere non pudet,

"Quod Regina hac ratione non parum multos merito nacta sit "suæ laudis atque gloriæ prænones, quorum ingeniis atque litteris "(quasi Achilles Homeri versibus) ita illius egregie factorum æterna "memoria honos atque fama vivant. Atque hæc spiritu Rhetorico, "non Catholico exaggerans Episcopus, sublimia Principum tro- "phæa solemnes Regum Triumphos dicit esse Reginæ suo jure "arrogandos."

12. Quis hic non exclamet, Væ vobis, qui dicitis, malum bonum et bonum malum! Quam indignum facinus, puellaris ætatis inscitiam, circumventam non modo domesticis aulicorum assentationibus, quibus ipsi etiam Reges non plane viri plerumque succumbunt: sed etiam externis Episcopi laudationibus per omnem Europam imprimendo disseminatis, in tam falsum induci gaudium, et ad tam vanam allectari philautiam! Quod non solum prosa et rhetorico artificio in tota oratione hac agit Episcopus; sed versu etiam, et poetico concentu literatæ Principis aures demulcet et animum emollire conatus est. Dicit enim,

(107) "*Decantent alii* (*Princeps mitissima*) *claras*
"*Qua poterunt laudes quilibet arte tuas.*
"*Sic pacem, sic bella alius diffundat in ævum:*
"*Successus stupeat, plangat et hostis opes, &c.*"

13. Superiorum temporum adulatores eo dunt axat sunt progressi, ut vicina imponerent nomina rebus, et efficta recti specie illuderent. Sed nostra ætate inventus est Episcopus, qui non modo similitudine decipit, sed novo quasi Alchimiæ artificio (transformata virtutum atque vitiorum natura) Principem incautam in fraudem impellit, suaque persuadendi facultate fretus plane malum nomine boni commendare audet; sed veniet tempus (ut spero, ut cupio quidem certe) quando ipsamet Regina malit istiusmodi pacis atque belli commiscendi artificia, non suas laudes, sed dedecus atque probrum existimari, et illa, velut instrumenta seditionum quibus (ut Ate Homerica et Europæ atque Patriæ communis Erynnis) orbem Christianum tantum non evertit, exoptet oblivione evanescere potius, quam ut continuandi facinoris successus vel Catholici hostes posthac stu-

peant, vel suis ditionibus expulsi Reges plangant. Utcumque sit, Episcopo certe optandum non fuit, ut Princeps potius in malitia posthac uberiorem gloriandi messem ex tam venenata semente colligeret ab ipso et istiusmodi adulatoribus, quasi re bene gesta et politiæ probatæ laude circumventa.

" Sic pacem sic bella alius diffundat in ævum:
" Successus stupeat, plangat et hostis opes.
" At modo præ reliquis tua mi clementia summo:
" Debeo cui tantum, jure canenda venit."

14. Quod præ reliquis Reginæ laudibus, quas mentitis pietatis hospitalitatis et prudentiæ nominibus Adulator hactenus celebrarit, nunc insitam illius naturæ clementiam maxime decantet, non male discernit, quod ad laudum duntaxat comparationem attinet. Et quod illius paces et bella miscendi artificium (Europæ pestem) cum unus omnia exagitare non possit, aliis tamen indicet et proponat ad illustrandum; labori illi suo par sit studium, ut tamen non dissimule[m], Episcopo Catholico indignum. Sed de occultiore istius epigrammatis sensu, ab Authore a tergo libri seposito, et cum aliis versibus confuso, nos in fine quoque istarum annotationum peculiari tractabimus commentatione.

"Cæterum, quod Reginam erga tot exules, ipsos etiam "hostes, mitissimam esse in epistola prædicarit (quod nos huic "loco considerandum distulimus) illud satis non intelligo."

17 [*sic*]. Si Anglos innuit, qui Religionis causa exulant atque peregrinantur, illo inimiciore nomine traducit, quam sentiat (ni fallor) ipsa Regina: quod non est Episcopi, sed adulatoris; ejusque non concinni aut faceti, sed maledici et malitiosi; quales ipsæ Principum aulæ solent etiam exibilare. (108) Principi quidem natura misericordi, sed aliena depravatione ab operandi synceritate ad simulationem, et a vera virtute ad ejus speciem traductæ ita assentatur, quasi clementiæ nomine bene audiret, quod Catholicos sibi subditos (quos illi hostium nomine prodit) majoribus, quam quibus nunc affliguntur, erumnis non exerceat. Sed Regina videtur olfecisse, et nativam hominis malitiam in Anglico malo exulcerando, et non ignara, quod Catholici (qui sola Religionis causa absunt) ita animis afficiantur, ut (Hæresi quidem extirpata) illam tamen salvam cupiant. Ut cujus illos revera misereat, non ignaros, quod Patris a Pontifice alienati primum imperio male educata, et regnantis postea Fratris etiam legibus depravata, sub sorore denique Regina (quando sanitatis spes affulsit) veteratorum astu ad spem regni excitaretur, quod nisi schismatis viribus fulta esset, ei desperandum esse prædicarunt. Ista temporum infælicitate atque specie deceptæ puellæ Catholicos exules miseret potius, quam ut ejus (quod ad personam attinet) hostes sint. Præsertim cum fieri posse putent, ut vivat et resipiscat. Usu enim comperit, quod Hæresis est flagellum Principum; cujus impetu ipsamet eo est redacta, quodammodo vim ut patiatur, et suam salutem, nisi alieno interitu et Europa permiscenda, non putet posse stabiliri: et nisi sibi subditos

et sola Religionis causa exules, in quos mitissimam esse eam prædicat Episcopus, bonis spoliatos ad summam adigat egestatem. Quæ tamen tam atrocia cum committere videatur non tam insita naturæ suæ immanitate, quam impulsu et applausu improborum hominum Episcopi similium, Catholici, quos illi pro hostibus ad clementiæ Trophæum Episcopus producit, Christianæ æquitatis esse putant preces fundere, ut desinat quamprimum Deo et naturæ suæ repugnare. Et optant, Ecclesiæ se ut submittat, iustam vel ætatis vel sexus excusationem facile scilicet probatura, a tam callidis præsertim Adulatoribus domi forisque circumventa; quandocumque sit, nos interea (ut canit poeta Leslæi laudator)

Cernimus hinc linguæ vires et pectoris artes
Leslæum.

Qui cum se Reginæ tantum debere denuo denunciet, ut Deos hominesque obtestetur, nunquam futurum ut dies ille orbi illucescat, quæ illum beneficiorum ejus videat immemorem, videtur spondere, se gratiam illi per occasionem relaturum majorem, quam quanta a Legato debeat expectari, quod carcere tantum fuerit liberatus, qui omnium gentium jure immunis esse debeat. Singularis alicujus officii in posterum præstandi se obstringit obligatione, ut speratorum Episcopatus fructuum præmio dignior habeatur, quos, sive Regio promisso, sive sua uti de Regina benemeriti et mereturi fiducia expectet, nescio. Illud dico, hominis (qui istam animi affectionem scriptis esse voluit tam testatam) operationes ubique a Catholicis non stultis (109) esse diligenter observandas: eoque magis quod putida quadam et nimis exquisita gratitudinis specie (nempe ob concessam sibi Oratori libertatem) et laudandæ Reginæ lenitatis res deprædicat et valde profecto extollit alienas.

Atque hæc in decursu Regiæ laudationis ab educatione; a summæ prudentiæ fama; ab ejus in ipso dimittendo lenitate; ab Immortali Dei beneficio, qui illam in summi honoris culmine collocarit; a gratia, qua floret propter virtutis et morum existimationem; a regno (quod turbulentum adiit) jam pacatissimo; a summa in Reginam Scotiæ et advenas omnes humanitate; a transfugarum admissorum protectione; ab illustribus suæ (quasi Achillis) gloriæ præconibus, et denique a summa erga nos exules, suos (ut ipse vocat) hostes lenitate. Quæ quanquam et impia sint et ridicula, piisque ejus libelli lectoribus explodenda, a censoribus etiam corrigenda, equidem tacitus reliquissem, nisi nimio meæ patriæ (atque Catholicæ adeo Ecclesiæ) detrimento isto modo luderetur. Hujus enim libri scriptor non est humano jocularis [*sic*], sed juris utriusque Doctor et Episcoporum Ordinis sacrati et ejusmodi ut ejus opera etiam in legationibus utendi magna ratio habeatur. Quo in munere, quomodo se gesserit pro Domina et Regina sua, jam reliquum est, ut perpendamus; idque ipsomet (ut hactenus) sui studii atque meriti non inimico aut invito narratore.

"Ipsemet igitur Episcopus (quod ad suæ in Anglia Legationis "functionem attinet atque fidem) ita pergit, ut Deum testetur se "ea semper voluntate fuisse et in eum finem omnia fecisse, pri-

"mum Angliæ Reginæ votis, deinde suæ Principis ut satisfacere "cupierit."

Quid ego audio? Principis ab Ecclesia damnatæ cupiditati (apud quam Oratorem agebat) Reginæ suæ voluntati se prætulisse Deum testatur Episcopus! Et Dominæ suæ mandata se secundo loco habuisse Legatus litterarum monumentis posteritati etiam jurato prodendum putavit! An hoc non est, se prodere in Legatione fraudulenter esse versatum? An testem requirimus locupletiorem, qui ejus perfidiam planam faciat! Atque hoc fortasse in causa fuit quam ob rem Angla illum fidem suæ Legationis violantem, colludendo et conjuratione (vel aperto indicio vel circuitu quodam) proferenda pro Oratore non haberet. Cum enim quasi privatum custodiæ subjecit et quæstioni, quanquam nullo quod sciam cruciatu, tanta tamen inhumanitate, ut satis assequi non possim, quid sit, quam ob rem Episcopus profiteatur se ejus esse et fore tam studiosum. Nam bonorum Scoticorum 500 fortasse ducatorum census, vel ipsa possessio, nedum expectatio, mihi tanti non videtur, ut se Dominæ suæ hosti tanta voluntate redderet obnoxium. Magis occulta ratio est, quamobrem Episcopus in illam isto modo afficiatur, et secunda aliqua (ut vulgo loquimur) intentio. Utcunque sit, (110) suo ingenio (vel arti potius præstigiarum) Leslæus nimis certe confidebat, qui in rerum natura transformanda, vel ordine saltem pervertendo, videtur usque occupari. Quomodo in Anglia pugnantibus ex diametro Reginarum utilitatibus (ad quam et a qua Legatus erat) se utriusque tamen voluntati satisfacere posse cogitarat? Sed in Anglicam partem (ut modo fassus est, et continuo declarat) magis inclinaverat: desperans de Principis suæ libertate.

"Itaque ultro manus dans sequitur, ut dicat: cum fato nescio "quo infelicis partes sit secutus, nunc sibi mutandum esse velifica- "tionis rationem. Et quoniam viam omnem ad negotiationis "fructum pro Principis suæ liberatione ita interclusam esse vi- "deat, vix de eo aliquid spei ut remaneat: concludit, non esse "amplius cum potentioribus luctandum." 29 [*sic*].

Quanquam Episcopus ab afflicta Dominæ suæ ad florentem Angliæ fortunam, quam illi hactenus et deinceps auctiorem optat, transfugisse videatur: tamen Catholici tam modicæ Fidei esse non possumus, qui fore credamus tandem ut impii se cum potentioribus hoc est cum Deo Omnipotenti certamen suscepisse victi sentiant; et Regina Scotiæ (etiam Angla si resipiscat) salva, ut floreant ambæ, nec fati totius ab Episcopo tam profane repetiti aliquam vim agnoscimus, qui Divinæ Providentiæ omnia tribuimus. Ut ut sit, Scotus certe, quanquam de Reginæ suæ successibus diffideret, non continuo tamen illam ita spernere debebat, vel pietatis vel officii, vel decori certe ratione; cum ei scriberet, ut suum dignitatis nomen subscriberet, diceretque Joannes Episcopus Rossensis, nulla suæ in Dominam tantamque Reginam reverentiæ aut dignationis addita voce. Quod a me nimis in illum acerbe dici aut suspitiose videri fortasse posset, nisi ad Anglam ab Ecclesia damnatam, Dominæque suæ adversariam, nominis sui subscriptioni

addidisset, "Joannes Leslæus Episcopus Rossensis tuæ Majestati devotissimus," "Tuæ Majestati devinctissimus Orator," aut simile officiosæ demissionis attestationem. Nam quacumque Scotiæ coronæ anticipatione fretus Leslæus suæ velificationis rationem mutandam profiteatur, Catholici certe constanter expectamus ut Mariæ vere Scotiæ Reginæ sceptri Majestas reddatur et honos; verum id, causæ nimirum bonitate, Divinaque justitia freti, non Leslæi incitamento ducti speramus. Qui Dominam a se velificatione mutanda (ut ipse fatetur) deserendam ab aliis (ut videtur) dudum desertam ita semper consolatur, quasi suam pro Angla fidem interponens, ut dicat,

"*Spem retine: haud fallet. Diras soror ecce remisit*
"*Iras: quod cœpit* (*credito*) *perficiet.*"

(111) Quid! adeone, quæ verbo ostendit et præ se fert, revera præstare solet Angla, ut Dominæ suæ spondere audeat Orator illi verba non daturam? Adeone spe teneatur, et illius ut credat miserationi, urgere audeat? nisi forte ex ambiguo suo more ludit. Dicit enim

Soror—quod cœpit (*credito*) *perficiet.*

Quid autem cœpit? aut quid consectatur ista Lesleana metamorphosi [ex] patruele soror, nisi ut insignem pietate Reginam vexet, violet, et evertere conetur. Hanc nimirum prædictionis suæ interpretationem vafer sibi servat vates, cum tam fidenter credendum proponit, Anglam, quod cœpit, perfecturam, et cum perfidia tam ambigua Dominæ suæ ludit in ærumnis.

"Sed Episcopus (desperata Dominæ suæ salute) ad Anglæ "pedes prostratus illam in summa ornat atque obtestatur: si ejus "fidem amplexus, illius votis aliquando plane satisfacere conatus "sit, si suum obsequium illi unquam fuit gratum; ut illi libertati "restituto Episcopatus etiam fructus reddendos curet."

Quam fidem mulieris ab Ecclesia damnatæ amplexus sit Episcopus Catholicus, nescio. Illud auguror, quamvis Reginæ conscientiam suppliciter appellet, ut meminerit se, quanquam Oratorem alienum, ejus tamen votis omnino satisfacere conatum: suumque obsequium illi fuisse (ut id temporis fuisse puto) peropportunum: ægre tamen impetraturum, ut talium meritorum aliud ab illa præmium ferat, quam libertatis qua utitur, quæque Legato negari non potuit. Quicquid illi minarum inter quærendum ostentarint, ut suam elicerent confessionem, quæ nulla tamen vi (quod sciam) expressa est, sed quasi ab exterebrantibus dolium effervescens excepta copiose et effluenter. Quomodocunque sit, istiusmodi operam, quam ministrum, Principes (ut dixi) libentius amplecti, meminisse debebat Episcopus, et non suo ipsi unguem in hoc ulcere obversari.

"Sed Leslæus denique perorans, Deum Opt. Max. precatur, ut "Reginam suo spiritu magis ac magis locupletet, et hunc illius "honorem atque hanc felicitatem etiam ut amplificet, demum ut "Cœlo excipiatur piis Regibus destinato."

Quanquam, quæ ex Episcopi Oratione suis ipsius verbis hacte-

nus sunt a me descripta Catholicorum non hebetum et versutis veteratorum scriptis assuetorum aures atque animos non possunt non magnopere offendere: tamen mihi nihil magis impium videtur, vel ineptum, quam hæc, qua concludit omnia precatio. Optat enim ut Reginam Deus suo spiritu magis ac magis afflare velit, cujus quidem spiritus illa (Catholicis ut videtur) adhuc nunquam senserit anhelitum, nisi Episcopus—

(112) Of three Domesticall difficulties which the Fathers of the Society had this yeare 1580, at there first arivall in England .....Cap. 26.

Besides all the difficulties and perils which the Fathers of the Society and other good Priests ioyned in the same spirit with them had this yeare at there first coming into England against the Heretikes, three speciall difficulties fell upon them also among Catholikes, the first about going to Churche, the second about Fastes and Dayes of Abstinence, and the third about the persecution newly raised or increased by there coming in. And we shall speake of the later two first, for that they first came in practise; as namely the matter of fasting was presently called in controversy, for that some ould Priests had accused divers of the younger sorte, for that they had broken or semed to make little accompte of the ould customes or constitutions of the English Churche for fasting the Fridayes, and abstinence from flesh upon the dayes of Rogation, and for keeping the fast of divers other Vigills also of particular Saynts of England, and on the other side, those younger Priests that were noted of this, defended themselves by saying it was sufficient for them to observe the fast and dayes of abstinence prescribed by the generall Churche and such as were observed in Rome and other Catholike places, and that these particular customes of England being uncertayne now, which were brought in of devotion onely, and which by order and constitution provinciall or nationall did not bind now in tyme of persecution when they could not be well kept without note and daunger, untill Catholike religion were publikely restored againe.

For this cause then was there a meeting appoynted in London presently upon the Fathers arivall there, wherein besids the foresaid two Fathers was Mr Blackwell, Mr Tirwitt, and divers others Priests that had labored some yeares before; who giving particular information of the true state of the question, it was agreed upon that for edifications sake and for more respect unto the ancient customes of the English church Priests should enquire diligently in every province and place to which they should come (for that all customes were not generall), what was the custome and use there in (113) Q. Maries tyme. And then if the use were to fast it should be observed, and the Priest to be the first for examples sake (except it were in place or occasion where it might be daungerous) and if the custome were not to fast, or that it were uncertayne what the custome was, (as often it fell out), then to leave it indifferent to every man and

womans devotion, but yet if any would fast or abstayne it should be good edification for the Priest to take there parte and do as they did.

This agreement seemed to please all at the beginninge and so held for a tyme with content and edification of all, untill F. Campion being put to death and F. Persons upon necessity of some busines being gone into France, F. Gaspar Heywood of the Society coming over into England, and left for Superior of the Jesuits for F. Persons in his absence; some yonger Priests dealing with him in this matter caused him to yeld to a certayne new meeting in forme of a Synode, where 17 Priests or thereabout after long disputation concluded against the rest, or the more parte of them, that the customs of England in this behalfe did not bynd any man, and so that it was lawfull for any Priests to eate flesh in England the dayes they did in Rome; and hereupon some Priests were sent abroad presently to warne other Priests of there liberty agreed upon in this behalfe, which some begane out of hand to use with some scandall, adding further it was better and more perfection for Priests to eate and thereby to take scruple from other men then to abstayne; against which divers grave Priests on the other side begane to oppose themselves and the Fathers of the Society in England besides F. Heywood, and namely Father William Holt and the rest were of the said Priests opinion, and wrote over both to F. Persons then in Fraunce, and to the Generall of the Jesuits in Rome, to stay this schisme at the beginning, which could not be done but by the calling away of F. Heywood, who being willed by his Generall to come over and confer of the matter with F. Persons in Fraunce, did soe and taken prisoner upon the sea by the English and there kepte, and condemned afterward, and sent over into exile with many other Priests, as the world knoweth, and afterward he died like a good religious man, as he was, in Naples in the yere 1595.* And so this difficulty in England by little and little seaced.

(114) The second difficulty about persecution was yet somewhat greater, for that it was like to have put in perill all the mission of the Society there: for when upon the said Fathers entrance greate stormes begane to rise, and many proclamations were read in every province against them, and many gentlemen and noblemen suspected to be Catholikes were called up to London and comitted to prison upon pretence that they had the doing with Jesuits; divers men begane to feare, and insighted also by some that had emulation against the said Fathers and theire labours, they resolved to attempt

* There is no reason to think that Father Persons was using an unwarrantable *double entendre* in praising Father Heywood for having "*died* like a good religious man." He had a painful experience of the Padre's peculiarities during his short stay in England, and presumably was not aware that Heywood before he came there had caused similar troubles elsewhere. These have only lately been brought to light by modern archive-students (B. Duhr, *Zeitschrift für Kat. Theologie*, 1900, xxiv, p. 209). After his retirement to Naples, his troubles recommenced (R. Hospinianus, *Historia Jesuitica*, 1619, pp. 256, 257). There is a long set of his complaints, Archives S.J., *Anglia Historia*, 1, 118. Father Duhr believes that the poor man cannot have been altogether right in his mind.

if they could persuade the said Fathers out of England againe, untill a more calmer tyme and better opportunitie. Which thinge being foreseene also by some zealous Priests, who did consider what great assistance the said fathers presence was unto them in this cause, they had dealt effectually before hand with F. Persons Superior of that Mission that he would never yeld to any such fearfull motion if [they] should demaund [it] unto him, as indeed it was soone after by a very grave and ancient Priest named Mr Willson, who not so much in his owne name, as in the name of others by whome he was sent, proposed the matter unto the said F. Persons, alledging the reasons which the others had proposed unto him, which being all founded for the most parte in feare and humane prudence, the said Father answered in effect as followethe.

That he tooke very well the motion, both at his hand and theires that sent him, and yet he prayed them to consider that he and his brethren came not in upon theire owne heads or there owne authority, but sent of the highest Pastor upon the instance and petition of divers cheefe Catholikes, and consequently they could not go forth againe, except they were commanded by like authority that sent them in. And as for the storme of persecution newly raised by there and other Priests coming in, it was an usuall thing in such occasions, and would calme againe of it selfe in tyme, and bring forth such fruits as is accostomed in such causes, where God hath his hand that is stronger then all; and that in the meane space while the tempest indured, he assured them that the Jesuits presence should not be hurteful or daungerous unto them: for that they should approch (115) to no place of Catholikes, except they were expressly called for, thoughe they should lye and be taken in the streetes, and when this storme should be past they would be most ready to serve those or any other Catholikes, though it were with daunger of there lives, in any Priestly function they should have neede of either in life or death.

With this answer Mr Wilson, as a very pious man, was very well contented and so satisfied the parties which had sent him, that he persuaded them (or the most of them) sone after to deale most confidently with the Fathers, even in the middest of the persecution, and so was the second difficulty overcomen. And presently thereupon insued the third, that was most daungerous of all, and endured longest, though in tyme also by longanimitie and perseverance all was well accomodated, as by that which followeth may appeare.

We have showed before of the difference which at the beginning rose among Priests for the going to Church, whether for avoyding of persecution any might yeld to go or noe, and now was the question much more revived upon the coming in of the foresaid Fathers, who were knowne to hould the negative parte, and for that cause, the Councell hath put in prison presently upon there arivall in England divers men of accompt, as the Lord Pagett, Sir John Arundell, Thomas Tressam, Mr William Catesby, Sir Thomas Frogmorton, Mr Sheldon and the like, threatning them that soone after in the Parlament, which for that purpose they had called, most sharpe lawes

should be made against them, as indeed there were, and the forfiture of xx^{li} a month for every recusant was ordayned, the Queen and Counsell interpreting all such recusancy to come of obstinate and rebellious meaninge. For answering of which objection and for preventing somewhat the minds of men before the Parlament begane, F. Parsons wrote the boke intituled *Reasons of Refusall*, and gott it printed; in the which booke he showed by divers reasons, that conscience and not obstinacy or other evill meaning was the true cause of Catholikes refusing to goe to protestants Churches.

And when matter stood in these tearmes, and greate (116) expectations were on all sides, whether Catholikes would be constant or noe, behould a new difficulty, for upon the soddaine a little before the parlament begane two principall men yelded to go to the church, to witt the Lord Pagett and Mr Sheldon, which they pretended to have done upon the persuasion of a new booke secretly spread abroad in wrytten hand, which did teach that in such a case Catholikes might goe to churche, and for that this booke was thought to have byn gathered by some principall man or men in England (thoughe given out by one William Clytherowe a man little studied thoughe afterward made priest in Flaunders) it was like to make greate motion coming togeather with the storme of persecution, as may appeare in the letter of a grave priest and gentleman named Mr Edward Chambers, brother to the Lady St John, and uncle to Mr Griffins wife of Dingley in Northamptonshire, which letter he wrote to F. Persons going then under the name of Mr Roberts in maner as followethe.

Anno 1580. The Letter of Mr Chambers to F. Persons about Clytherow his booke for goinge to Churche, and what was done in that behalfe...Cap. 27.

Loving Mr Roberts, I was yesterday night togeather with my neighbour Griffyn to visit our gentlemen restrayned for not going to Churche, some I found mery and resolute, some pensive and not so full resolved to constancy as they were wont to be. I hope it is but a temptation that will passe; the cause of which tentation I take to be in parte, besides the present storme of persecution and love of the world in them, a certaine peevishe booke cast forth amonge them of late by I knowe not whome, alleadging divers reasons whie yelding to go to Churche in this case is no greate sin, if it be any at all, and in effect it doth contradict the cheefest purpose of the *Reasons of Refusall* of late printed, and for that it is given out under the name of a Catholike learned man, it dothe worke the greater impression especially at this tyme, when such as be frayle would be glad to have such a cushion put under there elbowes, to ease there pressures; of my Lord Pagetts yelding already in the Castle of Windsor there is newes comen which hath done no good, and his servant Mr Steven Brinkeley hath promised to seeke you out and tell you the whole story and how your letter to the Lord, sent by Mr Birde, came in tyme (117) and wrought good effect with him for some space towards constancy,

but in the end the flattery of the Courte and feare of further hurte by reasone of his Lady that is contrary to him as you knowe and cane do much with the Earle for this perversion with the Earle of Leicester, and perhaps the sight and newes of this booke hath made him to yeld, and the like is feared of the Lord Compton, Mr Sheldon and others. So as you must needes thinke of some present remedy for this inconvenience amonge other, if you cane, to which effecte I meane to be with you this evening (God willing) and to meete you all at the first Inn upon the right hande when you are past Holborne Bridge going towards Newgate, and if it please to bring with you the man whome last I saw in your company or any other frende, we shall there talke togeather of all these matters and divers poynts I reserve to word of mouth. I shall be there about sixe of the clocke when it shall be somewhat darke, and so for the present to our Lord I comytt you. November the sixt 1580.

This Letter being receaved of, F. Parsons advised thereof Mr George Blacwell, who was the man signified by Mr Edward Chambers in the former letter, and meting at the Inn appoynted saw the former booke which was not greate, but peevishly wrytten and very dangerous in such a tyme, for that it made profession to prove all it said out of ancient Fathers: whereby it appeared, that albeit the opinion was the foresaid William Clytherowe, who had byn a Lawiers Clarke had wrytten it out, and given it abroad, yet that he was not the author therof, but rather Mr D. Langdale that lived with the Lord Mounteacute, and permitted him as was said to have English service in his house for his servants, though himselfe went to Masse; for one Mr Johnson a Priest, that lived with one Mr Hare, who was houlden for a principall man, favored that opinion in those dayes.

But whosoever was the author it seemed necessary to F. Parsons and Mr Blackwell, and other good and zealous Catholikes that the booke should be answered out of hand. And so the former two went the very next day to a certaine marchants in London where the Library of D. Yong, lately dead, (118) was thought to be, but finding his bookes ould and of evill print and edition, and not so fitt for the purpose as they desired, they departed thence againe quickly and would not stay to dinner, as the marchant earnestly entreated them. And it seemed the Providence of God, for that soone after they were gone came in the pursevants to search the house, and had taken them both togeather if they had stayed.

From thence they went over the River to Southwarke and procured to have a sight of Mr Doctor Langdales Library, who was absent in the country with the Lord Montacute, and there they found not only sufficient bookes, but also the same places coated and marked which were alleadged in the pamphlet newly sett forthe; whereby they gathered, eyther Doctor Langdale had made that booke, or at least gathered the notes for it, for that they were

wrytten with his owne hande, and it seemeth that God punished him in that very kind shortly after, for that a nephew of his a grave man called F. Langdale, who had lived many yeares in the Society of Jesus, leasing upon the soddaine, as it were, his witt and judgment rane out of Italy into England without licence of his Superiours to teach this doctrine, that it was lawful for men to go to Churche, and being receyved and embraced by the Counsell of England, and sent abroad to teach the same Doctrine throughout the Realme with licence to say Masse also, he vanished away no man knoweth how, nor was he ever hard of since eyther live or deade.

But to returne to the former booke, it was answered presently by F. Parsons, the notes being gathered by Mr Blackwell, and it so repressed the matter for the present, as noe more men of marke fell, but the foresaid two, to witt my Lord Pagett and Mr Sheldon, thoughe the Lord Compton followed also soone after, and after him againe Sir William Catesby and some others, but God styrred up others againe to enter againe in there place, and to stand in that gappe, notwithstanding the violence of the newe statute of xx^{ii} a monthe made in the Parlament begone at Westminster the xvi day of January of the yeare followinge, of which yeare we shall now passe to entreate.

(119) Of the difficulties that happened in the second yeare of the Fathers being in England which was Anno 1581; and namely by spies, Apostates and treasons.....Cap. 28.

All these tempests being blowne over, or borne out, that happened in the yeare 80, upon the Fathers arivall into England by imprisonment of so many men, and other terrours threatened, there followed the yeare 1581, which was much more terrible then the former, through the number of domesticall difficulties which it brought with it. For presently upon the publishing of the new Statute against Recusants in the beginning of this yeare, many begane to shrinke, and upon the proclamation published the [x] of January against Jesuits and Seminary Priests with extreme commination of death and destruction against them, and against all such [as] receave or deale with them, or not discover them, many frends shrunke from them, and others seing it profitable to be there enymyes, begane to thinke how to entrappe or betray them.

Three notable spies named Sleade, Munday and Nowell comen lately from Rome, where the first had byn a servingman, the other two schollers in the English Colledge, betrayed and caused hands [to be] laid on as many as they could hunt out. One John Paschall also a gentleman of Kent, who came from Rome with F. Parsons, F. Campion & the rest, having professed great constancy with them first, now forsooke them upon feare, and professed openly to go to the Church in the Guildhall of London before the Judges, & Sir Owen Hopton Leiftenante of the Tower and others. One John Nicols also that first had byn a Minister in Wales and after a scholler in

Rome, coming into England abiured his Religione, wrote a most spitefull booke against the Jesuits, and other Priests telling a hundred false tales & forged devises to make them odious, the which booke in like sorte being published in printe, F. Parsons was forced to make an answere intituling it,—A Discovery of John Nicols which was published by the Heretikes to be a Jesuite.

(120) After this, one Eliot that had lived long a Catholike in Mr Ropers house, falling from his fayth, became a traytour, and afterward toke F. Campion, Mr Payne Priest and others, as the world knoweth. There came in also into England at that tyme the foresaid F. Langdale [run] away out of his Order, as hath byn said, and coming into England dealt with the Consell, about teaching the doctrine of gowing to Churches, and the like was expected of one Perkins an Englishman, put out of the same Order for his demenour at the same tyme, and since made a Doctor and promoted in England, who, if at that tyme [he] had comen into England and joyned with Langdale and others, as was feared, against those fewe of there Order that were in England already, would have bred greater difficulties then God permitted; yet wanted not there very greate, as by the sequele shall appeare.

For F. Parsons being left now as it were alone, and F. Campion taken by Eliots treason, he was sought for with greate diligence, & escaped divers tymes very hardly, as namely at an Inne in Holborn, where Mr Rishton a Priest and divers other Catholikes were taken, expecting F. Parsons coming thither which he had appointed and came indeed, but could by no meanes find the house, the Counsell upon the detection of a false Catholike that had sene him there two dayes before, having placed pursevants within the said Inne to take him: [soe] soone after this, againe having procured a print and printers in a village called Greensted 7 mile out of London whereof Mr Steven Brinkley above said was the corrector and overseer, the said Father also lyving there in secrett and wryting against Charke, Nicols, & others, the said Brinkleys man that went in and out betwene London and that place was taken by treason and carried to the Tower and tortured out of hande, wherupon they were constrayned to fly with print, presse, paper & all, and to place the same in another countrey which was nere to Henley upon Thames in the house of the Lady Stoner, whether came also F. Campion out of Lancashire to print his booke, in Latine called "Decem rationes ad Academicos" where lying togeather with F. Parsons, they understood of a new treason against them, uttered in Oxford by a servant that one Jinckes a bookbinder had brought to bind bookes in the lodging of F. Parsons nere to Bridwell Church in London, of which treason they were warned so late, as before they could make provision the (121) said lodging was taken with all bookes, papers, letters, medalles, Agnus Dei, prayers, and such like thinges, and togeather was also taken Mr Alexander Briant Priest, that lay neare unto it, and was after martyred togeather with F. Campion, who departing from the house aforesaid where the printe was, upon Munday the 18th of August,

was taken upon Sunday next ensuing by the treason of Eliot, as I said, and soone after that againe the said house, print and all was taken by the Queens officers, through the falshood or negligence of him who had the charge there, who was kinsman to F. Parsons himselfe, and with the said printe was taken Mr Brinkeley also, togeather with his printers, and it was a great chaunce that F. Parsons had not byn taken with them, for that he lay within a house neere to the place in the forest of Windesor, and had departed a little before and was presently to returne.

Neyther had he lesse difficulties in London, for that he being principally assisted at that tyme both for his maintenance and other waies by Mr George Gilbert gentleman, who had byn a great puritane in tymes past, the said gentleman was so pursued by all diligence of the Counsell as they induced some of his tenants of Suffolke to come to London to betray him, fayning that they would buy certayne lands of him, and pay him his money in the house of Mr Higgins a scrivener knowne to be Catholikely given, and then the match was that as the money was in payinge, Sir George Carey Knight Marshal should come in, as he did with his sword drawne and take both money and men, but F. Parsons suffered not Mr Gilbert that day to goe, but to send two others in his place, whoe were Sir Frauncis Browne, brother to the Lord Montecute, and Mr Charles Bassett, who bothe were taken and sent to the Marshalsee, and F. Parsons sent over soone after Mr Gilbert into France.

At this very tyme there came into England John Bodin, Frenchman to treat a marriage betweene the Queen and Monsieur Francis Duke of Angiow brother to the King of Fraunce; and for that he published himselfe to be a Catholike, F. Parsons caused one to go to him, and did propose how honorable a thinge it would be for his Master and him also to entreate somewhat for the Catholikes, but he answered perversely, (122) as he was a politike, and as some thinke worse, saying that he came to treate matters of marriage, and not of Religion, and so y^{t} spread afterwards, and showed besides some disaffections to Jesuits, and to there coming into England, so that this way they could have no comforte. One thing also increased the difficulties of Catholikes at this tyme, which was the falling out betweene the Earle of Southampton and the Lord Montacute, about the Earles wife, which was daughter to the Lord, and put away by the Earle, as suspected of incontinency, in which quarrell and dissention as also that of the Lord Pagett with his wife, [it] was then said in England that Mr Charles Pagett brother to the said Lord had much falt, as also not long after, the like was reported of his dealing in the controversy or emulation that did rise betwene the two Catholike Earles of Arundell & Northumberland, which Charles this very yeare leaving England went over and dwelt in Paris, and there joyned with one Thomas Morgan a Welchman that had served some yeares before for Secritary Yong, called Archbishop of Yorke, and after his death putting himselfe into the service of the Earle of Shrosebury, where the Queen of Scottes was prisoner, fell in favour and creditt with her,

and afterward goinge into Fraunce and joyning with Mr Charles Pagett in Paris, made themselves both her men, and entring further into league and straight frendshipe with two other secretaries that lived with the Quene, Nawe & Curle, the first a Frenchman the other a Scott, & ruled all about her and had the scepter in there handes. They foure governed from thenceforth all the Queen's affaires at there pleasure, untill, she being made away in England, the said two secretaries were pardoned & let goe.

And first of all the said two in Paris opposing themselves secretly against the Archbishop of Glasco Embassador for the said Queen in Paris, they brake his creditt much with the said Queen and wrong from him in tyme the administration of the Queen's dowry in Fraunce, which was some 30,000 crownes a yeare, by which they were able to pleasure much there frendes and hinder there adversaries; and then joyning themselves in a new faction with Doctor Lewes in Rome, (123) and falling out with Doctor Allen and F. Parsons, as after shalbe said, they were the cause of a great division amongst Catholikes which hitherto hath endured, as by that which ensueth doth better appeare.

Of new difficulties begone in Rome, and in the Englishe Colledge, and of the first occasion of faction against Jesuits, and how it was encreased & continued.....Cap. 29.

Besides the difficulties before rehearsed fallen out in England and beginning to be also now in Paris, by Mr Pagett and Morgans being there, there begane presently also in Rome a seed of a new division, for that Doctor Lewes being offended with the successe of the new Colledge erected there, as you have hard before in the years 78 & 79 and being forced as it were to retyre himselfe to Millane in banishment from the Courte of Rome, he could not but take it grevously and so leaving his nephew Hugh Griffitt, lately put out of the said Englishe Colledge also for his misdemenour, to remaine as his Agent in Rome (a man of much [more] unquiett & troblesome spirite then the D^{r} was) he comended him to Cardinall Savello, and others of the Inquisition to be beleeved in all matters touching England and that Tribunall to be beleeved as himselfe—and moreover he added (as F. Alphonsus Agazarius Rector of the Colledge affirmed to have seene and read, wrytten by the Doctors owne hand) that it should not be good to give over much creditt to any of the said Englishe Colledge about matters appertaining to the Inquisition, for that they might be partiall, but that they should use his said nephewe and one Frire Batson a Franciscan, who newly was comen from Flaunders to Rome, and was no greate frend to Jesuits, though he had a brother a scholler among them, but they bothe being no proper Englishe men but borne in Flanders of an English man and Flemish mother, they easily joined with Dr Lewes, as by the sequele appearethe: for that one Mr Umpton an Englishe gentleman sonne to S^{r} Edward Umpton, that married the Countesse of Warwicke, being taken by the Inquisition at Milane, Mr Doctor Lewes so used

the matter by his letters to Rome, as one Salomon Aldred that had byn a taylor, as before I said, was sent into England to treate about the said Umpton, and by this occasion fell acquainted with Sir Francis Walsingham cheefe Secretary to the Queen and with Sir Christopher Hatton, and others of the Counsell, and at his returne to Rome and passing by Doctor Lewes at Milane, and by Mr Pagett and Morgan at Paris, he made such favoured relation of the . . . .

[*The manuscript ends abruptly in the middle of a page.*]

MEMOIR III

The First Entrance of the Fathers of the Society into England

[Title page] Certaine Notes of Memory concerning the first entrance of y^e^ fathers of y^e^ Soc. of Jesus into England by way of mission in y^e^ yeare of X^t^ 1580, with the principal matters that have happened since y^t^ time about y^e^ said Engl. Mission & maintenance of the Catholick Religion in y^t^ realme. (fol. 1)

There is a brief recitall also of what passed in Engl^d^ about matters of religion before y^e^ said mission of y^e^ Jesuits thither, & touching their union & coniunction in other countries with y^e^ principal of y^e^ Engl: nation, that laboured in y^t^ cause.

Jacobus et Cephas et Joannes dextras dederunt mihi et Barnabæ societatis. 1 Paul ad Gal. c. 2. v. 9. James & Cephas & John gave to me & to Barnabas their right hands of fellowship & association in the work of y^e^ Ghospell.

We here see Father Persons in the true mood for memoir writing. He has been asked to tell his story, and he sets to work without a note near him, and dictates his recollections to a sympathetic scribe.

As was inevitable, he repeats a certain amount of what he has said in the last memoir, but adds new details, and takes fresh views, sometimes broader and truer views than those he gives us in the *Storie of Domesticall Difficulties.* Unfortunately this method of writing has many limitations, and cannot overcome the defects of the writer's memory. We see that he leaves blanks here and there for names that escape him for the moment (fols 3, 9, etc.) More curious still he says nothing of the whole intercourse of St Ignatius and the early Jesuits with England, before the regular missions commenced. St Ignatius himself visited England in his student days (*Testament of Ignatius Loyola*, translated by E. M. Rix, 1900, p. 160).

Fathers Salmeron and Brouet touched at England on their way to Scotland and Ireland in 1541, 1542 (*Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu,* fasciculus 116, and *The Month,* December, 1903), and Father Ribadeneyra was here in the suite of the Conde de Feria in 1558 (L. Delplace, *L'Angleterre et la Compagnie de Jésus avant le martyre du B. Edmond Campion*, Bruxelles, 1893). Father Thomas King was the first Jesuit missionary who came to England, but he soon after died in 1565 (Foley, *Records,* VIII, 1437). Father Bolbet perhaps worked in England as early as 1562 (*ibid.* p. 1420). Persons indeed notes that Ignatius was in frequent intercourse with Cardinal Pole, who assisted him to found the German College at Rome, to which according to the saint's original ideas Englishmen should have been admitted (F. Shroeder, S.J., *Primordia Collegii Germanici,* 1896, pp. 139, 162, 237, etc.); and in fact he admitted some, and asked Pole to send more.

The abrupt termination of Persons' treatise at an interesting point is probably due to the writer feeling the weakness of his memory. Perhaps he found the need of consulting letters, etc., imperative; perhaps he was coming to the opinion that if he did help himself with contemporary records, his memoirs would be more useful still. His *Punti per la Missione Anglicana,* which takes

up the story more or less at the point at which he here breaks off, is written with the assistance of such aids.

This treatise has come down to us in one transcript—that of Father Christopher Grene, *Collectanea P,* vol. I, folios 1 to 13, who has the prefatory note, "Transcribed in Martio, 1689, out of the Original, whereof the Title and Preface is Fr Persons owne hand. Scripsit hæc et dictavit Personius, anno 1605."

The Preface.

(2) I have bin diverse times by sundry good men requested, & this for many yeares, that I should lay together some notes for memory of those things, which almighty God hath bin pleased to work both abroad and at home in favour of Cath. Religion in our country, since ye last impugnation thereof under Q. Elizabeth now deceased, but especially since ye Mission made thither of ye fathers of ye Soc. of Jesus, wch is now five and twenty years past. In wch time as God hath permitted yt ye said impugnation & persecution should be more sharp & eager against Caths then before, but especially agt Priests & Jesuits, so seemeth it also yt, according to ye ordinary course of his holy providence, he hath given greater grace of fervour, courage & constancy then before in resistance of ye enemy & defence of his said cause; and therefore, though for sundry respects, which most men wil easily conceive of themselves, I thought not myself so fitt to sett downe these notes, as others that might be lesse interested therein then myself, yet considering on ye other side, yt heer is sought no other thing but only ye glory of Alm. God to whome all his mercies are to be ascribed & he only glorifyed for ye same, and finding myself at this present somewhat disoccupyed through want of health, & retired into a solitary place not farr from Naples, to seek ye benefit of a more moderate ayre, I was content to dictate to a companion (who likewise was desirous thereof & hath had his part of labours & imprisonments for this cause of God's truth) the notes ensuing, as they came to my memory, being at this present without books or other records to assist me therein, albeit for the distinction of times I think we shal not greatly erre, & they may easily be supplyed and * afterwards out of other , if anything should be mistaken in time only in this place I shall assure ye reader of two points: ye first that ye truth of matters here related shall be exact & sincere, as in ye sight of Alm. God & in his cause wch hath noe neede of our untruths; but abhorreth ye same: the other yt for so much as ye times are and dangerous, I shall use all care and caution possible yt no man receive hurt or preiudice by his naming or any other thing yt may be spoken of him in this narration.

Missio Societatis in Angliam cur tam sero?

Having then so sett down these notes of the first entrance of ye Soc. of Jesus into England, occasions & causes thereof with ye effects yt since have ensued about ye progresse of ye Cath. Religion in our Country & combats passed therein, the first question or demand may be how it happened yt in 40 yeares space, (for so many passed from ye

* Father Grene usually leaves blanks in his transcript where he cannot read a word, or where the MS. has perished.

first foundation & confirmation thereof in Rome by Pope Paulus y^e 3rd in y^e yeare 1540, until their first mission into England in y^e yeare 1580) how [I] say it chanced y^t y^e aforesaid religion * being instituted as it seemeth & properly stirred up by God to oppose itself against infidelity & heresy of our times & spread w^th wonderful velocity not only into most parts of Europe but into Asia also, Africa & y^e Indies, came not in like manner into England.

Whereunto, though y^e chief answer be y^t God disposeth everything in its due time (3) yet may these reasons and causes ensuing be considered in this matter. First that K. Henry living 6 yeres only after y^e institution of this religion, there was no convenient time for y^e same to enter by way of mission, both for y^t the religious persons thereof were but few & desired in many countries, provinces & cities as by our history is evident, ✠ as also for y^t not w^th standing K. Henry y^e 8 were rather retiring back from schisme to Cath. Reli^on then otherwise, as may appear by y^e Statute of 6 Articles made ag^t Protestants. In this very yeare of y^e Jesuits confirmation & his putting to death upon y^t statute sundry principal of y^t sect, amongst whom Cromwel was one, & his own wife Q. Catherine had bin in danger if he lived, yet could not this order of Jesuits be any way fitt for his turne, in resp^t of their particular vowing obedience, above all other religions, to y^e Pope for to be sent by him into all Countries for conversion of infidels & heretics, for so much as K. Henry how soever he shewed more fervour then before in all other points of Cath. Religion, yet resolved he to persist for y^e present in that point of schism against y^e Pope. Wherefore y^e time was not for y^e purpose, nor were they scarce born yet, whome God had appointed to be first of y^e Order to be sent in afterwards at their due time, for y^t F. Persons was born upon y^e last year of K. Henry's reign, to wit 1546 and F^r Campian some 6 years before, y^t is to say y^e very year wherein y^e Society was confirmed.

State of Religion in end of K. Henry's time. Obiit 1547.

Then followed other 6 years and somewhat more of y^e reigne of y^e child K. Edw. y^e 6^t, in which time it pleased his governors to change religion & to bring in y^e niewest in those daies which was Zwinglianisme, quite contrary to y^e expresse will & ordinance of K. Henry y^e 8, and contrary to y^e faith & belief of all kings of Engl. from our first conversion unto y^t day: and in this time no merwaile also though y^e Jesuits were not admitted, for y^t in publick they could not be, the state standing contrary & attending only to call niew ministers from Germany which were marryed fryers as Bucer, Peter Martyr, Ochinus & others, and privately there was no means to send in any, for y^t it is likely there were no Englishmen then of y^e Soc^y. §

King Edward's reigne. Obiit 1553.

The greatest mervaile may be of Q. Mary's time, who raigned between 5 & 6 y^s, and endeavoured to restore Cath: Rel^on with great zeale & sincerity by all the meanes she could possibly, and Card. Pool who had

Q. Mary's time. Obiit 1558.

* Religion, i.e., Religious Order. ✠ Marginal note—Ribad. in vita Ignatii, Laynez, Borgiæ, etc. § See the introductory note.

y^e^ chief managing of matters concerning religion after his returne, had much knowledge of y^e^ Soc^y^ in Rome and in y^e^ Councell of Trent, where F. Laynez, Salmeron and others of the Soc^y^ were in much account for their learning, zele and vertue, and he had particular acquaintance also w^th^ F. Ignatius the first founder, of whome he obtained to have often times w^th^ him at Viterbo, where he was legate & preacher, one of the first fathers named Bobadilla: all w^ch^ considerations doe make some mervaile why he had not called in some fathers of y^e^ Soc^y^ in those days to help to sett forward Cath: Religion.

But alas y^e^ time was to short w^ch^ God permitted them to have in those daies & so entangled in other difficulties as namely y^e^ Q^'s^ marriage w^th^ Spaine, which held forth y^e^ said Card^l^ out of Engl^d^ for almost two years after the death of K. Edward, and then about y^e^ disagreeing they had what course was to be held both for establishing of Religion & y^e^ succession at home, as they had little leisure to think upon men abroad. And soe we see that of all the religious companies of y^e^ English nation y^t^ were either thrust out or dispersed at home before that, had more right to be respected then Jesuits that were strangers, we see none almost restored in those daies, but only one house of St Francis his order at Greenwich; some few monks at Westminster & some other few Carthusians at Bethlehem as also some nuns of St Brigit's order at Sion & finally y^e^ great master of y^e^ order of St John w^th^ some few knights of Malta at [St] Johns by Smithfield.

Q. Eliz. her reigne & persecution.

(4) Wherefore some 18 or 19 yeares being spent in these 3 reignes there ensued that of Q. Eliz., worst of all for Cath^s^ & consequently more needful of God's holy providence to assist them and his cause, w^ch^ never faileth in time of most necessity, & soe it hath bin seen in this.

For to begin w^th^ y^e^ first 7 yeares after her entrance, as she passed them in sports & all kind of worldly delights, being come upon y^e^ suddain from y^e^ one extremity of feares & perils to y^e^ other of supreame joy & pleasure, soe she dallyed also w^th^ Cath^s^ & promised them in secret very fair weather, but in y^e^ meane space they seeing all matters to grow worse dayly, & their Cath. Bishops, Deanes, Archdeanes & prelates to be deprived of their living, held in prison or pursued and driven out of y^e^ realme, the wiser sorte did easily perceive whither matters would goe, & thereupon many retired themselves on this side of seas, whose names may be seen in y^e^ end of D^or^ Sanders book *De Monarchia:* we only shall name such as are more eminent for assisting the Cath: cause by their books and other writings as D^or^ Harding, D^r^ Sanders, D^r^ Stapleton, D^r^ Heskins Mr Marshal & y^e^ like, presently at y^e^ very beginning opposed themselves to Jewel, Horn, Calfield* & other chief Protest^s^ y^t^ began to growe in their niew nestes of Eng^l^; & for y^e^ most part these men lay in y^e^ university of Louvain in Flanders.

Harding, Sanders, Stapleton &c flye to Doway & Louaine.

Others some after began to live in y^e^ university of Douay &

* Calfhill.

there to begin a seminary or college for Engl Caths as namely & principally Mr Dr Allen afterward Cardl, head of yt most happy work, wth whome joined divers others excellent men, as Dr Lewes afterward Bp of Cassano & one Mr Morgan a learned man yt had bin fellow together wth Dr Allen of [Oriel]* College in Oxford, and having some little wealth bestowed it all that way.

Dr Allen &c.

There came hither also after Mr Dr Bristow Mr Tho. Baily, Mr Lawrence Webb, Mr Greg: Martin & others all grave men, graduates of Oxford & Cambridge and divers of them alsoe had boren governmts therin.

Bristo, Baily, Webb, Martin.

All these seeing yt sundry young men were moved by God in like manner to come over & to leave their country & commodities of study therein for enjoying ye benefit of Cathc Religion, thought it best to live together in forme of College then dispersedly, though yet there was no intention at all (as often I have heard mr Dr Allen affirme) of the end of returning againe into their country to teach & preach Cath: Relign, which God had then in his minde & after inspired unto them, & ye execution thereof was upon this occasion, that when certain of them had ended their studies, & entered into deliberation what they should doe, & how to dispose of themselves, one of them named Mr Barlow, if I remember not amisse (and sure it ought to be remembered to his perpetual praise) offered to goe into England & prove what spiritual good there might be done there amongst his countrymen; & if he found hope of profit to call for more company, & so he did; & he was the first missioner of of yt happy mission, & hath shewed himself since a most constant Confessor of Xt, suffering imprisonment many yrs for ye truth of his Cathc cause. But before this it is also to [be] remembered yt diverse learned & towardly men of our nation were entered into ye Socy of Jesuits, as both ye Heywoods Ellis & Jaspar, Mr Adam Brook of a worshipful house in Engd, Dor Darbyshire that had been Archdeacon of London, Mr Wm Good a grave learned man and others. † And ye fathers of ye Socty yt were strangers in Douay, Louvaine, Paris, & other places shewed themselves so loving & kind & ready to assist all Englishmen, yt came out of their country for their conscience, as they seemed all of one Socty, & they were fathers indeed to all those of our nation, helping them not only spiritually in hearing their confessions, giving them ye Spirl Exercises & other godly instructions, as also in reading to them gratis both (5) Philosophy & Divinity, but even in tempal matters also they assisted them most reddily, wheresoever they could, as namely in Douay wth persuading ye Bishop, Abbot & other prelates of yt country to contribute to that seminary, and from Rome itself F. Ant. Possevinus by the General's order [entreated] fifty crownes pension by ye month, wh was ye first certain staye yt ever yt Seminary had.

First English Jesuits.

All English in exile & seminaries helped by the Society

* Blank in MS. Morgan Phillips was Allen's tutor.—Knox, *Douay Diaries*, p. xxii; Wood's *Athenæ*, I, 432.

† Delplace, *L'Angleterre*, etc., p. 77, counts forty-three English, Irish or Scotch who entered the Society before 1580.

And this was ye first and principal grownd of streit friendship between ye Jesuits & Seminary priests in those daies, began no doubt by God & for his cause, & soe continued ever afterward, until they joined also in ye same mission, and soe will continue no doubt among ye good; for that ye contrary spirit of those, yt would separate them or put emulation betwene them, cannot be from God but from his adversary.

After this also diverse that had lived in ye seminary itself at Douay entered into ye Soctv & Mr Edmund Campian that had bin Proctor of ye university of Oxford and of singular estimation for his learning in ye same. Mr John Howling in like manner & Mr Williams both of them of Oxford.

Persecution: Felton & Story M.M. 1570 & 71.

Now also began ye persecution to be more sharp in England for Cathc Relign & diverse were put to death for ye same, as Mr John Felton for setting up ye Popes Bull, Mr Dor Story also a Civilian the next year after & then Mr Thomas Woodhouse an ancient virtuous priest yt had lain long prisoner in the fleet for his conscience & not long after that againe Mr Cuthbert Mayne yt had bin of ye Semin: of Douay a Revd & learned Bachelor of Divinity, who was executed only for having a printed copy of ye late Jubily 3 yeares before sett forth, & the worshipfull gentleman & noble confessor of Xt Mr Francis Tregeon, in whose house he was taken, lost all his lands & livings for ye same & was condemned to perpetual prison, wh sentence, as I take it, endureth until this day. And among other cruelties one John Tipper a very towardly & discreet youth was whipt by ye Recorder of London Fleetwood & Norton chiefest persecutors in those daies, & his eares bored through wth a hott iron for confession of ye Cathc faith, wch youth coming afterwards to Rome studyed both Philosophy & Divinity, became a learned priest & soe fervent in vertue as he entered the austere order of ye Carthusians & therein behaved himself so well as after some years they made him Procr Generall of their order & in yt office he dyed in Rome.

1573 Woodhouse M. Cub. Mayne M.

1578 Mr Fr. Tregeon.

John Tipper after Carthusn noble confessor. Obiit Romæ 24o Aug. 1593.

For this respect then of ye vigorous proceeding in Engld Caths began to prepare themselves to greater sufferings. And God, as though he had a niew warre to be taken in hand, began to muster more men upon ye suddain, not only by sending over more abundantly sufficient & able young men to ye Seminaries and by augmenting to them an other Seminary, as presently shall be sayd, but by moving diverse of them in like manner to enter into the Soctv of Jesus, thereby & by their discipline to make them the fitter & more able to help their country.

More English enter the Soctv: Persons, Garnet, Weston, Holt, Stephens, Lane, Gallop.

And soe upon ye yeare of ye Jubily wch was 1575 mett & entered at Rome diverse at one time, as by name F. Persons, f. Henry Garnett, f. Wm Weston, f. W. Holt, all Oxford men & afterward employed in ye Mission of England. F. Ths Stephens also, now a painfull & fruitfull labourer in ye east Indies & mr John Lane mr of

art of Corpus Xti College in Oxford & of great expectation, that dyed afterwards at Alcala in Spain: Mr Gallop fellow of niew College yt dyed in Rome, all wch I say, coming as it were together from diverse parts & joining in that resolution to abandon ye world & all hopes thereof to follow our Lord Jesus in that his Socty, gave a certain aboadment to all men of some matter of importance to ensue; & so did f. Campian write from Prague in diverse letters unto Fr Persons in Rome that had advertised him of their number & entrance together in ye Socy.

Semry fled from Douay is occasion of an other in Rome.

And now as I said for more confirmation of this matter & of God's intention therein, ensued ye erection of a second Seminary in Rome by such meanes & occasion as seemed would overthrow wholy that wch was instituted before in Douay, for soe are God's works ordinarily in men's eyes though alwaies they bring forth different effects from those yt are feared or suspected.

Alanus cum aliis fugit Duaco Rhemos hebda sancta anni 1578.

(6) The occasion then of this niew benefit was that the state of England, having procured by those that took arms agt ye K. of Spain in Flanders that the citty of Douay bowing somewhat to their bent they should first of all dissolve & expell ye Engl. seminary & apprehend Mr Allen that was their President—they did so & gave vere few hours of flight as wel to ye Jesuits as to them. And as for Dr Allen, he being privily advertised of such a design, fled privily by secret meanes to Rheims in France, wch was ye next citty & university of any security unto Douay. And thither also followed him his children & schollers flying by other ways; from whence also when the state of England by their Embassador in Paris would have procured ye K. to expulse them as not confident to France they remained by entreaty of Pope Gregory ye 13 and by ye compassion wch the Cardl & Duke of Guise chief governors there at yt time had of them.

Scholars from Douay fly to Rome.

So then when this advice came to Rome, that poor English caths were putt to a second exile out of Douay & Flanders and yt for better testifying thereof diverse of ye chief schollers went directly to Rome to seeke relief at his Hols hands, it pleased God to move ye good Pope's heart to found a second college in Rome in ye house of ye old English Hospital, supplying most liberally from his own treasure every month so much as ye sayd Hospl was not able to bear, and thus was ye second college erected upon ye yeare of Xt 1578 and occasioned as you see by ye hereticks persecution.

1578 Tumult in Seminary of Rome.

But now ensueth another assault of ye devil to overthrow this new college, wch yet proved no lesse profitable thereunto then the other of his ministers the hereticks before, though this was by ye hand of Caths and good men. The assault was thus.

Whereas ye ancient priests yt had bin chaplains before there when it was an hospital were now removed by Pope Gregory to give place to students, one only was retained to governe them named Mr Maurice Clenock a grave ancient man, but not sufficiently

experienced, as it seemed, in y^e^ government of such a company; for that the English schollars began to complain of their wants both in apparel, diet, studies, directions for their devotions & the like, but particularly for supposed great partiality towards some of his countrymen that seemed not fitt for y^e^ end of y^t^ house neither to have purpose to returne into their country to help y^e^ same as the other had, & for that M^r^ D^or^ Lewis, as he had been a chief procurer of y^e^ College with the Pope & Datary, so was he also a principal supporter of M^r^ Maurice his government. For this cause y^e^ sayd schollars to the number of about 34 dealt earnestly w^th^ y^e^ said M^r^ D^or^ Lewis y^t^ M^r^ Maurice might be removed as not acquainted w^th^ such a charge & y^t^ they might have a convenient government to y^e^ end they had proposed to themselves of returning into their country.

D^or^ Lewes

M^r^ D^r^ Lewes promised them at y^e^ beginning that y^e^ matter should be soon adjusted, & that M^r^ Maurice his governm^t^ was but for an introduction, but when at length the schollars saw nothing remedyed & y^t^ their wants & disorders & division between y^e^ 2 nations of English & Welsh grew every day by these occasions to be greater, they made their recourse by memorials to y^e^ Pope, whereupon fell out a greater breach between y^e^ 2 Doctors and their countrymen w^ch^ were some 8 or 9 in the college on y^e^ one side, & y^e^ English schollars on y^e^ other. And then fell out y^e^ English also y^t^ lived abroad in y^e^ citty as well as y^e^ old Chaplens, priests, gentlemen and others too partaking, especially when M^r^ D^or^ Lewes & M^r^ D^r^ Maurice had procured Card^l^ Morone y^e^ Protector to dismisse from y^e^ College all y^e^ sayd English. And surely y^s^ occasion was sufficient to have undone again at y^e^ very beginning this niew College of Rome, if God had not putt into y^e^ heart of good Pope Gregory to look seriously (7) into y^e^ matter & to have pity of our country, w^ch^ he was y^e^ sooner moved unto by ye entreaty of 2 grave Fathers of y^e^ Soc^ty^, the one Francis Toletus a spanyard his preacher, the other Bened^s^ Palmius an Italian an Assistant of y^e^ sayd Soc^y^ & of great credit with his Holynesse, and this was principally procured by F. Persons then studying his Divinity in Rome, who suggested also that there might commissioners be sent to y^e^ said College to examine the youths & their purposes to see who were fitt to stay there & who were not, and y^t^ an othe might be proposed to know who had intention to be priests & to returne into their country to teach & preach Cath^e^ Relig^n^ & who had not. Which commission being granted and commissioners sent, all were removed that had not y^t^ intention and y^e^ other were confirmed w^th^ fitt rules & instructions prescribed unto them for preparing themselves unto y^t^ high & excellent end.

English favoured by Toletus and Palmius at instance of F. Persons

Rom. Sem. estab^d^; oath introduced.

This then by God's great goodnesse was y^e^ event of this dangerous temptation, that y^e^ Pope was better informed of y^e^ intentions of y^e^ good & zealous and of their difference from y^e^ other. The College was founded & established, the troublesome were removed, y^e^ government was assigned as in other Seminaries to be under y^e^ Fathers of y^e^ Soc^y^,

as themselves most earnestly had demanded, in respect they seemed more able to further them both in learning & virtue & to procure their increase also of their temporal maintenance and others wch appeared also shortly after (for besides all other yearly maintenance & rents Pope Greg. gave them monthly 300 Crownes in gold), the oath also & other good orders prescribed for this College were introduced also into other Colleges and Seminaries of our nation as God increased their number.

And now this College of Rome being thus established and putt in good order ye next care was to unite it well with that of Rheims, to wch end when F. Persons had been employed for some weeks by his Genl F. Everardus Mercurianus to accommodate ye house & habitation of ye said Engl. College to ye fitt use of schollers as it was accustomed in other Seminaries, f. Alphonsus Agazarius yt was appointed for ye first Rector not being yet come to his charge, F. Persons thinking it very needfull and profitable to call Dor Allen to Rome that all things might be better accomodated thereby, he procured Pope Gregory's consent & command thereunto with some help also towards his charges.

Alphs Agazarius

Dr Allen coming to Rome not many months after upon ye yeare 1579 made together with f. Persons a perfect union & correspondence between ye 2 Seminaries, how Schollars should pass from ye one to the other, who should be sent into England and ye like: he procured also ye increase of 50 crownes ye month to ye College of Rheims from Pope Gregory more than it had before by help of the fathers of ye Socy, with sundry Indulgences and benedictions with wch he returned to Rheims wth much comfort.

Dr Allen in Rome procureth the Engh Mission of Jesuits. Reasons hereof; diffities overcome.

But his special consolation was that he had obtained of Pope Gregory yt some of ye English fathers of the said Soctv should for time to come be sent into England together with the priests of ye Seminaries, for obtaining of wch point the said Dor had laboured much and alleaged many reasons both to ye foresaid Genl Mercurianus as also to the Pope, & yt it would be a notable encouragemt & help to ye said priests of ye Seminary to have the said religious men of the Socy not only to assist them abroad in their studies and institution of life, but also at home in this warre & combat against sectaries, wch warre growing now more sharp then before, had need of more men & assistance, & that it would animate the Caths in England to see religious men begin to return thither again after so long exile & especially (8) such religious men as could pretend the recovery of no temporal possessions from any man & whose institute was proper for this purpose to be sent in missions & yt God had concurred with them hitherto in all other countries as well of Europe, Asia and Africa & ye Indies; and finally yt this was the desire of all good Caths of our country.

These & other like reasons being proposed and urged by ye said Dor Allen both to ye Genl & Pope, as before has bin sayd, albeit ye sayd Genl wth his Assistants & Counsellors found diverse difficulties

n y^e^ matter in respect of y^e^ novelty thereof especially about their manner of living there in secular men's houses in secular apparel, dyet & conversation & the like, as how also their rules and orders for conservation of religious spirit might be there observed, whereof they had more care then of any corporal dangers to their bodies, w^ch^ notwithstanding seemed to be very great & imminent at that time. Yet understanding afterward y^t^ y^e^ Pope was much inclined to have this suite granted & the priests & scholars of y^e^ College desiring & urging greatly y^e^ same in like manner, y^t^ some of y^e^ said Engl. fathers might be sent with them into England, [it] was granted and concluded. Wherein the father that was then Provincial of the Roman Province & afterwards Gen^l^, f. Claudius Aquaviva, did not a little help forward y^e^ matter, not only favouring the said mission but offering himself also to go therein. But Alm. God, that had appointed to take unto himselfe y^e^ very next year that blessed man Everard Mercurianus, had designed also y^t^ this man should succeed him in his place, & perfect that wh^ch^ the other had begun, w^ch^ he hath now done w^th^ all [love] and affection for y^e^ space of 24 years, and hath profitted the English mission much more absent by his authority & favour, then if he had been employed there in person himself.

Claudius Aquaviva.

The first two fathers that were chosen to begin this mission and this at y^e^ instance and naming of the said D^r^ Allen and others of y^e^ nation, were F. Campian then being at Prague in Bohemia & F. Persons at Rome, and this being concluded soon after Christmasse upon y^e^ yeare 1580 D^r^ Allen departed soon after towards Rheims agreeing with F. Persons who was declared for Superior of y^e^ Mission that y^e^ said fathers should follow him to Rheims presently after Easter ensuing together with some other priests of y^e^ College, w^ch^ were also to be sent in mission at that time. D^r^ Allen being departed all other matters were set in order for y^e^ time appointed. F. Campian was called by y^e^ Gen^l^ & F. Persons letters from Prague, which was both suddain & strange niews to him, & I had by relation of a learned grave Spanish father called Franciscus Antonius who was then confessarius to the Empresse, that afterwards died in Spain, y^e^ very same night that this niews arrived a certain virtuous young man of y^e^ Soc^ty^ of y^e^ country of Silesia and of opinion of much sanctity w^th^ all of y^t^ College, rising before his fellows y^e^ next morning went to F. Campians chamber door and wrote over it *Campianus Martyr*, whereof all men did wonder & make great reflection thereof, & as I remember y^e^ said father told me that his superiors had given him a penance for doing it.

Campian & Persons named for England Anno 1580.

Campian called to Rome.

F. Campian then came to Rome in y^e^ holy weeke & in y^e^ meane space the notice of this mission of the Soc. being spread abroad, it caused many niew motions of mindes to sundry & namely first it put a great desire in so many priests of y^e^ college as were any way ready in respect of their studies to go w^th^ y^e^ said fathers as namely Mr Raph Sherwin, Mr Luke Kirby afterwards

Secular comp^ns^ of ours in this 1st Mission. Sherwin, Kirby, Rishton, etc.

martyrs, Mr Edward Riston who suffered long imprisonment & others; & not only those of ye College were stirred up by this occasion but diverse others grave & learned men also that lay abroad in the (9) town and had bin chaplens of ye old hospital as Mr Dr Henshaw, Mr Dr Bauin, Mr Dr Mr Bromborne, Mr Crane, Mr & others, who had no cogitation of going into England before; so as now they & that joined themselves in this viage with F. Campian & F. Persons. To whom also was joined a coadjutor of ye Socty named Raph Emerson, that proved afterwards of great patience & constancy; and after many labours both in England & Scotland & many years imprisont he was sent into exile & there dyed with much edification at St Omers in Flanders on ye year 1604.

Raph Emerson.

There was also at that time in Rome an ancient Cathk Confessor & Bishop in Q. Marys time of St Asaph, named Thomas Goldwell,* who having bin in exile & lived in Rome all ye reign of Q. Eliz. till that time, though he were very old yet conceived he such joy and comfort by this mission of ye fathers of ye Socty & other priests of ye College, as he went to Pope Gregy & told him yt this example had moved him to concurre also to ye help of his country and to seek martirdome in his old age, & seeing such young lambs were not afraid to offer themselves to ye raging wolves for ye spiritual good of their country, much lesse ought he that was a Bishop *et aries gregis* be affeared to do the same & therefore demanded licence of his Hols yt he might go wth them. And ye like made also one Dr Morton that had bin Penitentiarius of ye nation before, wth wch zealous demands Pope Gregy was much comforted & granted to them their requests, but yet wished them to consider well their personal danger, as also yt by their publick going they should not exasperate overmuch ye State against themselves & others and that for this respect they should go very privately & before the rest and no farther then Rheims where Dr Allen was and there expect ye other mission; and if then it should be thought best to passe further, well; if not, to returne to Rome againe, wch was so observed by them.

Bishop Goldwell

And presently after ye octaves of Easter was past, or rather in ye very octave itself, the other Mission departed Rome being 12 in number 10 priests & two laymen, of which two ye one † was after some years made priest also, the other § being a young gentleman of much fervour in religion at yt time, but upon fear soon after his entrance into England yielded to go to ye hereticks church, with no small grief & disedification of his fellowes; all the rest either giving their lives or suffering imprisonment, banishment & persecution for ye cause of their religion.

Personii Campiani &c iter in Angliam

Their journey through Italy making known the state of England, & their intention did work great effect in ye mindes of many

* Fr Grene—"Elogium eius apud Baronium in notis Martyrol. 3 Nov., lit. e."

† Tho. Brusco. § Mr Jo Pasqual

principal people who conceived both compassion & comfort by this sight. The most of these missioners made the journey on foot, though for some y^t were weake or old there was 3 or 4 horses. They sayd y^e litanies, had their sett praiers of meditation in the morning, their examen of conscience and other spir^l exercises and conferences in y^e day to their great comfort & no small encouragement also in the resolution of martirdome, w^ch they had taken in hand, assuring themselves that they should finde nothing but extremity of persecution in England. Wherefore of this point of suffering were their continual thoughts, speeches and conferences, exhorting the one the other to humility, patience, and Christian fortitude, especially (10) at certain places where they had occasion to stay some daies upon the way, as a whole week together at Bononia where F. Persons legge with his journey was much swolne, & y^e good Card^al Paleotti received them with such love & kindnesse as if he had been their own father causing them to make diverse spir^al conferences in latin before him after dinner together with his Doctors and learned men, wherein F. Campian & M^r Sherwin among others did excellently well to y^e great edification of the hearers.

Pers. Camp. etc. excepti a Paleotto et Borromæo Cardd.

And ye like fatherly & tender entertainment they had at Milan of y^e good Card^l Boromæus receiving & lodging the whole company for divers daies in his own house. There was joined to their company one other for companion to F. Campian & F. Persons a Brother of y^e Soc^ty Raph Emerson of whom we have spoken before.

From Milan they passed to Turin & from thence, for that many Spanish Soldiers were in their way by Savoy to come to Milan, they resolved to passe by Geneva, where being appreh^d by y^e scoutes of y^e said citty y^t lay everywhere about for feare of y^e said soldiers, they were brought to y^e market place before y^e magistrate & some ministers to be examined; but they considering that this was to be their first examination about matters of religion, as it were a preamble to y^t w^ch was like to ensue in England, they all answered briefly being asked by y^e magistrate what they were, y^t that they were Englishmen & all Cath^s & y^e most of them priests & y^t they came from Rome & were going to Rheims in France, where they had a college of their nation. The Magistrate wondered to see so many Englishmen Catholicks & sayd, Your Q. is of our religion. Whereto they answered that they held themselves not bound to be of y^e Queen's religion, what relig^n soever she was of. The magistrate seeing them answer so resolutely & perceiving y^t y^e cause of their coming y^t way was to avoid y^e Spanish soldiers & to enjoy y^e ordinary liberty of y^t citty, w^ch is to lett all kind of men passe & and reside there for 2 or 3 daies, sayd y^t they were content y^t they also should enjoy the same, appointing them for their Inne y^e signe of Geneva,* whither they sent them by an officer & willed them to be well used.

Divertunt Genevam

* This seems to have been the *Hotel de l'Ecu de Genève,* now pulled down, but still represented by the modern *Hotel de l'Ecu.* In 1608 St Francis Sales also

Visunt Bezam

But presently diverse of them had great desire to visit Theodorus Beza ye successor of John Calvin in yt town and went unto his house F. Persons, Mr Sherwine, Mr Riston, Mr Luke Kirby & Mr Pasquale. F. Campian followed after waiting upon them as a servant by ye name of Patrick & clad in black old buckaram. When they knocked at ye utter gate a gentlewoman came to open the door in such attire as they presumed presently yt she was yt famous Candida, Beza his wife, taken from ye Tayler of Paris: she bid them come into ye court & asked whether they would speak wth Monsr Beza: they sayd, Yea. She went in & called him & he came presently forth in a long black gown & a round capp, wth ruffs about his neck & wth a fair long beard representing fully the Puritan attire in England. He saluted them courteously, asked what countrymen they were, & when he heard they were English, he seemed very glad, but soon after being asked by them what he thought of some difference in matter of doctrine between the Protestant Calvinists & ye Puritans, he went about first to dissemble the matter saying there was no difference. But diverse instances of moment being urged, in particular by F. Persons & Mr Sherwyne, he began to stagger, & then spake F. Campian that stood behind, & spake in such sorte as made him wounder & perhaps to think that if the servant in Buckaram spoke so good latin & so much to ye purpose, what might some of ye masters be able to do. And presently as it were suspecting somewhat about this their coming to him, began to declyne from their conference and to tell them of many letters he had received (11) out of France about ye proceeding of ye Duke of Guise & of his wicked intentions for hindering ye progresse of ye Ghospell. He told them also, ye rather to be rid of them, that there was an English nobleman or two in ye towne if they would speak wth them, he would cause them to be called: but when the other sought rather to return to their disputation again & seemed to make little accompt of ye rest: he putt off his cap & told them he had many lrs to write for ye present into France & so dismissed them to their Inne.

Campiani fervor: disputatio cum ministello

Presently after dinner came unto them one Mr Pole sent by Beza to see what these men were, this was a young man of very good parts & brought up in Oxford wth F. Campian & F. Persons though younger then they, & had been Mr of Arts in Corpus Xti College, & he told them there was in yt citty also the son of Sir George Hasting, likely in time to be heir of ye Earl of Huntington, whose Tutor he also brought wth him, who seemed an earnest Puritan, & for that F. Campian was absent when they came in & was in ye attire aforesaid, it was thought best he should not be seen of them. And so F. Persons & ye rest entertaining them went forth wth them to see the citty, where Mr Sherwin, Mr Riston & others falling into disputation wth ye schoolmr, grewe so earnest as to challenge Beza & all ye ministers in ye towne to dispute wth them publickly in religion ere they departed.

Sherwini et aliorum fervor.

passed through Geneva, and put up at the same hotel (Hamon, *St François de Sales*, p. 643.) For other particulars of Campion's journey see *The Month*, Sept. 1897

Which Mr Powel & F. Persons considering, thought it might be dangerous & breed some or stay in their mission & thereupon F. Persons determined to depart the next morning early: but yet in no wise it could be avoyded but Mr Pole would come & accompany them out of ye towne: but it was put to him as a condition not to bring the Puritan schoolmr.

The next morning therefore to th' end F. Campian should not be seen & known by Mr Powel, he was sent forth before the rest, wth one only companion a layman, & coming to ye topp of a hill not a mile from Geneva he found there a certaine minr conning a sermon without book, as it might seeme, whom he could not pass by without some talk of religion, & so urged him wth ye selfsame points wch were proposed before to Beza, as the minr fell into a great chafe. But F. Campian seeing ye rest of his company to appear together with Mr Powel, went his way leaving the minr exclaiming agt him in so much as we all were forced to pacify [him]: but when F. Campian saw ye minr with us doubting lest he would inform Mr Powel of some untruth, [he] thought best to returne to us again, & told us yt the controversy between them two was whether ye Queen of Engl. did call herself head of ye Church or no, wch ye minr having denied F. Campian desired Mr Powel's testimony therein as one of their religion.

With that Mr Powel knew F. Campian & saluted him wth much affection, & gave testimony to ye minr that it was so as yt gentleman had said, wherewith he seemed much astonished, & went his way much distracted I think in his sermon; & Mr Powel having brought them some mile further on their way returned to Geneva again, of wch we had all great pitty & compassion.

Rhemis alii alia via in Angliam tendunt.

From thence we passed to Rheims in France to conferre wth Dr Allen there Presidt, [and be] resolved of our journey into England what way every man should take. Mr Sherwin with Mr John Pasquale his scholar & some other went to Roan in Normandy, where resided at yt time an unkle of his a very grave priest named Mr Worward. F. Campian & F. Persons wth their companion Br Raph Emerson went to St Omers in Flanders, & other to other places. And as for the Bishop of St Asaph & Dr Morton, it was thought best they should not for ye present go into England, but return back to Rome againe, as they did, lest their entry at this time might putt suspicions in ye head of ye state of greater matters then were meant. And so much ye more for that at this very time Dr Sanders being in Spain (12) was moved by certain Irish lords & by ye Pope's nuncio Monsignr Sega, afterward Cardl, to go into Ireland wth them, wch he yielding unto, & yt matter after having ill successe, made ye whole cause of ye priests that were sent n mission to England more odious, & ye said learned man dying not long after by disasters suffered in yt journey, England was bereaved of one of ye bravest men that she hath bred in many ages.

Dr Sanders in Ireland.

Camp. & Persons at St Omers.

F. Campian then & F. Persons coming to St Omers & consulting with fathers of their order in y^t city what was best to do & what way to take for their entrance into England, there were so many difficulties & perils proposed & so small hope of escaping, y^t most were of opinion they should intermit y^t mission for y^e pñt & expect some better time, considering their coming was known, & y^e ports layd for them w^th spyes to discover them & some added also as written out of Engl^d that their pictures were drawn & sent to y^e Ports.

Spyes go into England.

And as for spyes, true it is, and y^t as God is wont in his works to let contraries rise together, so w^th this mission of them that desired to serve him, he permitted that diverse ill-disposed persons at y^e very same instant repaired into England from Rome & other places that meant to be spyes in Engl^d as Munday, Sledd, John Nicholls & others.

Yet notwithstanding all this F. Campian & F. Persons having commended the matter earnestly to God Alm. resolved to put y^e matter into his hands & to adventure forward, considering y^e greater their perils were, y^e more likely that his divine Providence would assist them, the cause being his, & not a little encouraged also to think that the first mission of St Augustine & his fellows into this Island to convert the Englishmen from Paganism was by y^t citty of St Omers.

Persons goeth first to England.

Wherefore F. Persons as superior of y^t mission resolved to go first & y^t directly by Calles to Dover under y^e habit & profession of a captain returned from y^e low-countries, & that F. Campian w^th Raph his companion, if he sped well, in y^e name of a merchant, to w^ch end each one apparelled himself according to his pretended profession. F. Persons promising moreover y^t if he escaped well at Dover he would make such friends with the searcher as the other might adventure to come the more safely, and would advertise him thereof as he did, for he passed very well & securely, though many particularities fell out both in Calles w^th Eng: merchants there y^t were earnest protestants, & w^th the searchers both of Dover & Gravesend, & in his passing up to London in y^e tilt-bote by night amongst the Queen's musicians that returned from Kent, w^ch imported him extreme danger if God's holy hand had not kept them off for y^t time in respect of y^e work w^ch he had designed for his greater glory. But the greatest danger of all seemed to be in London itself, where arriving on foot without horse could get no lodging & was forced w^th great danger of being discovered to go up & down half a day from place to place, to wit from y^e breake of y^e day until noone, at what time he resolved to adventure into y^e prison of y^e Marshalseas & to ask for a gentleman prisoner there named M^r Thomas Pound, in whose chamber he dined and was singularly comforted w^th y^e sight not only of him, but of many confessors of X^t that suffered there for his cause & religion.

Pers^s reperit in carc^e Pondum & Gilbertum.

And here now after dinner came unto him the good angel w^ch God his eternal providence had appointed should be y^e chief temporal meanes of assisting y^e first mission of y^e Soc^ty in Engl^d. I mean M^r

George Gilbert. George Gilbert who was a young gentleman born to good lands in Suffolk & some other countries & some few yeares before was come to inherit ye same by ye death of his father.

This gentleman being left young & wealthy was brought up in London in the religion then currant of Protestant, but he being somewhat earnest by nature inclined more to puritanisme wherein he was much confirmed by (13) frequenting daily ye sermons of one Mr Deering, a famous preacher of yt sect in those daies, but afterwards coming to his lands & obtaining licence to travail & being of a very good wit was brought by God's providence first to fall acquainted wth F. Darbyshire of ye Socty of Jesus in Paris, who opened unto him ye first light of Cathc Relign & afterwards wth F. Persons in Rome, who confirmed him greatly therein & besides was his God-father in ye Sacramt of Confirmation. And from that time forward, albeit ye said Mr Gilbert omitted not to prosecute ye learning of such gentlemanlike exercises as men of his quality are wont to learn in Italy as riding, fencing, vaulting and ye like (for he was of a most able body) yet did he so join therewith in secret all kinde of Christian piety both by praier, fasting and mortification of his body & liberal almes, as a man might easily see yt ye true spirit of God had laid hand fast of him.

This man then feeling most earnest desire to do some great matters in ye service of God, was inclined to have taken upon him a pilgrimage to Jerusalem & other such works, but was dissuaded from it by Fr Persons & counselled rather to returne into England & to bestow there upon priests & other meanes of advancing ye Cathc cause, that wch he would spend in his journey to Jerusalem. Which accepted & returned into England, he put in execution so much as had been counselled him, drawing diverse principal young gentlemen to ye same purpose, who taking lodging together & sojourning in ye chief pursuivant's house, who was of most credit wth ye Bishop in those daies, & dwelt in ye Chancery lane in London, were by his countenance & by ye protection of one Dr Adam Squire, son-in-law to ye Bp of London whom they fee'd, protected for diverse yeares and had accesse of priests unto them & sundry Masses daily said in their house until ye Jesuits came in, when times grew to be much more exasperated.

This Mr Gilbert being incyted by his chiefest friends to make suite for marriage to a certain gentlewoman that was heire to her father, had brought the matter so far forward as there wanted nothing but ye very conclusion, at what time being advertised yt F. Parsons & F. Campian were on the way toward England, he broke off all & resolved never to marry: and would needes have made a vow with F. Persons approbation as soon as he came unto him in England, but ye father would not permit it, though seeing him so earnest he yielded at last to let him vow chastity so long as Cathc Relign should not return publickly into England.

This man then coming to F. Persons to the Marshalseas. . .

[*Hic interruptum fuit hoc opus et nunquam amplius continuatum* (*quod sciam*)].

MEMOIR IV

An Observation of Certayne Aparent Iudgments

Students of History will value this paper for two reasons. It tells us many details not mentioned elsewhere; it also sets before us one side of the life of the English Catholics with remarkable vividness. When considered as a revelation of its writer's character, on the other hand, the document must cause regret. It shows us that Father Persons was much too facile in believing stories which told against his adversaries.

In order to judge of its merits and demerits, we must remember that the age was exceedingly credulous. Catholics and Protestants alike expected wonders and miraculous interpositions of providence. When something unexpected fell out to a man's advantage, it was apt to be considered a sign from heaven to confirm his whole policy or undertaking. If a misfortune befell an adversary, it proved that God had condemned him with all the objects for which he strove. The English Catholics ought to have been careful to rise above this weakness, for it was evidently their cause, which seemed to be most abandoned by God. And among Catholics Father Persons ought to have written in the most large-minded way, seeing that he was then the most prominent man among them.

Instead of this we find that he overlooks the fact that, if his principles were applied broadly, they would condemn his own friends more than any others. His observations are sometimes unbecoming (cf. the story of Banister. p. 211), sometimes shallow. He cannot possibly have verified the stories which he recounts; he forgets how fallible our memories are, how subtly our prejudices are wont to darken the defects which we see in our adversaries.

On the other hand we should remember that the paper was not written for publication, that it did not owe its origin to an exaggerated zeal for his order, for two Jesuits of the highest repute are here described as victims of divine judgments. Indeed there is no reason to conclude that he bore special ill-will to the persons here enumerated. Sinners might be removed by God for a variety of reasons, but when a person otherwise estimable and virtuous (as for instance John Typping, p. 206) was taken away just as the chance occurred of his opposing the plans which Persons conceived to be the plans of God, then the sign was, to his mind, more convincing than ever.

There is no need to enlarge upon faults which lie on the surface. What is more important is to note that, broadly speaking, the gloomy picture drawn of the ill effects of faction and partisan spirit is perfectly true. The papers of the persecutors themselves, preserved at the Record Office, prove that Persons does not in the least exaggerate the harm which was done to the Catholic cause by traitors and mischief-makers like Grately, Gilbert Gifford, Aldred and Paget, by nationalism and clannishness through Morgan, Lewis Owen and their Welsh allies, by unprincipled trimmers and grumblers like Cecil, Fixer and many others not mentioned by Persons. The *State of the English Fugitives* (1596, reprinted in *Sadler's State Papers*, vol. II), written in a bitterly hostile spirit, fully confirms this.

The lot of the English Catholics was so hard that it was morally impossible to avoid a great many small grudges and grievances. Their enemies were insidious, numerous and unscrupulous, and spared no efforts to aggravate these small wounds until they became dangerous sores. Father Persons saw what was very true, that the Catholic cause could only prosper by an almost superhuman generosity in sacrificing private to public advantages. The men who irritated him were those who seemed to think that, so long as they did not deny their faith, they need put no limit whatever on their grumbling and their factiousness, no end to the difficulties they threw in the way of the existing discipline and organization of the Catholic community. Loss of temper on Father Persons' part increased of course the growth of troubles, and so did the mistakes which he made in politics, of which we shall hear more in the next

memoir. But for all that the trial was one which might well "make a saint swear."

The persons enumerated below are chiefly men whom Persons had known in the English College, Rome. In very many cases references and dates to their passage through Rheims and Rome will be found in Knox, *Douay Diaries,* and in the *Pilgrim Book* of the English Hospice, Rome, printed in Foley, *Records,* vol. VI, (index, pp. 651-676). The following is printed from Stonyhurst MSS., *Collectanea P.*, fol. 485; another copy *Anglia A,* II, no. 44, fol. 146.

An Observation of Certayne Aparent Iudgments of almightye God, againste suche as have beene seditious in the Englishe Catholique cause for these nine or ten yeares past. Written the first of December 1598.

Since my laste letters unto you (deare freind) wheerin I tould you my mind breefly touchinge that shamles and most improbable imputation of B his letter against the fathers * for the deaths of such persons as hee named in Rome; I have thought more deeply and seriously of those and like accidents as by him are mencioned, I meane of diverse strange deathes of divers fautors of that faction, and doe find great matter of further consideration therin for that it seemeth to mee, that albeit Almightie God in these ages doe not worke such eventes and visible miracles for shewing his will as in olde tymes, and namelye for the punishment of suche people as have been seditiouse in our Englishe cause, as hee did against Dathan and Abyren and all there adherents by manifest openinge the ground and swallowinge them uppe; yet in effect he pulleth them downe to the grounde and under the grounde also nowe and then, reserving the rest for the life to come; but yet warninge us by that litle we see, to take heade of suche seditiouse and rebellious spirites that make factions against his servants to the extreme danger of his and our Catholique cause, whereof there come to my minde to bee considered the examples followinge.

First all those lightly that in our tyme at the first erection of the Romayne Colledge and some yeares after, uppon separation there begun by Doctor Lewis and his followers from the fathers and there goverment, by reason of the excludinge Mr Moris his freind and countriman from that same regiment, did anye waye become unquiet and tumultuous, have by God's iustice so runne to ruine by litle and litle, as there end commonlye hath bene apostasye or as bad:—as Thomas Bell, Jn Nichols, William Tedder, Laurence Caddie, Thomas Nowel, and others. ✝ And amonge the rest

Diverse miscarried after the erection of the College.

* B. was Robert Benson, of Norwich, who came to the English College on February 17, 1593. His course there, like that of others to be mentioned below, was much injured by the disturbances of 1594-1596, but he was eventually reconciled to the fathers. The letter in question does not seem to be extant, but there is a copy of a letter from the martyr, Thomas Tichburn, at Stonyhurst (*Anglia,* II, n. 39), which bears on the subject, and it has on it a note by Father Garnet, stating that Benson had said the Jesuits had killed both Allen, Toledo and Lewis Owen. But he afterwards retracted this, at the suggestion, as it seems, of another martyr, Thomas Benstead (*Anglia,* II, 57).

✝ Bell, Nichols, Tedder and Caddie have been mentioned before. The

our olde acquaintance Mr John Gore, who falling first from his faith and after from his wittes, is in that pittyful plight of madnes at this day as he mighte and woulde perishe if hee received not his only maintenance and helpe at the handes and charitie of the fathers in this place, where he began first to be ungratefull and troublesome againste them.* But I wille passe over those former dayes, and speake only of the last tenn yeares, which I have observed more in particular.

Gilberte Gifforde, 1590.

Oure olde friende Gilberte Gifforde a younge gentleman of so goode a howse and so worshippful friendes, and of so commendable other partes both of witt and learninge as you cann remember, fallinge into this faction firste in Roome by alluremente (as is knowne) of loose lyfe and evill habites, and after much more in Rhemes, and Paris by the perswasion of Thomas Morgann (as in sundrie of Gilberts letters written with his owne hande in his miserie he testifieth, and complaineth)† as that by the same inducement also hee dealte at last with Secretary Walsingham. All which God at lengthe discoveringe together with the lewde behaviour in which hee was founde, hee lost his reputacion with all Catholique honest menn, and dyed pittyfully in the prison at Paris the yeare 1590 if I remember well the time.§

Edwarde Grately.

His fellow also in some of these actions Edwarde Gratlie (and namelie in penninge seditiouse pamphlets against the fathers to give upp to Walsingham) havinge byn many years benefited by the sayde fathers, came utterly also to make shipwracke of his credite, and to ly diverse yeares in the prisoun of the Romaine Inquisitioun upon Cardinall Allens sute who had bynn his chiefest friende and Patron before.

Salomon Aldred, 1592.

Salomon Aldred a Catholique laymann, livinge firste catholiquely with his Wife in Rome, where he hadd also a pensioun of Pope Gregorie the thirteenthe, and seemed to be honest; falling into the factioun was first imployed into Englande diverse times, and often he retourned to Paris to have conference with Thomas Morgan, Gilberte Gifforde, and others of the crew, by which exercise he so profited in spirite, as he soone became after Walsinghams man openly, and professed heresie, and Atheisme, and so dyed most miserably in Roane, showinge no faythe at all, the yeare 1592.¶

retractations of Nichols and Caddie, with others, may be read in J. Bridgwater, *Concertatio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, pp. 231-242. Nowell was at the English College, Rome, in 1580.

* Gore has been mentioned before, pp. 133, 152.

† These letters appear to be lost, but fragments of them are quoted by Bartoli, and there are other extracts in his Notes (Arch. Gen. S.J., *Anglia Historica*, IX, E., 30); see Persons' *Apologie*, p. 30; one is printed in the *Calendar of Cecil Papers* (Hist. MSS. Com.), iii, 346. Unfortunately these papers throw little light on the more important question of Gifford's treason against Mary Stuart.

§ For Gilbert Gifford, besides the *Dictionary of National Biography*, see J. Morris, *Sir Amias Paulet*, and *The Month*, April, 1904.

¶ See before, pp. 34, 184, and *The Month*, April, 1904.

Christofer Hodson, 1595.

Christofer Hodson Prieste, firste of Rome, and after reader of Philosophie in the Colledge of Rhemes, and a most intrinsecall companion to Gilberte Gifforde, especiallie in goode cheare, and bandinge againste the fathers; soone after Gilbertes fall, upon only ambition to bee Abbate of a certaine monasterie (as himselfe afterwarde testified) made him selfe a monke; but afterwarde faylinge of his purpose, and having no trew spirite indeede, came out again, and after much wanderinge upp and downe intangled with many ecclesiasticall censures, came at lengthe to suche miserie, and desperate resolutioun, as that whenn the assaulte shoulde be given by the Spanyardes to Calis the yeare 1595, this mann being there both ragged and torne, and in vagrante sorte, told a certain grave mann a litle before the assaulte given, that hee must bee forced to enter also with the souldiers to snatch and catch as others did for his necessarie reliefe, and what is become of him since I know not, nor whether hee bee deade or alive.*

Friar Arnold, Carthusain Prior.

Father Arnold the Prior of the Englishe Carthusians in Flanders, begann soone after to shew himselfe of this factioun also, and that (as is thoughte) throughe his intrinsecall friendshipp with Thomas Morgann his countrieman; and so leasinge his spirite of religiouse modestie, he came to be so outeragiouse, as he was accused by the letters, as well of his owne bretheren, as of the cardinales Allen and Caietan, the Protector, to his Generall at Granople, where havinge byn, and shifted of the matter, hee wandred into Spaine, leavinge his charge desolate, the yeare 1590, there to revenge himselfe by cryinge oute againste the sayde cardinalls, but especially cardinall Allen, and to putt a redd hatt upon Doctor Lewes his heade, as by his owne letters to Morgan hee affirmethe. Who havinge committed that scandall in the Courte of Spaine, and retourning homewarde with intent to triumphe thereof, dyed upon the sodaine at his first entrance into Italy, beinge younge and luste, and resolute to prosecute the sayde factioun more than ever, but that God would not have it. ✠

Scottish Bushop.

A Scottish Carthusiann also that had byn once Bushopp of Du[m]blaine, and was drawne also into the same factioun by Morgann, in soe muche that now he was accompted the nexte chiefe thereof after Doctor Lewes the Bushop of Cassano, as appearethe by Morgans most seditiouse letter to this Carthusian himselfe, againste Cardinall Allen and the fathers in the yeare 1591, wherein he setteth downe many plottes for spreading and strengthning this faction, but God did cutt all shorte, and cutt off this mann himselfe when hee should most have served theire factiouse turnes.§

* Hodgson's mischief-making is dwelt upon in a letter of Dr Barret, President of Rheims College, September 26, 1585.—Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, I, n. 26.

✠ For a fuller version of Persons' complaint against Arnold, see his *Apologie*, p. 32.

§ This was the well-known William Chisholm, Mary Stuart's envoy to the Pope, etc. Some extracts from Morgan's letter are given in the *Apologie*, pp. 31, 32.

John Tippet. The like unexpected deathe happened unto John Tippett a Carthusian also, who was broughte by procuremente of this faction (as is credibly believed) and by the authoritie of the sayde Scottishe mann, beinge Visiter at that time of the order, to come from Naples and reside in Rome and to bee the Procurator for his religioun, whereby hee mighte have title and authoritie to negotiate more freely and effectually for them that hadd procured his comminge: but God over threw this designemente also as it seemeth, for that in very few dayes, hee tooke away the foresayde father, and that perhaps leaste hee should bee further perverted by them.*

Burcher and Batson Friars. The verie same and more manifeste finger of God was seene in takinge away two Franciscane Fryars, sett up in Rome for fauters of this factioun againste the fathers of the Societie, the one was Fryar Bourcher an English man, that lived first at Paris, and the other Batson borne at Antwerpe of Englishe father, bothe of them younge, stronge, lustie, and vehemente in the faction, when they dyed inexpectedly and would have continewed still badd instrumentes (as it seemeth) if they hadd lived, as they were lyke to do for theire age and healthe. ✠

Batson, the Jesuite. A Brother also of one of the Fryars named Batson in lyke manner beinge at that tyme of the Societie, but drawne by arte into this faction of Doctor Lewes, and sente once or twice by theire procuremente into Englande by the Inquisition of Rome, w^th^oute his Generals knowledge or consente, in companie of Salomon Aldred to deale with Sir Christofer Hatton, and others of the English Councell, for that greate matters were promised by the factiouse to insue of this negotiatioun; at the last this insued, that Batson havinge loste his spirite of Religioun, was putt from the same: and wether he be deade or alive I know not; but to this issew he came by followinge the faction.§

Thomas Morgan. Soone after this Thomas Morgan himselfe the chiefe Captaine ¶ was towched by God and fell into disgrace, in so much as by publique sentence in Flanders hee was banished the Kinge of Spaines Dominions; yett wente hee not longe after into Spaine, where the sayde sentence was confirmed againste him and hee commanded to depart, as hee did. But whilest hee was there, it is thoughte that he drew ** to the sayde faction a younge mann named John Slade, secretarie to Sir francis Inglefield; who hadd byn verie honeste trustie and devoute untill that time.

John Slade.

* This was the Typpet whose heroism was praised above, pp. 77-82, etc.

✠ Friar Burcher was mentioned pp. 34, 184.

§ See pp. 34, 184.

¶ Compare the account of Morgan given in the *State of English Futigives,* 1596, pp. 51-53 (*Sadler's State Papers,* II, App.)

** Perhaps he was seduced by the priest, Dr John Cecil, one of the most mischievous and traitorous of Morgan's faction. See *Anglia,* VII, 75, no. 16, and *Dict. of Nat. Biography, Sup.* I, 403. For Slade see also Westminster Archives, V, no. 39.

But soone after Morgann departed, hee would needes follow into Italy, and carried with him by stelthe the coppies of his masters cyphers, and dyverse other secrett wrytinges to imparte with Doctor Lewes, Thomas Morgan, Mr Pagett and others, as by his owne letters appearethe. But beinge over taken by God Almightie, and called to Deathe as soone as hee was arrived in Italy, he discovered the matter, and sente backe such order for restitution of certayne summes of monny and other thinges after his deathe, as mighte easely shew how greately he hadd byn corrupted, and how differente spirite he hadd gotten, by beinge of this faction from that hee hadd before.

Rafe Parcely.

And abowte the same time was there one Rafe Parcely sente into Spaine to serve the Dutches of Feria, and beinge deepely infected by the sayde factioun, endeavored by all meanes to draw unto the same the younge Duke her sonne, with whome hee goinge in his Embassage to Rome and afterwarde also to France and Flanders, hee tolde him many false and wicked tales, which the Duke knew then and hath fownde since (as hee protested afterwarde) to bee moste false and impiouse, as namely that diverse Inglish Fathers of the Socyetie were politiques and Atheistes, and other such like principalls. And when hee was in the heighte of his vanitie and negotiations (this way beinge promoted by the sayde Duke much above his qualitie) hee dyed miserably in Bruxels in the verie flower of his youthe, and heate of his pretentions, leavinge his wife and children poore in Spaine. God punished them all (as may be presupposed) for this mans seditiouse and uncharitable indeavours.

Doctor Dethicke.

One Doctor Dethike that lived first in Rome and then in Liege and was helde for a good mann, untill fallinge acquainted with this factioun, hee begane first to make journeys to Paris, and then to deale with the Councell of Inglande, as appeareth by his owne letters, whereby hee came at last to bee caste into the Inquisition of Rome, and afterwarde hee dyed pyttifully in a Hospitall the yeare 1594.*

Bushop of Cassano.

And hetherto God wente softe and fayre with these people, cuttinge off now one and now another of theire heades and winges, thereby to checke and warne them: but when they passed forwardes to kindle and blow that greate and furiouse fyre of sedition in Rome and Flanders at one time, w^th^ evydente perill to overthrow our whole cawse, then God begann to lay aboute him more eagerly and cutt off many together. For then died Doctor Lewes the Bushop of Cassano, that was accompted in this affaire *radix peccati;* and this within three or foure dayes sicknes,† when moste of all he thoughte and desired to live and bee advanced. And with him died in like haste Mr Thomas Throgmorton, who beinge drawen by Thomas Morganne into this factioun, hadd made himselfe the Bushops principall

Thomas Throgmorton

* Dethick was received at the English hospice, December 27, 1592.—H. Foley, *Records S.J.*, VI, 565. † The bishop died Oct. 14, 1595.

agente, to gett him the redd capp by tumultes in the English College.

Marche, Burned in Rome

One Walter Marche havinge byn an unquiett scoller in the Colledge of Rome, and goinge away into Englande and retourninge suspitiousely againe, was putt in the sayde Inquisition by the Cardinal Allen his meanes, but after his deathe being gotten forthe by the suite (as is thoughte) of the Bushop of Cassano, and lodged in his owne howse, was burned openly in Rome for violence offered to the Blessed Sacramente the yeare 1595.*

Nicolas Morrise.

And then dyed one Nicolas Morrise a secondarie agente, that was suspected to be sente owte by the Councell of Englande to further that factioun and seditioun in the College.

Cardinal Tollet.

And within the same yeare dyed also Cardinall Tollet, who upon evill information, and preoccupatioun by the factiouse, that hadd promised him among other matters to withdraw all Inglish dependantes from Spaine, whereto at that tyme hee was nothinge devoted, was theire only stay and pillar of the tumultuouse for a time, thoughe hee was so weaire of them in the ende, as hee told dyverse that if hee lived, hee would punish them severely. ✠

Father Tyrius.

And soone after this Cardinall againe, died father James Tyrius Scottishman, assistante of the Societie, who albeit otherwise hee were a good and godly mann, yett in many pointes the factiouse had deceived him upon the difference of Nations, and indirectly his authoritie stoode them greately in steede, for which it seemeth God tooke him so sodanely away to the admiration of all men.§

Fryar Sacheverall.

At this same time the unruly Fryar Sacheverell the boldest and most violente actour of all the reste to the Pope, Cardinals and other great menn for the seditiouse in Rome, was taken himselfe in Gods iuste iudgmente in vitiouse deameanoure, and being for the same firste put in prison by the secular magistrate and afterwardes punished also by the religiouse of his owne order in Rome; and then confined for his further Prison and punishmente to the Cittie of Vitterbo; hee fledd from thence in Englande and is now an Apostata.

Fryar Bayley.

And this mans example hath another Inglish of that order also taken in hande to follow of late, being drawen (as it seemeth) by that crew, one Andrew Bayley who after diverse yeares beinge a Dominican, is this yeare 1598 runne oute of his religion towardes Englande, and beinge taken in the way and stayed by the Bushop of Verdine in Loraine upon suspition untill his superioures will mighte bee knowne, hee

* The subject is referred to in a letter by Father R. Cowling, 1 July, 1595 (Stonyhurst, *Collectanea M.* fol. 109). In *Domestic Calendar,* May 21, 1598, it is stated that the sacrilege took place in the church of St Agatha.

✠ The Cardinal died September, 1596.

§ Father Tyrie died 20 March, 1597. See his eulogy in Foley, *Records,* VII, 792, &c.

hath broken from him as is written from thence, and will bee in Englande shortelie I doubte not to encrease the factioun againste the Jesuites. And that the Spirite of this faction is opposite to the trew Spirite of Religion and favorable to Apostasie, commeth to bee manifeste by many wayes; not only in that I have sayde before, but also by diverse other examples which for brevitie I must omit.

George Bustarde and his fellowes.

In the yeare 1585, when the faction was somewhat ranke in the Romane College, Doctor Lewes beinge presente and Doctor Allen not yett arrived, there was a great conspiracie to make themselves Dominicans, therby the better to oppose themselves to Jesuites, and entred some six or seven, and more hadd promised to entre, but lett us harken how many have persevered and wee shall easely discover what maner of spirite it was.*

In Englande also, Flanders and other places who are hottest in this faction, but such as eyther have lefte of habites of religion, or have resisted so openly vocation to the same, as to them that know it and cann iudge, it seemethe little lesse than secrete Apostasie? One of the chiefest sticklers in this affaire now in Inglande and another in Flanders, bothe Priestes, are knowne to have byn Cathusians, and diverse others to have sued earenestly in times paste to bee Jesuites also, whose enemies now they shew themselves.

Stephen Gosson.

But for apostasie of Priestly vocation besides the examples hitherto mentioned wee have diverse others most lamentable. For I aske you, Hadd ever Stephen Gosson that wente away from the Colledge in Rome the yeare, 1589, and denyed his faythe in Englande afterwarde, fallen into this miserie yf the spirite of this faction hadd not firste infected him?

Richarde Floyde.

Richarde Floyde the sonne of so worthie a Confessor and himself of good witt, hadd he ever beyn turned out of the Romaine College, as hee was by the Protectours commandemente in wrytinge after longe toleration the yeare 1589, and afterwarde came to be so loose a companion as to betray his own father, if the speciall favour of Doctor Lewis and his nephew had not nourished him for diverse yeares in this faction againste the Fathers until he was incurable?

James Bushop.

Admitted in Rome the yeare 1585 and of a good witt also, hadd he ever loste his vocationn to Priesthoode, and become a spie, as now they write oute of Englande that hee is, if hee hadd not byn noosled in this faction at his being in Rome? And if wee will come downe lower to the times of more fierie faction, and name Thomas Hatton, Roberte Fisher, Francis Grimston, John Todd and others, that are become wandringe and loste ladds, that otherwise might have byn honest and learned men, if this factioun hadd not byn, it woulde bee over longe: and this is sufficiente to see theire spirite and God's iudgements againste them for the same.

And the selfe same spirite and iudgementes of God have byn noted also in such of the Prison of Wisbyche, as have of later yeares

* There seems to be some omission here.

greatly dishonoured their vocatioun of Confessours with note of Emulation, malice and sedition againste bothe their fellowes concaptives and other good menn their friendes abroade. And it is no small discredite unto them with good men that theire owne Actor and messenger Robarte Fisher confessed voluntarily upon his othe in Rome this verie yeare 1598 unto his Hol. officer, beinge asked what he thoughte of the spirite of bothe parties in that prison, answeared that albeit he were more friende and obliged to D^r^ Norden and those of this factioun againste the Fathers; yett hee hadd observed, that those of the other partie were more modeste, quiett, temperate, humble and devoute, and those of his friendes more impatiente, cholericke, sensuall, given to good cheare, and to scoldinge, scoffinge and murmuringe; and more favoured and trusted by the Heretiques themselves.*

Fisher his testimonie of Wisbeche.

What shall I say of the iudgemente of Almightie God which fell soone after upon the sayde D^r^ Norden, when his free and bitter tonge that hadd so much iniured his owen Christian bretheren, was tyed and punished by a soddaine palsie from God himselfe, and his life taken from him withoute speeche at all? And how much heavier iudgmente is that against Ethell of the same faction, who after priesthoode and glorie also of Confession, is fallen of late to plaine Apostasie and lyveth (as is sayde) with the Bushop of London? ✠

Dr Norden.

The like difference of spirites is noted also betweene Priestes that live abroade in Englande and have byn or are any wayes infected with the leaven of this factioun, and others that are not. The one beinge gyven to modestie, patience, spirite, studie, labour, pennance, and other like virtews; and the other to ease, good cheare, wandringe upp and downe, brave apparell, play, merry conversatioun, hawkinge and huntinge, and that which is worste of all to detraction and seditiouse talke, which oughte to bee so farr of from a Priestes mouthe (as St Chrisostome saythe) that when he would fall into it, hee oughte borrow the tonge of some others for the time; seeing that his owne is made so sacred by using the devine wordes of Consecration as it is high sacrilege to prophane it with such speeche, which yett is sayde to bee verie ordinarie in the mouthes of our factiouse Priestes at this day, and thereby the iudgemente of Almightie God is easilie seene towardes them.

Differences of Spirites.

But to returne againe to the tumultes of Rome, when God saw that none of the former warninges, woulde serve to appease the tumultes, hee did that which kinge David saythe, *Percussit inimicos suos in*

Dimision of the factiouse in Rome.

* Fisher's confession is preserved at Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, VI, n. 22, pp. 95-116, where this passage occurs. There are three letters of Fisher to Bagshaw, Inner Temple Library, *Hist. MSS. Com.* XI, 7, pp. 262, 263. See the *Apologie*, pp. 93-98.

✠ Ralph Ithell or Udall was presented by the Queen to the Rectory of Aldham, Essex, on 21 February, 1599, but he had resigned again before 24 October, 1600.—R. Newcourt, *Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Londinense*, II, 7.

posteriora, opprobrium sempiternum dedit illis. He discovered such dissolutions amongst them, as his Vicar was inforced to take order with them, to the utter shame of so foule a faction, though with all care for saving the credite of particular menn and of our nation, as much as might bee.

And upon the same time also God tooke from them upon the sodaine when no man expected, a certaine yonge gentleman, whome they meante to have hadd for an Agente and Correspondente in theire cawse at Rome, named Robarte Marcham, who hadd byn verie troblesome also before in the College, though now he shewed to be sorrowfull for the same, and so God tooke him whilst hee was in a verie good disposition, leaste by chance he mighte happiely come to bee perverted againe.

Mr Marcham.

And lastly when such as were dismissed from Rome were arrived at Doway, one of the chiefe troblesome named George Banister that had borne himselfe more disorderly then many of the rest, though now also he seemed much altered, goinge one day to swimme with diverse others, where no perill was thoughte to bee att all, hee was drowned sodainely upon S^{t} Lawrence day last, without any one worde of speakinge, at his verie first entrance into the water, nor could all his fellowes save him ; as though God himselfe hadd done it, to show his wrathe againste such kinde of people.

George Banister.

All which observations layed together and many more that mighte be thoughte upon, I presume everie mann of wisdome and pyttie will looke abowte him, how hee have a finger in so perillous a Pye, as this factioun againste the unity of good menn in our Catholique cause, showeth it selfe to bee. For as they defendinge a castle or fortresse with much toyle and many woundes againste forraine enemies that batter it withoute, mighte rightely be laughed at yf they should tolerate or favour others that digged the same downe within dores; so the Catholiques that have stood to it so valiantely in defendinge theire cawse againste persecution of Heretiques, yf now they suffer themselves to be undermined, and theire house to be digged downe abowte theire eares by the domesticall sedition of a few unquiett and ambitiouse spirites; they may worthely bee scorned by the enemie, and will bee punished (no doubte) by Almightie God, and all will rew it in the ende; thoughe moste of all such as are faultworthie, and this is all I cann say in this matter. Our Lord bee with yow, this first of December 1598.

A goode advertisement.

MEMOIR V

A Political Retrospect

Father Anthony Rivers, to whom this long letter is addressed, was *Socius* (we should say secretary) to Father Henry Garnet in London. He corresponded regularly with Father Persons, and a number of his interesting letters are now in the Archives of the See of Westminster, and long extracts from them have been printed by H. Foley, *Records of the English Province S.J.*, vol. I, pp. 3-61. At the time this letter was written, he was in Belgium. Correspondence was safer than usual, and Father Persons takes the opportunity of "confessing himself" on a subject usually avoided—the political activities of himself and his friends. Father Rivers, being more intimate with the English Catholics than any one in Rome could possibly be, was presumably to pass on the explanations given, as occasion offered.

It has already been seen that Father Persons undertook his first political mission in 1582 (p. 31); and he did so, as he explicitly adds in his *Punti,* because he was ordered to go by the Papal Nuncio, and because the leading Catholics of the time, Dr Allen, Father Claude Mathieu and others, agreed that it was his duty (Knox, *Allen's Letters,* p. 129, n.) After that he had from time to time for similar reasons returned to politics again, and had not shrunk from approving the plans formed by the Catholic powers abroad for the liberation of Mary Stuart and her co-religionists, if necessary by force of arms, and, in the last resort, even by the Spanish Armada. (For further particulars see *The Month,* March, April, 1902.)

This was intelligible when we remember the circumstances of time and place. In Paris before the wars of *la Sainte Ligue,* as well as in Spain and in Rome, Persons had been living in a semi-mediæval atmosphere, where everybody thought it right for ecclesiastics to take a large part in Catholic politics. But since the absolution of Henri IV public opinion on this point had radically changed in France, and was much modified in Rome. Pope Clement had reversed the policy of his predecessors; politicians no longer sought the assistance of clerics, and Persons was left free from his previous entanglements. In the present paper he faces the new situation with something of an apology for the past, and accepts the conciliatory policy which the Pope had taken up.

He therefore divides his political life into two periods. The first was spent in labours for the liberation of Mary Stuart, and if they had been successful King James would have received considerable advantages. It was natural under the circumstances that Persons should enlarge on this, and he goes so far as to say that he persevered in it for "more than a dozen years." But however generously we discount the value of this round number, it certainly seems to be exaggerated, for Allen and Persons had begun to give up their hopes in James even before the Armada. But however this may be, Spain remained friendly to the Scottish King during the period named, and this is perhaps what Father Persons means.

When it became clear that Spanish arms were not able to win religious liberty for English Catholics, Persons had clung to the idea that, as Elizabeth would do nothing to settle the succession, divisions would ensue after her death, during which the English Catholics would have another chance, especially if an acceptable Catholic heir could be found, and be espoused to the Infanta of Spain. This scheme is here described very frankly. The perfect ease with which James did in fact succeed made all previous plottings and plannings look ridiculous. But though they were always very unlikely to attain the end proposed, there was a time when they were not absurd. The reasons why they came absolutely to nothing are clearly set forth below.

Both the strong and the weak points of Father Persons as a politician might be illustrated from this letter. We note his miscalculations of the power of Spain and of Rome, and his overestimate of the influence of the English

Catholics—now only a very small and feeble body. His prophetic declaration of "the patterne of the tyme to come" (p. 216), was entirely falsified by the event.

On the other hand there is much sagacity in his foresight of the collapse of absolute monarchy (p. 217) and of the possibility of conspiracies such as that which Watson, Cobham and Markham had actually attempted ten days earlier (though news of this had not yet reached Rome), and such as Catesby afterwards contrived with disastrous consequences. Though this paper is not a complete excuse for Persons' political action, it shows that he was by no means a mere politician, as some of his adversaries have declared him to be.

The letter survives at Stonyhurst in a contemporary copy, bound up in Father Grene's *Collectanea P.*, folios 444-447. The title is in his hand.

Father Persons, 6 July 1603, to Father Anthony Rivers:

That is to Father Garnett his Companion.

My loving and deare good frend, I am gladd to understand by yours of the 14th of June, that you are on this side of the brooke, where we may deale more confidentlie while you remayne there, and so I meane to confesse myselfe with you this tyme touching all affayres wch you have mencioned in your letter, though I do it not with my owne hand, for yt I am not able in respect of my evill sight and other infirmities that beare not long writing. Yet shall I do it by one no lesse knowne unto you then my self, brother John Lillie your old acquaintance and my compaynion for the present, who saluteth you also hartelie. And as for your excuse in not having written anything since the last great change at home, truth it is that I desyred greatly your letters, as easely you may imagin, but I supposed ever, that your silence was upon iust causes, and so shall suppose ever of all frends actions or omissions, and so much of that.

Now to the matter itselfe, I suppose you know, or have heard, that from our first entrance into England in the yeare 1580, one special care of myne was by request and order of this owr new kings good mother to seeke his conversion to Cath. religion, and to that end also his greatest advancement that could be wished or hoped for, in which desyre and endevour concurred all our frends both in England, and out of England, as namely our late Cardll, Sir Francis Inglefeild, our frend there with you in Flanders* and others, and this for the space of more than a dozen yeares. In which tyme we made many missions into Scotland both of English and Scottish men of the Societye and others, and I myself made many jorneyes with danger of my lyfe to Lisbon, Rome, Flanders and other places, procured divers propositions to be made for the advancement of this king, divers sommes of money and other presents to be sent unto him and the like, whereof our frends there with you in parte can be witnesses.

But when after more than a dozen yeares travaile in vayne we sawe litle hope in him of that which was principally desyred of us for religion, and that he was maryed and had yssue, and like to be confirmed in his former heresye, our best and gravest frends were of opinion, that some other meanes was to be attempted, eyther to

* Probably Mr Hugh Owen.

drawe him thereby, or to provide ourselves of some other, and thereupon entred into cogitation of the lady Infanta, who at that tyme being unmaried, and unprovided of any other estate, was thought might have bene no unfitt meane at least wyse for assuring of Religion, and it seemed that at the beginning the proposition displeased not eyther heere or in England, or in other places among Catholics; but afterwards she being maryed, and endowed in other state, France also growing strong, and Spaigne omitting to prosecute that matter while they had no opposition, the Archduke also shewing himself cold in respect of his home broyles, and divers in Spaigne itself not desyring so much greatnesse in his person, as would be the conioyning of those states to England. Hereupon and for other causes, which you will easely imagyn, the matter grew at length to be litle estemed, and the French taking it in disdayne, as wrought against them, began to exagitate the envie thereof, as an ambition in the k. of Spayne and those of our nation that depended of him; but above all did our Appellants canvass this same as you know both in this contrie and in the French and els where. And albeit themselves turned soone after against the k. of Scotts with all there might, procuring that all matters should be drawne to the french k. his ordering onely (for which cause captayne Eliot was sent hither this last sommer with 300 crownes viaticum from Monsieur de Willroy) yet their odious clamours here against the pretense of the said lady Infanta made our present king so many frends in this court, as, partely by that and by the ordinarie emulations against Spayne, and by assurances given by Scottish men and some English also, that this man would be Cath. or at least give full libertie of Conscience, all this courte rane after him in such manner, as that all others that did not take the same course were thought eyther partiall or passionate.

Truth it is that about a yeare gon the k. of Spayne considering belike how odious this matter of the Lady Infanta was made partly by the French and partly by some English, and therewithall to shewe that he had no such ambitious meaning for him or his, wrote a letter hither (the coppie whereof I thinke also was sent to England) signifying that he could be well content to leeve all pretenses for himself or his towards England, and to concurre for the advancement of any one Cath. man that should be thought fitt for that purpose by the Catholiks of England and by his holy^{ness}, in case the k. of Scotland would not be Catholike; which indifferency of his Catholike Ma^{tie} was well liked by his Hol^{s}, and great hopes were given also by some of the French syde, that his Xtian Ma^{tie} would concure likewise in the same, wherof our frends can tell you the particulars.

But now while these things were but in speach the Q. dying, that hath succeeded which you better know then I, and such applause was here generally at this new kings entrance, as if he had byn the greatest Catholike in the world, but now men begin to droope agayne, and that which is most here noted by some is that the French, who most of all seemed at the beginning to promise great

matters of him, especially when the Q. lyved, now give out many things against him, and this is for the state present of matters heere.

But now I must tell you another thing, which is that for these last 5 or 6 yeares past seeing the evill successe of all Spanish attempts by sea and land, considering also there wants both of armes, munition, men and money, knowing also there inward state and condition by many yeares dwelling amongst them, and that albeit they be good men, and have a good desyre to helpe us, yet were there forces never answerable to their desyres or ours. Considering also what passed in Flanders, Ireland, Barbary and other places, where they had attempts, as also the forces of England to resist for their defence, and the rediynesse and abilitye of France to helpe them; and on the other syde weighing that if any attempt should be made by them against England for religion in the late Q. dayes and misse, all would be overthrowne, and that she was not like to live long &c. For these causes (I say) and other such like, I do confesse I was of opinion for these later 4 or 5 yeares, that it was not secure for us to adventure upon any forcible attempt in the said Q. dayes, except it was better founded then I could see probabilitye or possibilitye. And therefore that it was lesse danger to expect for her death, but so as they should presently prepayre both in Flanders and Spayne to be ready for that day, which they have not done, no more then they would have done the other, if we had relyed upon them for it, nor then they have done in Ireland, &c.

Now it may be that some of our frends in England or Spayne or els where, seing my feare in this behalfe, have thought it best not to make me privie of any such treatise during the Q. lyfe, for so it is that for this 2 or 3 last yeares I have knowne no particulars at all, neyther concerning Tymothy his jorney nor his compaynion nor any such thing, neyther have I had any sight or speech with 47, 42, 12, 17, 28, 43, 47, 29, 20, 23, 16, 19, 14, 43, 38, 20, 191, 163, 318, 317, 316, 315, which they say was sent to 432, 169, 433. But I never spake with him, which had byn of some mom^t^ that I should have done for satisfying 339, 314, 176 and other like frends, who hearing tell continually of 179, 191 in general, do give little credit in particular. Wherefore I pray you, if you have any notice or acquaintance with the said 17, 26, 43, 47, let me know somewhat of him in particular for my direction for the tyme to come, to witt 02, 42, 07, 321, 320, 319, 318, 317, 02, 24, 17, 36, 29, 23, 36, 40, 41, 47, 34, 207 for any other 213, 212, 211: and thus much of that.*

But now for the present state of England we do see that for the tyme past divers notable omissions have beene, as first in the K. of Spayne for many yeares together after the beginning of the late Q., when he might have reformed all easely which afterwards he payd for dearely. Secondly in not prosecuting the matters about the design[m]ent about the Infanta whiles the state of France did permitt him, nor yet seeking to gayne so effectually this present

* Perhaps a clue to this cipher may some day be recognized in Father Rivers's letters. The subject may be the negotiations of Winter in 1602.—See *The Month*, June, 1903.

king of England whilest he might have done it in his minoritye, and fynally in not providing himselfe to be ready at the Queens death, as he was often forewarned, which how deere it may cost him hereafter God only knoweth. And on the Catholiks parte many heere do say, that there was a great omission in not making some show of union amongst themselves, and of their numbers and forces at the Q. death, not so much to oppose themselves against the entrance of the present k. (for that they have protested, but only that being oppressed in the other Q. tyme, and used not like subiects but like slaves) they would now know with what condicions his ma^tie would receyve them. Which poynt say the Italians would have byn both justifyable and commendable with all princes abroad, and if they had once put themselves togeather with so iust a tytle they could not have wanted forces at the beginning, especially if they had had any porte for them, and the new king would have granted them any condition whatsoever. But now they having made no demonstrations at all, fewe men will believe here, that eyther their number, qualitye, or disposition of mynd is such as hath byn given out; and howsoever it be, the k. being now entred and put in possession and all princes round about determyned to send Embassadors of Congratulations, and every way to seeke his frendship according to their need or interest, certayne it is that none will stire against him for the present untill new occasions bring new dispositions of mynd.

And as for the disgusts which are said to ryse about the preferring of Scottishmen, [they] do say that this was a matter to be expected, and that the English are well served that would admitt a stranger and nation to ther government without any condition of capitulation at all. Most men are also of opinion that the very event will follow as in tyme of the Normans, who though they came in with an army, yet were they called in indeed by a great parte of the realme that depended of k. Edward, and were enemies unto the opposite factions both of the Danes and of Harrold. And as they did not bring under the English at once to suppresse the other, beginning first with them that first should shew themselves discontented, whereof I doubt you shall soon [see] the practise. If you have the storie of the Abbot [Ingulph]* of Croyland there with you, who was secretarie to Duke William before he was King of England, and saw the suppression of his nation by the Normanes, you may read it and see a patterne of the tyme to come.

To come then to the conclusion of this matter, I do not see possibly heere what may be counselled in the present case of our country (supposing that no helpe may be hoped for the present from any forrayne prince untill matters be better tryed) but only to have pacience and to expect the event of things, and to deale effectually with the Archduke, and the k. of Spayne, and with Embassadors in England, that if they make peace with him, they make it not without some condition of tolleration for Caths, alleadging to them for

* Blank in MS. The authenticity of this chronicle had not yet been questioned.

reasons, that if they do, besyde the dishonor thereof throughout the world, there peace wilbe nothing worth, but the English will helpe the Hollanders under hand as they did for many yeares together of of the late Q. rayne, and as the French are said to do now. And besyde this, that in such a case for their religion the English Cath. shalbe forced to runne to the K. of France for assistance etc.

Of this treatise being well urged there will follow that eyther Spayne will obtayne us some tolleration if he make peace, or the peace wilbe such as he wilbe contented that we helpe ourselves under hand as we may; which no doubt may be by France, if England make peace with Spayne; and that the generall disgust in England between English and Scottish go forward, for that it seemeth unpossible with men of iudgment heere, that England can hold peace long with Spayne and France together, or that France will beare long the coniunction of the 2 kingdomes, if he can fynd any meanes to have [? hinder] the same.

And this case, that England do make peace with Spayne and breake with France, or hold a kynd of peace with them both (but we cannot possibly perswade ourselves heere [of] that, the offers of Holland being so great as they are); and then if the nationall disgust of England do remayne and encrease, as it is like to do, and that the English can agree upon a probable head of their owne, forren forces will not want, though it is certayne, that all this will cost much broyles, and miserye before anything can be altered, the king being now in possession. Wherefore our fyrst and chief desyre and prayer must be to God to turne his mynd and make him take a good course both for religion and otherwise, for if he do not, he will first be a great scurge both to the whole land and to them especially that brought him in so absolute as they have done. And then will God punish him and his also by whose counsell he runneth astray.

His Holines here is so farre embarked to try what may be done by fayre means with him, as untill the contrarie do appeare by manifest proofe, and that it be confirmed also by sufficient tyme, he will harken to nothing against him, for feare of encurring worse inconvenience, and that like course do take all other Princes for the present, untill the other have declared himselfe in the poynts aforesaid. Wherefore the Catholiks must needs have patience and expect that tyme, and labour with the Embassadors that be in England or shalbe there, with whom we have caused also divers diligences to be done from hence, and his Hol[s] hath written to all or most princes about the same to entreat for libertie for ye Catholics. Let our frends there be diligent in soliciting them and advertise often hither how it goeth forward, and let fit men be appointed to deale with them confidently and secretly there, and if then nothing be done and the nationall disgust do grow in the mean space, it will make some way for remedy afterward. But Catholics must take heed least upon passion some break out, and be oppressed in ye meane space, or cause more severitie to other, which is the reason why his Hol[s] hath ordayned now sundry tymes

how to advertise thither that all such rash attempts be avoyded and so Marke* hath written now twise or thrise. And this is all that occurreth unto me at this tyme, unto this your first letter, which only speaketh in general; if in y^e^ rest you write any particulars, I shall have occasion to say more, and with this I byd you most hartely farewell together with all our frends there, this 6 of July 1603.

[*Endorsed* 1] Coppie of the large letter to m^r^ Ant. Rivers 6 Julii 1603. [2 *In Fr Grene's hand*] Quid agendum? vel potius quod nihil agendum circa statum Angliæ nisi per preces.

* Mark was a code name for Persons himself.

No. III.

OFFICIAL LISTS OF CATHOLIC PRISONERS DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Part II (*Continued from Vol. I, page* 72). 1581 to 1602.

The Government of Queen Elizabeth, in its zeal to suppress the Catholics, gathered amongst its papers a large amount of information concerning them. Of this some is reliable, some untrustworthy. The reports of spies are of all sources the most profuse and the least worthy of credit; for to say nothing of other reasons, they neither were nor could be verified, and were handed in for the most sordid motives. The official lists of prisoners on the other hand are the most reliable of the papers, though even here the carelessness of the prison keepers and of the scribes is sufficiently striking, as any one will discover who tries to follow out the fate of this or that prisoner. Nevertheless these lists certainly form one of the most important sources for this period, especially as the prisoners were often the most heroic confessors of the faith.

It has been explained in the last volume that the lists do not give any complete or regular account of the inhabitants of the prisons. Their existence among the State Papers in fact only indicates that the prisons were overcrowded, and that the officers of the crown were forced to have recourse to extraordinary means to relieve the pressure. It will be seen from the lists here published that this pressure was very great between the years 1582 and 1587, and that it afterwards greatly diminished. The portion here published continues the series of prison lists during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

XII. The Names of Certayne Papists, and the Places where they are Committed. [1581.]

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. CXLIX, no. 83.

Two other redactions of this paper—nos. 81 and 82 in the same volume will be called B and C; our paper A. All seem to be of similar value, but A is much the fullest. The others give the bare names, but add one or two which are omitted here.

	[Doctor Watson
	Douctor Young
	C. Eden]*
Gatehouse	Polidore Morgan
Marshalsea	Thomas Cottam Jesuite now in the Tower
Gatehouse	Lucas Kirkby priest now in the Tower
	Thomas Vavasor, discharged upon repentance promise of conformitie, band not to goe ten myles from London. ✝
Gatehouse	Edw Pole
	Moore
	Dibdale
Comptar in	Henrie Orton } now in the
the Pultrie	Robert Johnson priest } Tower

* Added in B and C. ✝ Erased in C.

Gatehowse Thomas Scottesmore priest
Gatehowse Henrie Sherwood frier, in respect of extreame sickness and upon band dischardged tyll Aprill next
Marshalsea John Hart priest
Gatehouse Lawrence Vawse priest
Gilbert Tytchborne soldier
[Tichbourne besides Portsmouth]*
Newgate Tho Clyfton: priest: Bushoppe of London hath all papers towchynge him
Comptar in Poultrie John Paschall
Marshalsea James Bosgrave, Jesuite
Tower Sherwyn [Hugh Kenrecke
Roscaryke Richard Creagh the Irishe Bushopp
Edmond Campion
Doctor Eley or Ellys
Mr Townley in the Gatehouse
Mr Gage
Mr John Talbot
Henrie Allway
Wysdome a Doctor in Physick]†

[*Endorsed*] The names of certayne papists and the places weare they bee comitted

XIII. Recusants in Newgate, 1581.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. CL, n. 74.

The names of the recusants in Newgate in London.

Roger Wakeman of Clifford in Lancashire priest
Thomas Edwards priest
Laurence Richardson priest was removed the 16th of November 1581 unto the quenes benche by an habeas Corpus
This 2 for horrible heresie—
Richard Lewes of Ipswch in Suffolk husbandman
ffaythe Arnold of Ipswch spinster
Of the precise sort—
Rob[t] Lewes of hascame in Gloucester shire husbandman
Of the precise sort—
Willm Druet of the precise sort bayled the viij[th] of November in respect of extreme sicknes by order of the B of London
W Dyos kep[r].

Thir is no certificats of any relief or other thing brought to any of the sayd prisoners.

[*Endorsed*] The names of the recusants in Newgate.

* Added in B. † The last nine names in B. The last name also in C.

XIV. Priests in the Tower, n.d. 1581

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. cl, n. 77.

Thomas Bristowe
henry Orton
Thomas Cotham preste
Lucus Kirkbye preste
Robert Johnson preste
Jacob Bosgrave preste
Xpor Tompson preste

All theis have bin presoners above xj^{ne} monethes. Maye it therefore please yo^{r} hono^{rs}, f^{r} the lessing Queene her Ma^{ies} chardgis that theis Inrefo[rmed] persons maye be turned into some other prison.

[*Endorsed*] Lieutenants note of certain priests in his custody.

XV. Notable Recusants in Winchester, June-July, 1582.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. cliv, n. 38.

The notablest recusantes yet remayninge prison^{s} in winchester and els where as followeth.

William Burley gent In quene Maries tyme a Justice of peace
Nicholas Scroope gent
Thomas Owen gent A bachelor of the Civile lawe
Symon Cuffolde gent
Gilbert Welles gent a prisoner in Newgate
James Braybrooke gent prisoner in the gate house
Docter Oxenbridge by keping of M^{r} John Stubs
Tichburne gent prisoner in—
Bekonsfelde gent

[*Endorsed*] The names of the principallest recusantes in Wynchester.

XVI. Mass-Hearers in the Marshalsea, 24 August, 1582.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. clv, n. 27. The words in italics are in Lord Burghley's hand.

fownd at mas the 24 of August in the Marshalsey as foloweth.

In M^{r} Shellys chamber—
Thomas hartley prist *sayd Mass*
Richard Shelly
william carew gent
william tooker
Jhon taylor
M^{r} Shellys man
Joan watts a stranger *of Oxford shyre*
M^{rs} Loe

In M^{r} Parpoynts chamber—
himself
richard norris priest *in sayeng of Mass*
Jhon Jacobb

In dentons chamber—
him self priest
Jho harris his clarke

Theyr supersticieux stuff theyr abominable relikes and vile bookes, I have taken away redy to be shewed, my humble request is to have the priests removed from me and the rest to be examined and punished as shall best seme good to your honors.

[*Endorsed*] 24 Aug 1582 The names of the Mass hearers in the Marshalsey.

XVII. Prison Certificates from June 1582 to March 1583

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. CLIX, nn. 28-36. In "Old Style" the year ended before Lady-day, March the 25th. This accounts for the general returns being handed in at this term.

A. The Fleet

A note of suche prysoners as have bynn Comyttid, Dyschargid, and are yet remayning in my Custodye, from my laste syrtificate the xv^th^ of June, unto xxij^th^ of Marche 1582.

Viz

Comittment

Anthonie Higgins of London dwelling in Poules Churche yard, nere the B. of London his howse, Scryvener, Comittid to the ffleete by my L. of London for matters of Estate the x^th^ of Auguste 1582.

Discharge

1. Ambrose Griffith of Lyncolns Inn London, one of M^r^ Griffiths sonnes that was one of the sixe clearks of the Chauncerye, he was dyschargid by warraunte from M^r^ Secretorie Walsingham uppon his bond taken of a hundrid pownds, w^th^ one suertie that he should conforme him self in going to churche, w^ch^ bond was delyverd at the court at Nonesuche to M^r^ Wilks cleark of the Counsell. The warraunt was dated the xxviij^th^ of Julij 1582.

2. Anthonye Higgins aforesaid Scryvener was discharged by warraunt from my Lo. of London under M^r^ Bedell the Regysters hand datid the xxvij^th^ of Auguste 1582

3. Willm̃ Shelly of Sutton in the County of Hereforde Esquier Dyschargid by Warraunt from my lls of the privie Counsaile at the corte at Otelands the xvj^th^ of Septemb 1582, I being then comaunded to take his bond of a thowsand pownds to her ma^ties^ use that he the said Shellie shoulde not departe the Realme, and alsoe make his personale appearaunce before my lls of the privie Counsell the xx^th^ of October next ensuing

4, 5 and 6. Richarde Owin of Godstone in the Countie of Oxforde Esquier, William Hawksworth of Mytton in the countye of Yorkshire Gent, and William Heskyth of Poulton in the Countie of Lanc. Gent. Theis three weare discharged by one Warraunt from M^r^ Secretorie Walsingham datid the xjth of November 1582, Willing me to take bonds of eache of them in v^c^–^li^ a piece to hir Ma^ties^ use to retorne them selves prisoners to the pryson of the ffleete w^th^in two monethes next ensuing the aforesaid libertie. At the said two monethes end the said thre parties weare gyven furder libertie by my ll of the privie counsaile uppon their seuerall bonds of c^li^ a piece to hir Ma^ties^ use to yeld them selves prisoners w^th^in tenne dayes after they shalbe thereto requyrid. This Warraunt came

under Mr Secretorie Walsingham his hand, dated the xvth of Januarij 1582. There bonds are in my Custodye

7 Roberte Tirwhit of Thorneton Abbey in the Coñ of Lyncoln Gent dyscharged by warraunte from my Ll of the privie Counsaile to make his furder appearaunce wch warraunt came under Mr Secretorie Walsingham his hande onely, dated the xxijth of Novemb 1582.

8 ffrauncis Morris of Cophall in the Com. of Berks esquier discharged by warraunt frome my ll. of the privie Counsaile under Mr Secretorie Walsingham his hande onely, Willinge me to take bonds of him in vc–li to hir Maties use for his appearaunce before my ll wth in tenn dayes after he shalbe called for. This warraunt was dated at Barnelmes uppon Shrovetuisday the xijth of ffeb. 1582.

9 John Halsey of Tewksburrye in the Com. of Gloc[ester] Phisition dyschargid by my L. of London his Warraunt wch was to remove the said Halsey from the ffleete to the Clynke in Sowth[wark] bycause the said halsey was a man thought to doe muche harme at the ffleet emongst the Papists there. Dated the xvth of ffeb 1582.

Prisoners yet remayning at the ffleet for matters of Religion—

1 Willm̃ Vaux Lo. Harrodowne of Harrowdowne in the Countie of North Hampt[on] rem[ayning]

2 Tho Tressam of Rushton in the Countie of North Hampton Knight rem.

3 George Cotton of Warblington in the Countie of Sowth [ampton] Esquier rem.

4 Erasmus Saunders of Tynbigh in the Countie of Pembroke Esquier

5 John Rugbie of Danbye in the county of Richmonde Gent. yet rem.

6 John Talk of the Cyttie of Chichester in the Coñ of Sussex: yet rem.

B. The Counter in the Poultry

Henry Tuke Sarvingman and servant to my Lorde Vaux was comitted to the Compter in the pultry the xxvth daye of ffebruary 1581 by Mr Alderman Marten then Shreiff of London and was dischargid the vijth day of July last paste by Mr Attourny generall by the Relacion of Thomas Lutwyche Sargent and officer to the Shreiffe of London.

William Warram ffreeman and Baker of London and borne at a towne Called Stocton in the County of Salopp nowe remayninge prisoner in the Compter Afore sayd was comittid the xxixth day of July 1581 by Sr John Branche then Lorde Mayor of London, Mr Recorder and other the quenes Mats Justices of peace ffor London ffrom the Sessions holden the same day at Newgate.

William Walker priste borne at Welbourne in the County of York and late dwellinge at pursnam in the County of Northampton nowe remayninge prisoner in the said Compter was comittid the xvijth of ffebruary 1582 by Mr Shreiff Buckle.

[*Endorsed*] Certificate of the prisonners for relligion in ye Counter of Poultry 22 March 1582-3.

C. The Counter in Wood Street.

This document is drawn up in so clumsy a fashion that it is difficult to tell where insertions, which are here printed in round brackets, should be inserted, and where cancellations should be made.

The names of the prisoners comytted for mater of Relygion in the counter of wood strete sennce the fyrste of June laste paste, By whome they were comytted and howe they were delyvered, written the 22 daye of Marche 1582.

The 15 daye of June 1582. p[er] w[arrant] my lorde of london and the benche. Thomas Huton in execution 1000 m^r^kes, per dewes Keper of Newgate. (Thomas Hutton gentyllman, borne in northehumberlande—very syvile and quyete.)

The 19 June 1582, William barlowe p[er] w[arrant] my L. of London, per frances messenger. d[ischarge]d 21 June per ffrancis messenger.

The 27 June 1582, William cooke, per w^t^ my L. of London, p^r^ Gylbarte, officer. dd 23 July per warrant from Mr bedell

The 27 June 1582, Elizabethe Cook p^er^ w^t^ my Lord London per Gilbarte officer. dd 13 July per Gilbarte officer.

The 3 of Julye 1582, Edwarde lye (per w^t^ my L of London & y^e^ commissionars) p^er^ w^t^ m^r^ harte p^r^ wright bedell. dd 3 Julye per wryght bedell & one tayler S^r^vant to my L London

The 19 Julye 1582, Robarte holdar p^r^ w^t^ S^r^ ffrancis Walsingam p^r^ norris. dd 19 Julye p^r^ norris

The 10 August 1582, Jno Kynge p^r^ w^t^ my Lords of y^e^ counsell and Symons per m^r^ norton. dd 12 Auguste p^r^ Robarte morgane S^r^vante to m^r^ norton.

The 19 Auguste 1582, Anthony Hyll (p^r^ w^t^ my L London per m^r^ baker 2on [*sic*]) p^r^ w^t^ m^r^ stationers p. baker & m^r^ coldocke. dd p^r^ m^r^ baker for all matters

by me Walter Browne keper.

[*Endorsed*] 1582, 2 March. Certificate of the Prisoners for religion in y^e^ Counter in Wood Street.

D. The Gatehouse

To the Righte honorable the Lords of her maiesties moste honorable privie Councell

A Certificate of all suche prisoneres as are remayning in the Custodie of me the said Kepere of the Gathouse at Westm^r^ by your honors comaundmente and the Lord Bishope of London and the highe Comissioners whose names are herunder written

Thomas Cotsmore, a Sussixe man borne, an oulde massinge preiste, taken at Arendell coming over from beyonde the Seas and sent in by your honors a tow yeares sence

John More, a gentilmans Sonne and a Yorkeshyer man borne, taken at Dovere cominge over from beyonde the seas and sent in by your honors a tow yeares since

Edward Poule, borne in the Cittie of Coventree and som tyme a Deakone in the churche, and taken at Dovere cominge over from beyonde the Seas and sente in by your honores a tow years since

Humfrie Eytton, a sarvinge man sarvante to on M^r^ Ropere of Eltome in Kente, and sente in by my Lorde Treasorar a year since

John Hewes, a devenshere man was fownde w^th^ a massinge preiste and sometymes a Clarke to on of the Secondores of the Counter in london, and was sente in from the councell borde in the Starre Chambare by your honores order

ffrauncis Jerman, Dyscharged by you^r^ honores orders and bounde taken by M^r^ Wilkes the ij day of July last past.

John Townley gent, sent to the newe ffleete in manchester in Lankkeeshyere the ij day of Julij by your honores ordere last [*sic*]

Polledore Morgan, Dyscharged by M^r^ Secretary Walsingame the viijth day of Auguste Last.

Robard Dibdale, Dyscharged by my L. Treasorare the x day of Septembar last past

William Jenneson gent, dyscharged by you^r^ honors ordere the v day of Septembar last.

Prisoners sent in by the L. Bishope of London and the highe Comissioners

Rychard Rosse, an ould massinge preist a yorkeshyere man borne, sente in by the L. Bishope of London and the Highe Comissioners a five yeres since

Humfrie Combarford gent, borne in Combarford in Stafford Shyere, and sent in by the L. Bishope of london and the Highe Comissioners a tow yeres since

Malyne Heathe, wyffe to M^r^ Heath of fulham, and sente in by the L. Bishope of london and the Highe Comissioners a tow yeres since

Loraunce Vause, an oulde massinge preist a lankekeshyre man borne, and sente in by the L. Bishope of london, and the Highe Comissioners a tow yeres since

James Braybroke a Lawyere borne in Abbington in Oxford Shyer, sente in by the L. Bishope of London and the Highe Comissioners almost tow yeres since

Anthonye Throgmorton a marchante of london sent in by the Leefetenante of the Towewer [*sic*] a yere since

Edward Yatte, a barkeshyere man borne, and sente in by M^r^ Leefetenante of the Towewer by you^r^ honors ordere a yere since

Thomas Edwardes som time have used the treade of a Chanler in Reddinge, sente in by the L. Bishope of London and the Highe Comissioners a yeare since

Jean Thomson dyscharged by the lord Bishope of London and the Highe Comissioners the ij day of January last past

Ralffe Coliere, a ould preste, Removed to the Kinges benche

by A havisscorpis upon his Inditmente of the primenary the xxviij day of January last past.

Ther hav bynne non Comitted since June laste
Morrys Pykeryng.

[*Endorsed*] Certificate of prisonners for relligion in the Gatehouse March 1583.

E. Newgate

Midd. London—

John Pinchine of Clements Danes in the Countie of Midd. gent yealdid hime Self A prisoner the vjth of September in the xxiiij^{tie} yere of the Raigne of ouer Soueraigne Ladye Quyne Elizabeth &c. to prevent the owtlary w^{ch} was Agaynst him for certayne months w^{ch} he refused to come to the church, Beinge enclyned to the Romyshe Religion and doth yet refuse to goe to the Churche.

John Reason of Westm^{r} in the Countie of Midd yeoman at the Sessions howlden the xviijth of January in the xxvth yere of the Raigne of ower Soueraigne Ladye Quyne Elizabeth & was Comitted to the Gaiole of Newgate from the prison of the Clynk for his disobedience in Religion And the xxiiijth of January in the yere Aforesaide the saiede Reason sent Agayne unto the prison of the Clynke by M^{r} Recorders warraunt and is enclyned to the Romysh Religion

Williame Deane, of Linton in Craven in the Countie of Yorke, semynarye priest was comitted the xxj^{tie} daye of ffebruary in the xxiiij^{tie} yere of the Raigne of ouer Soveraigne Ladye Quyne Elizabeth for suspicion of Treason by Williame fflytewoode Seriaunt at the Lawe and Recorder of the Cittie of London

John Nashe of London yoman was sent to the Gaiole of Newgate the xix^{tie} daye of Marche in the xxv^{tie} yere of the Raigne of ouer Soueraigne Ladye Quyne Elizabeth frome the prison of the Marshalseye for Cawses of Religion as A precisian and was Comitted by the Lord Bishope of London

per me W^{m} Deyos
Keeper off Newgate

[*Endorsed*] Prisoners for relligion in Newgate March 1583

F. King's Bench

A true certificate of suche prisoners as have been comitted unto the custodie of the Marshall of her Ma^{ties} Benche since June laste paste for matters of religion accordinge to the teno^{r} of a lre to the same Marshall signifying the pleasure of the LL. of her Ma^{ties} pryvie Counsell in that behalf.

Raphe Collyer was committed the xxviiijth daie of Januarie laste paste from the barre at Westm^{r} by the Justices of her Ma^{ts} benche by vertue of a writte of habeas Corpus to answere certen trespasses and contempts contrarie to the forme of the Statute made for the assurance of her Ma^{ties} royall power wheruppon he standeth indited. He was borne in the Citie of Yorke and made prieste as he saithe in the tyme of Kynge henrie theighte and beinge removed from the

Gatehouse at Westm^r remayneth at this present a prisoner in the said benche.

Richarde Tremayne gent borne in Mastowe in the Countie of Devon beinge taken by the Sherieffe of Cornewall uppon proces made againste him owt of her Ma^ts benche for Recusancye was by the Justies of the same Courte commytted into the custodie of the said Marshall the fourthe Daye of ffebruarie laste paste and at this presente doth there remayne.

Other prisoners for the causes aforesaid there hath not been either comitted or discharged since the said moneth of June unto the custodie of the said Marshall to this present the xxiij^th of Marche the xxv^th yere of her Ma^ts Raigne

Ihon Catisbye

[*Endorsed*] 1583. Certificate from the Marishall of her M^ts Benche of Recusantes comitted to his charge.

G. The Clink

The xxiij^te Daye of Marche
Anno Dñi 1582.

The names of thos w^ch weare comitted prisoners to the Clinke for Religione since the xiiij^th Daye of June Anno 1582 by the commaundemente of the Reverente ffather in god John Bishope of Londone and others her Ma^ts Highe Comissyoners for causes Eclessiasticalle

William Stapletone, Borne in the parishe of Bradleye in the Countye of Stafforde gent. Comitted the xvijth daye of June anno 1582.

John Dewe. Borne in the Cyttye of Oxforde and Searvaunt unto M^r William Shellye of Michell grove in the Countye of Sussex Esquire. Comitted by S^r Owen Hoptone Knighte the xvij^th Daye of August anno 1582.

John Reasone. Borne in Kirtone in the Countye of Lyncolne Singingman Comitted the xvj^th Daye of October 1582.

John Halseye Late of Tewxburye in the Countye of Gloucester master of arte and Lycenciate in phisicke and called by the name of Docter Halseye Comitted from the Sessyons hall in the oulde Baylye in London the xv^th daye of ffebruarye anno 1582 beinge prisoner before in the ffleete.

All w^ch aforenamed prisoners Remaine prisoners at this presente in the Clinke aforesayde

The names of those that be discharged since
the xiiij^th daye of June 1582.

John Lodge of Cambridge Clarke Comitted the iiij^th daye of August 1582 for that he wold have no Sabaothe Daye and discharged from hence and sente to brydewell by the Reverente ffather in god John Bishope of London.

John Jetter Late Servaunte unto one M^r Higgins of London Scryvener, Comitted vij^th daye of August 1582 and sente for from

hence to the Towre by the Right Worshipfull S^r^ Owen Hopton and ther remaynethe.

Margerye Duckington the wiffe of Rycharde Duckington in frydayes streate in London, Salter, Comitted the vi^th^ daye of December anno 1582 and discharged by warrante from the Reverente ffather in god John Bishope of London

Humfrye Tylle of the parishe of Stone in the Countye of Stafforde, Searvaunte unto one mistris heninghame yn the sayd Countye, Comitted the xxx^ti^ daye of January 1582 and discharged by order from the Reverente ffather in god John Bishope of London and others her Ma^ts^ highe Comissyoners for causes Eclesyasticall aforesayde.

By me John Sheppard
Keper of the Clynke

[*Endorsed*] Certificate of the prisoners in the Clynck for relligion 29 March 1583.

H. Recusantes Remayninge in the Prisones of London and those enlarged, 1583.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. CLIX, n. 36.

This is a small book of 16 pp. Each prison list begins fresh page. There is another general table at no. 35 (here called *B*). The names follow the same order, but hardly any particulars are added except the date of the certificates, on which it is based, and these are here introduced.

23 of March 1583.

Certificates of the Recusantes remayninge in the prissones in and about the City of London and of such as have ben uppon bonds &c enlarged sith June last

Tower Prisoners comitted to the Tower since the beginninge of the monethe of June 1582 for matters of religion [Remayninge 22 March 82]

Com. Willm Carter Bookebinder de civitate London
Richarde Slacke of dornfielde in Com Derby
John Getter of Layscoffe in the County of Sussex
John Mondyn of Cotley in the County of Dorset

Prisoners discharged since June 1582 &c . . . uppon bondes

Dis. Raphe Letherborough merchaunt — Humfrey Keynes gent.
Edwarde Keynes gent. — Thomas Awfelde.

Prisoners remayninge yet in the Tower [22 Mar 82]
Priests [committed before June 82]

Rem. Richarde Crayer an Irishe priest — John Collington
Thomas Bristowe — Arthure Pitts

[Committed since—*B*]
George Godsafe — George Hadocke
Stephen Rowsame — Christofer Thompson

Condemned [*B omits*]
James Bosgrave priest — Henry Orton a Civilian
John Harte priest

Prisoners &c w^ch^ are to paye their owne dyet &c [*B omits*]

Thomas Pound — Stephen Brinckley
Rose Caricke — Willm Carter

FLEETE Prisoners comitted to the Fleete for matters of Religion since June 1582 [15 of June 82].

Com. 10 Aug 82 Anthony Higgins of London Scryvener

Prisoners discharged &c

Dis. 28 Jul 82 Ambrose Griffithe of Lincolnes Inne
27 Aug 82 Anthony Higgins aforesaid Scrivener
6 Sept 82 Willm Shelley of Sutton in Com Hereford Esquior
11 Novemb 82 Richarde Owen of Godstone in the County of Oxforde Esq
ex post Willm Hawksworth of Milton in Com. Ebor. gent.
15 Jan 82 Willm Heskithe of Poulton in Com. Lanc. Gent.
22 Noveb 82 Robt Tirright of Thorneton Abbey in Com. Lincoln Gent.
12 Feb 82 ffracis Morris of Cophall in Com. Berk Esq^r^
15 Feb 82 John Halsey of Tewkesberye in Com. Gloc. Phisition removed to the Clinke

Prisoners yet remayninge in the Fleete &c [22 of March 83]

Rem. The L. Vaux
S^r^ Thomas Tressam Knight
George Cotton of Warblington in Com. Northampton Esquior
Erasmus Saunders of Tinbygh in Com. Penbrok Esq
John Rugbye of Danbye in Com. Richmond Gent.
John Talke of the citye of Chichester in Com. Sussex

NEWGATE

Com. John Pinchine of St Clementes Danes in the Countye of Midd. Gent.
18 Jan 82 John Reason of Westm^r^ in Com. Midd. yeoman
21 Feb 82 Willm Deane of Linton in Craven in Com. Ebor. a seminarye priest
19 March 82 John Nashe of London yeoman

Dis. 24 Jan 82 John Reason of Westm^r^ aforesaid, removed to the prison of the Clinke

COUNTER IN THE POULTRYE [Remayning 22 March 82]

Com. 25 Feb 81 Henry Tuke Servingman, Servant to the L. Vaux
29 July 81 Willm Warran of London Baker
17 Feb 81 Willm Walker prieste &c

Prisoners discharged &c

Dis. 8 July 82 Henry Tuke aforesaid

COUNTER IN WOOD STREATE Prisoners comitted &c for matters of religion &c [*B omits*]

Com. Thomas Hutton de Com Northumb Gent.

Dis. Willm Barlowe
Willm Cooke
Elizabethe Cooke
Edwarde Lye
Robt Holder
John Kinge
Anthony Hill

KINGES BENCHE Recusantes comitted to the Custodye of the Marshall of her Ma^ties Benche since June 1582 [remayning 24 March 82]

Com. 28 Jan 82 Raphe Collyer prieste
4 Feb 82 Richarde Tremayne gent. de Muscowe in Com Devon gent.

CLYNKE Prisoners comitted to the Clynke for matters of Religion since the 14 of June 1582 &c. [Remayning 24 March 82]

Com. 17 June 82 Willm Stapleton of the parishe of Bradley in the County of Stafford Gent.
17 Aug 82 John Dewe Servant to M^r W^m Shelley of Michellgrove in Com. Sussex Arm.
16 Oct 82 John Reason Singingeman &c
15 Feb 82 John Halsey m^r of Arte & Licentiate in Phisicke

Discharged since the 14 of June 1582.

Dis. John Lodge of Cambridge Clerke
John Jetter late Servant unto M^r Higgins of London Scrivener, removed to the Tower
Margerie Duckington wife of Ric. Duckington of London Salter
Humfrey Tylle of the parishe of Stone in the Countye of Stafforde servant to M^rs Heningham in the said Countye

GATEHOUSE [Remayning Mar 83.]

Com. Thomas Cotsmore a massinge priest [committed by order of y^r ll]
John More gent [*id.*]
Edwarde Poule [*id.*]
Humfrey Eyton servingman servant to M^r Roper of Eltham [in Com. Kant [*id.*]
John Hewes [*id.*]
Richarde Rosse a massinge priest [committed by y^e B of London & Highe Commissioners]
Humfrey Combarford gente de Combarforde in Com. Staff. [*id.*]
Malyne Heathe wife to M^r Heathe of ffulham [*id.*]
Laurence Vause an olde massinge priest [*id.*]
James Braybroke a lawyer &c [*id.*]
Anthony Throgmorton of London merchant [*id.*]
Edwarde Yate de Com. Berk. [*id.*]
Thomas Edwardes. [*id.*]

Recusantes discharged out of the prison of the Gatehouse &c

Dis. 2 July 82 ffrancis Jerman [committed by order of y^r ll]
2 Jul 82 John Townley gent. [*id.*]
18 Aug 82 Polidore Morgan [*id.*]
20 Sep 82 Robert Dibdale [*id.*]
10 Sep 82 Willm Jenneson gent. [*id.*]

2 Jan 82 Jean Thompson
28 Jan 82 Raphe Colyer an olde priest removed to the Kings Benche by a Habeas corpus uppon his Indictment in a Premanire [*B omits*]

MARSHALSEA

Com. Recusantes comitted to the Marshalsey since June last 1582 [and yet remayning there March 82]

Edwarde Gage de Bentley in Com Sussex A[rmiger]
Walter Quirck scholler borne in Irelande
Dennys Dally Scholler borne in Irelande
Andrewe Stretch of Limerick in Irelande Scholler
Andrewe ffowler of Siddington in Com Ebor priest
Willm Tedder priest
Robt Adyn of dorster in Com Dorset. Gent.
Willm Warmyngton Clerke
Thomas Chattleton priest
Laurence Baker priest
Brian Needeham priest
Walter Barley priest
Robert Buckley
John Tebytt priest
John Nutter priest
Samuel Conyers priest
Peter Lawson priest

Dis. Recusantes discharged out of the Marshallsey sith June last 1582.
Willm Walker priest [*B omits*]
Leonard Bilson priest
Thomas Mullyns yeoman

Com. Recusantes comitted to the Marshalsey before June last and now there remayninge.

Robt Becket of St Germans in Com. Cornub. Gent.
Margaret Becket his wife
Richarde Shelley of ffindowe in Com. Sussex Gent.
Thomas moore of Chelsey in Com Midd. Gent.
Edwarde moore borne in Whaddon in Com. Cant. gent
Theobald Greene gent.
Willm Phillipps Gent
John Jacob yeoman
John Grey gent.
James ffen gent.
Jone Lowys wife of Phillip Lowys
Richarde Webster Scholem[aster]
Peter Carey gent.
Willm Greene Scholem[aster]
Walter Blunt Scholem[aster]
John Ridge Labourer
Willm Denton Priest
Richarde Norrys Priest
Jervis Perpoint gent.
Willm Bishopp priest
John Tucker priest

(p. 16) Christopher Small priest
Willm Hartley priest
Elizabethe Sherwood widowe
Henrye Sherwood drap[er].
Willm Toker gent
Walter Taylor gent. borne in Dublin in Irelande
Richarde Reynoldes yeoman
Edward Jackson priest
John Harvye yeoman
Edmonde Sexton gent.
John Harrys mercer
Thomas Crowther priest
George ffilbye Currier.

XVIII. Prison Certificates, from October 1583 to March 1584.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. CLXIX, nn. 23, 24, 25, 26, 30.

A. The Clink.

The xxi^te^ daye of Marche Anno 1583.

The names of the Recusants sent by yo^r^ honors to the Clinke since the retorne of the Last Certificate w^th^ warrants from y^r^ honors conserninge the same retourne dated the xxix daye of October Anno 1583.

John Pounde a prest comitted the xxii daye of november last by yo^r^ honors w^ch^ sayd Pounde as yeat remayneth close prisoner in the Clinke

Jeaspar Haywoode a Jesuite comitted by yo^r^ honour the ix^th^ daye of December laste and comitted from her Ma^tys^ Benche at Westmester to the Tower

[*Endorsed*] A Certificate from the Keeper of the Clinke the xxi daye of March 1583.

B. The Gatehouse

To the Right honorable the Ls of her Ma^ties^ Most honorable previe councell

A certificathe of all suche prisoners as have binne comitted by the councell either by warrant or otherwise since the last certificate mad

John Witeman broughte in of Sir ffrauncis Walsinghams honors comaundmente the vii dai of November for religion a sarvinge man 1583

Richard Johnsone broughte in of Sir ffrauncis Walsinghams honors commanndment the viii daie of November for relligione and somtym a scollare of Oxford.

Richard Broughtone sente in by the councell from S^te^ Jameses the x daie of November for relligion

George Dickensone broughte in of the councell comanndment the xix daie of January for relligion and is a prieste

Richard Johnson sente in by the councell the xix daie of ffebruary for relligion and is a prieste.

Richard Smithe sente in by the Councell the xiii^th^ daie of ffebruary for religion and is a prieste

Richard Budde sente in close prisoner by the Councell the xxviii daie of January the cause to me ys not knowne

John Kepere sente in by M^r^ Vize Chamberlen honoure the iii day of ffebruary

[*Endorsed*] Marche 21 1583. Certificat of the Recusants comitted to the Gatehouse since October last.

D. The Marshalsea

A note of the Recusants remaining in the Marshalsea

Temporall Gentlemen

Robert Becket sent in the ffirst of November	1579
John Graye, sente in the seconde of January	1577

Walter Blunt sent in the xviiith of July 1580
Theobald Greene sent in the xxxth of October 1578
Richard Shelley sent in the xiiith of August 1580
Willm̃ Phillips sent in the vith of November 1578
Edward Moore sent in the ii of August 1581
Richard Webster sent in the xxvth of March 1573
Edmond Sexton sent in the xxith of March 1581
Peter Carey sent in the xvth of October 1578
Gilbert Wells sent in the xxith of December 1583
George Brytten sent in by the Right honorable My Lord of Hunsdon the third of ffebruary 1583
John Knightley sent in the xvith daie of ffebruary 1583
John Gerrard sent in by M^{r} Weekes the vth of March 1583
Willm Manneringe sent in the viith of March 1583
Thomas Moore sent in the 28 of Aprill 1582
Nicholas woolf sent in the viith of December 1583

Other temporall men
Richard Reynolds sent in the xviiith of ffebruary 1580
John Jacobb sent in the xvith of Auguste 1581
John Tucker sent in the xxiiith of Auguste 1581
John Harvy sent in the same 23 of Auguste 1581
John Harris sent in the same 23 of Auguste 1581
Walter Taylor sent in the 23 of November 1581
John Ridge sent in the ixth of December 1580
Robert Awden sent in the xth of December 1582
Peter Lawson sent in the first of ffebruary 1582
Henry Sherwood sent in the xith of ffebruary 1581
Eley Jones sent in the viith of November 1583
Barthollmewe Temple sent in the vith of November 1583
Richard Turner sent in the iiiith of October 1583

Semynary Preists
Xpofer Smawle sent in the xxvth of May 1582
John Tibbitt sent in the iiith of November 1582
Andrew ffowler sent in the iii of November 1582
Samuell Conyers sent in the first of ffebruary 1582
Willm Tedder sent in the xth of December 1582
Willm Hartlie sent in the xxiiith of Auguste 1581
Richard Norris sent in the xviith of December 1581
Willm Bishoppe sent in the xith of ffebruary 1581
Thomas Crowder sent in the xxiith of March 1581
John Chapman sent in the first of November 1583
Willm warmington sent in the xth of December 1582
George Goodsalf and Stephan Rusham sent from the tower the xiith of ffebruary 1583
Robert ffenn sent in the xvith daie of ffebruary 1583
Thomas Aliet sent in by warrant from the Councell xxiiiith of ffebruary 1583
John Adams sent in the viith daie of March 1583
John Talk sent in the xviiith of December 1583
Thomas Batman sent in the 16 of ffebruary 1583

Robert Purton S^r^ Thomas Lewcey his man sent by the Right honorable S^r^ ffrauncis Walsingham the xxviii^th^ of November 1583 beinge examyned answer that they are determyned to go to the Churche

[*Endorsed*] 1583, March 22. The names of the prisoners remayning in the Marshalsea

E. The White Lion

Surrey
23 Marcij 1583.

Nomina prisonar[um] in gaola Comitatus prædicti existe[ntium] p[ro] causis ecclesiasticis viz:—

Willelmus Scotte ar^m^	Ricardus Sampson
Henricus Shelley ar^m^	Ricardus Walderne
Johannes Beconsawe gen	Robertus Jesuppe
Georgius Brewster gen	ffranciscus Gardner
Willelmus Smyth gen	Henricus Weston

Edwardus Gateward custod. prisonar.
Whyte Lyon.

[*Endorsed*] 23 Martij 1583 the Certificate of the prisonners remayninge in the Comon gaole of Surrey

XIX. Prison Certificates, April 7 and 8, 1584.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. clxx, nn. 8-15.

A. The Fleet

Maye it please yo^r^ hono^r^ to be Advertized that According to yo^r^ hono^rs^ letter I have certefied under my hand the names of those persons w^ch^ Remayne in the fflete for not conformyng themselfs to her ma^ts^ Lawes in matters of Relegion w^ch^ certificat here w^th^ I have sente unto yo^r^ hono^r^. And thus most humbly I take my leve praying to the Almyghty long to preserve yo^r^ hono^r^ in helth and prosperitie.

ffrom the fflete this vij^th^ of Aprill 1584.

yo^r^ hono^rs^ to comaunde
John Calton.

1 my Lady lowell.
2 my Lady Ratclyff.
3 John Roockeby gent.

[*Addressed*] To the Right honorable S^r^ ffrauncis Walsingham Knight princepall Secretary to her ma^tie^ and one of her ma^ts^ most honorable previe Counsell

[*Endorsed*] 8 Aprill 1584 Certificate of y^e^ Recusants in y^e^ Fleete.

B. The Gatehouse

To the Righte honorable the LLs of her ma^ties^ moste honorable privie Counsell.

A certificate of all suche prisoners as are at this presente remayninge in the gathouse at westm^r^ for matters of relligion w^th^ their names herunder subscribed

James Braybrooke gent — John Witeman

Humfrie Combarford gent
John Moore gent
Edward Yate gent
Humfrie Eyttone
Thomas Edwards
Edward Poule
John Hewes
Richard Johnson
Richard Broughton
Thomas Cotsmore A preist
Richard Roose A preist
John Cormorth A preist
Rogere Dickkenson A preist
Richard Smythe A preist
Owine fletchere
John Noble
Richard Johnson A preist
Richard Bude

[*Endorsed*] 8 Aprill 1584 Certificate of y^e^ Recusants in y^e^ Gatehouse.

D. The Clink

The viij^th^ Daye of Aprile 1584
The names of the prisoners in the Clinke for Religyone nott confirminge them sealves to her ma^ts^ Lawes.

Papists

Lawrence Vause Clearke
John Pounde Clarke
Willm Deane Clarke
Edwarde Shelleye
Willm Stepleton
John Bradstocke
Thomas Harris
John Dewe
Samuell Mounseye a Brownes
Jane Gouldwyer a papist

A certificate from the Clinke.

[*Endorsed*] 8 Aprill 1584 Certificate of y^e^ Recusants in y^e^ Clynke.

E. The Marshalsea

A note of the Recusants remaininge in the Marshalsey.

Temporall gentlemen

Robert Beckett sent in the first of November 1579
John Graye sent in the seconde of January 1577
Walter Blunt sent in the xviijth of Julye 1580
Theobald Greene sent in the xxx^th^ of October 1578
Richard Shelley sent in the xiij^th^ of August 1580
Willm̃ Phillipps sent in the vi^th^ of November 1578
Edward moore sent in the second of August 1581
Richard Webster sent in the 25 of Marche 1573
Edmond Sexton sent in the xxi^th^ of Marche 1581
Peter Carey sent in the xv^th^ of October 1578
Thomas Moore sent in the xxviij^th^ of Aprill 1582
Gilbert Wells sent in the xxi^th^ of December 1583
Nicholas woolf sent in the vij^th^ of December 1583
George Brytten sent (by my L of Hunsdon) in the third of ffebruary 1583
John Knightley sent in the 16 of ffebruary 1583
John Gerard sent in (by M^r^ Weeks) the v^th^ of Marche 1583
Willm Manneringe sent in the vii^th^ of March 1583—17

Other temporall men

Richard Reynolds sent in the xviii^th^ ffebruary 1580
John Jacobb sent in the xvi^th^ of Auguste 1581

John Tucker sent in the xxiiith of Auguste 1581
John Harvie sent in the same xxiiith of Aug. 1581
John Harris sent in the same xxiiith of Aug. 1581
Walter Taylo^{r} sent in the xxiiith of November 1581
John Ridge sent in the ixth of December 1580
Robert Awden sent in the xth of December 1582
Peter Lawson sent in the first of ffebruary 1582
Henry Sherwood sent in the xith of ffebruary 1581
Eley Jones sent in the vijth of November 1583
Bartholemew Temple sent in the vith Novemb 1583
Richard Turner sent in the iiijth of October 1583—13

Semynarye Preists

Xpofer Smawle sent in the xxvth of Maye 1582
John Tibbit sent in the third of November 1582
Andrewe ffowler sent in the third of November 1582
Samuell Conyars sent in the first of ffebruary 1582
Willm̃ Tedder sent in the xth of December 1582
John Talk sent in the xviiith of December 1583
Willm Hartley sent in the xxiijth of August 1581
Richard Norris sent in the xviith of December 1581
Willm̃ Bishopp sent in the xjth of ffebruary 1581
Thomas Crowder sent in the xxijth of Marche 1581
John Chapman sent in the first of November 1583
Willm Warmington sent in the xth December 1582
George Goodsalf sent in (fro^{m} the Tower) the xijth of ffebruary 1583
Stephen Rusham sent in from thence the same 12 of ffeb 1583
Robert ffenn sent in the xvjth of ffebruary 1583
Thomas Aliet sent in (by the councells warrant) the xxiiijth of ffebruary 1583
John Adams sent in the viith of Marche 1583—17

The whole nomber are—47

[*Endorsed*] 8 Apr 1584 Recusants in the Marshalsey.

E. The Kings Bench

The certifycat for the Kynges benche

Accordinge to the teno^{r} of yo^{r} hono^{rs} lres dated the seaventh of this present Aprill, on the behalf of willm Knollys esquyer Marshall of her ma^{ties} benche. May it please the same to be advertised that in the custodie of the same marshall at this present ys remayninge one Edwarde Rysheton a preist beinge condempned before the Justices of her Ma^{ties} benche in her courte at Westm^{r} together with one Campion and sondry others the xxth daie of November 1581: and also one Thomas Clyfton a preiste beinge comitted the twelveth daye of Aprill 1581 by the Justices of her Ma^{ties} sayd courte, and was indyted and arraigned for extollinge the poopes aucthorytie, And sythence that is to say the nyenth daye of ffebruary last past by vertue of a lrē from the LLs of her Ma^{ts} pryvy Counsell it was comaunded to the same marshall to make delyvery of the sayd

Clyfton to M^r^ Doctor Mathewe Deane of Durham to whom the sayd mareshall hath made tender and profered delyvery but M^r^ Doctor upon what cause I know not hathe taken respecte by meanes whereof he doth yet remayne in custody, And theis be all at this present remayninge in the custody of the sayd Mareshall for not conforminge themselves to her Ma^ties^ Lawes in matters of relygyon Thus w^th^ the remembraunce of my duety I take my leave, from the Kynges benche in Southwark this eyght of Aprill 1584.

Yo^r^ hono^rs^ to comaunde
John Catysby.

[*Addressed*]—To the right honorable S^r^ ffrauncs Walsyngham Knight her Ma^ties^ pryncipall Secretary geve theis.

[*Endorsed*] 8 Aprill 1584 Certificate of y^e^ Recusants in y^e^ K^s^ Benche.

G. The White Lion

Surr[ey] All those prisoners beinge comitted for Ecclesiasticall matters in the custodie of Edward Gateward Keaper of her Ma^ts^ Gaole for the Contie of Surr[ey]

Willm Scotte ar	Richarde Walderne
Henrie Shelley ar	ffrancis Gardner
John Beconsowe gen	Robert Jesuppe
George Brwester gen	Willm Smithe gen
Richarde Sampson	Henrie Weston

[*Endorsed*] 8 Aprill 1584 Certificate of y^e^ Recusants in ye Whyte Lyon.

H. Newgate.

Trevennor Roskarrock of Newe In in the Countie of Midd gentilman was Brought to newgate the xth daye of January 1583 by Thomas fforest yoman unto one of the Shreiffes of London for heringe of Mass and was comitted by the Justices then Sittinge for the Gaiole Deleyverye of Newgate And at the Sessions howlden the xxtie daye of January then next followinge he was ffownde giltie for heringe of A Mass and nott comynge to churche in one hole yere.

ffranscis Bastard of newington in the countie of Midd gentillman was comitted the Daye and yeare Abovesaied for the same cawse and fownde giltie In manner and forme Aforesaide.

Katherine Burton of the parishe of S^t^ Brides in fflyte strete London Spinster was comitted to Newgate the xx^tye^ daye of January 1583 for the same cawse and founde giltie in manner and forme Aforesayede

Williame Smyth of the midle Temple in the Cittie of London gentillman was comitted to Newgate the x^th^ daye of January 1583 for the Roman Religion And was fownd giltie for nott Comynge to Churche in one whole yeare.

William Lingon of Thavis In the Subbarbs of the Cittie of London gent was comitted to Newgate the x^th^ daye of January 1583 for the Roman Religion And was fownde giltie for nott goynge to Church in one whole yeare.

Williame Jones of Pickle in the Countie of Salopp preist was Brought to newgate the xx^tie^ daye of January 1583 by Nicholas Sye

under Kp^{r} of the Gaiole of newgate for the Roman Religion and was Comitted by Richard Younge one of the Justices of peace in the Countie of Midd

[*Endorsed*] 8 Aprill 1584 Certificate of Recusants in Newgate.

I. The Poultry Counter.

May it please yo^{r} honor to be advertised of the names of thes persons herunder written at this present remayninge under the Custody of me Robert Gittyns Kep of the Cownter in the pultry, ffor not confforminge themselves in matters of Religion w^{ch} psons beinge offrid by me the said Kep monthly to have ther liberty to goe wth A Kep to the churche to here the Divine Service they utterly refusinge to doe the same Alledginge that it is Against ther conscience so to doe. In Witnes wherof to this Certificat I have putt my hande the viijth of Aprill 1584

William Warren of London Baker
Thomas Penkevill of penkevill in the County of Devon gent
Thomas Limericke Sarvingman

by me Robert gyttyns
Kep of the Counter in the Pultry

Docter Baker beinge of Late in my Custody is nowe removid to my L of Canterbury his howsse

[*Endorsed*] 8 Aprill 1584 Certificate of y^{e} Recusants in y^{e} Poultrye Counter.

XX. Prisoners in the Tower, 27 May, 1585.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. clxxviii, n.74.

What course is meet to bee heeld in the causes of certeine prisoners remayning in y^{e} Tower.

The Earle of Northumberland to remaine as he doth untill William Shelley and Wicklife be examined

[To be examined—
W. Shelley
W. Wicklyffe]

Ri: Creaghe a dangerous man to be among the Irish for y^{e} reverence y^{t} is by that nation born unto him, & therefore fit to be continued in prison

Jo: Prestall condemned for highe treason remayneth unexecuted, to be considered of by y^{r} lls whether yt weare not fit he should be banished

Thomas Pound } for relligion only comitted & for
Nicholas Roscarrock } intelligence wth Jesuites & priests, two dangerous men and apt for anie practise: fitt they should bee banished

Hugh Hall priest condemned for treason

Tho: Leighton charged wth the conveighing of Godfrey ffolgeham into Scotland: a conveyer of intelligences between y^{e} Scottish Queen & ffrancs Throgmorton: fitt to be banished

William Price, matters of relligion and dealing w^th^ Jesuites to be removed to some other prison.

Leonard Hyde } priests for dispersing of slanderous
Willm Wigges } books against y^e^ execution of Justice in England: to be removed to Newgate there to be tried.

Patrick Adye, taken in Craightons companie a scott & a priest and Chaplaine to y^e^ Bushop of Rosse: fit to be banished.

William Craighton, to be continued for a season in the Tower.

Fra: Arden, endicted of treason but the matter not full enough against him, to be remoued to her Ma^ts^ Bench.

Margarett Somervill, widowe Chardged to be privie w^th^ her husbands intent: to be dealt w^th^ all at her Ma^ts^ good pleasure.

Baldwin chardged w^th^ practising w^th^ the Scottish Queen: referred to her Ma^ts^ pleasure.

Thomas Alefield chardged w^th^ dispersing of slaunderous books against thexecution of Justice, to be removed to Newgate & there tried.

S^r^ John Arundell besides y^e^ owld matters concerning Mayne the traytor he hath receaved divers priests since the proclamation had masses in his howse in the Easterweeke; confessed by y^e^ priest: to bee proceeded w^th^all in the Starrchamber for his contempt of the proclamation

Persons in other mens keeping not comitted

W^t^ S^r^ Ni: Bacon. The L Henrie Haward, to put in bands after a time for his good behavio^r^ to the State and to remaine at ffreemingham and not to admit unto him access of anie persons suspected.

W^t^ S^r^ Robt Jermaine The La: Margarett Sackvill to be comitted to the Tower

W^t^ Ald Spencer. Roger Townesend to remaine w^th^ Alderman Spencer for a time at his owne charges.

W^t^ Tho Aldersey W Dixy to bee comitted cloase prisoner to the ffleet or to the Counter in Wood street

Matters of the Tower.

That her Ma^tie^ may bee pleased to remove the Lieutenant of the Tower: and to give him some recompence in respect of his povertie and that he bought the office.

S^r^ Drew Drurie a fyt man to bee put in his place

[*Endorsed*] 27 May 1585 The names of the prisoners in the Tower and for what seuerall causes, they have been comitted.

XXI. Recusants in the Marshalsey, July, 1585.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. clxxx, n. 64.

Marshalsay—Ano 1585.
[Na]mes of the Recusants

Seminary Prests

	John Tebbit comited	the 3 of November	1582
2	Andrew ffowler	the 3 of November	1582

3	Xpover Smale	the 3 of November	1582
4	John Chapman	the first of November	1583
5	George Godsafe	the 12 of ffebruary	1583
6	Stephen Rowsham	the 12 of ffebruary	1583
7	Robert ffen	the 16 of ffebruary	1583
8	John Griffen	the 3 of Maye	1584
9	ffrauncis Shaw	the first of Maye	1584
10	Willm̃ Denton	the 13 of September	1582
11	John Addams	the 7 of Marche	1583
12	John Lyster	the 15 of Marche	1585
13	Robart Pilkelton	the 15 of Marche	1585
14	Thomas Symson	the 12 of Maye	1585
15	John Neale	the 13 of Maye	1585
16	John Vyvyan	the 13 of Maye	1585
17	Lewis Hewes	the 19 of Aprill	1585
18	Thomas Lovet	the 23 of June	1585
19	ffrauncis Tyllison	the last of June	1585
20	John Adderlee	the 15 of June	1585

Old Prests

21	Willm Bouckley	the 13 of September	1582
29	Walter Barlo	the 13 of September	1582
23	Gregory Gone	the xth of June	1585

The names . .

Men R . . . . .

1	John Graye	the . . . of January	
2	Robert Becket gent	the first of November	1579
3	Richard Webster	the 25 of Marche	1573
4	Walter Blunt	the 18 of July	1580
5	Edmond Sexton	the 21 of Marche	1581
6	Peter Carew	the 15 of October	1580
7	Richard Renals	the xviijth of ffebruary	1580
8	John Tucker	the 24 of August	1581
9	Thomas More gent	the 28 of Aprill	1582
10	Peter Lawson	the first of ffebruary	1582
11	Henry Sherwood	the 11 of february	1581
12	John Talke	the 18 of December	1583
13	Nycolas wolfe gent	the 3 of Aprill	1585
14	Nycolas Langford Esquier	the 14 of June	1585
15	Robart Holland	the 8 of Maye	1585
16	Edword Skot	the 23 of June	1585
17	Thomas Ales	the 31 of Maye	1585
18	Willm Legg	the 28 of June	1585
19	Richard Shelley	the xvth of Marche	1585

Sum of the whole 42

[*Endorsed*] July Certificat of Recusants in the Marshalsey

XXII. Prisoners at Midsummer, 1586.

R.O. *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. CXC, nn. 13, 133, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 33, 44, 42. The first list is sent in by the Attorney General with his opinion of what should be done. The last list gives an indication of a change of policy.

Popham to Walsingham. *Temple*, 11 *June* 1586.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. CXC, n. 13.

A. Covering Letter from the Attorney General.

My humble dutye dune. Yt may pleas yo^r^ hono^r^ to understand that I haue sent you here in enclosed A note off the prysoners now in the Tower and of their causes and a lyke note for the prysoners in the Marshalsey and for that the causes conserning those in the Marshalsea for the most part as may appeare in the note seem to be best knowen to y^r^ selff it may pleas yo^r^ hono^r^ to consyder theroff and what were best to be done w^th^ them. But for so many as are Semynarye Priests and taken sythens xl dayes after the end off the last sessyn of parlyment, Yf ther be no other matter off suite that they are to be touched w^th^, in my opynyon it were good they were now at the end off the terme sent by the Shreffs into those Contryes wher they were apphended to be tryed accordyng to the Statut in that behalff and for suche as were taken before or sythens upon the Seas and not on the land may yf you so pleas be banysshed, as the former were, yf they be not men of suche understandings as were not fytt to be suffered to be beyond the Seas w^th^ w^ch^ thyngs M^r^ Vyce-Chamberlyne wylled me to acquaynt you yesterday to the end yo^r^ hono^r^ myght w^th^ some expedycyn Informe my ll. off the state of these causes wherby such order myght be taken therin as were ryght and so I humbly betake yo^r^ hono^r^ to the protecyon off the Almyghty at the Temple the xi^th^ of June 1586.

Yor hon^or^ humble at Comandment

J. Popham.

[*Addressed*] To the Right honorable S^r^ ffrauncs Walsyngham Knight pryncypall Secretary to her Ma^tie^ and off her Hyghnes honorable Prevy Counsell.

[*Endorsed*] 11 June 1586 ffrom M^r^ Attourney generall w^th^ a note of the recusantes in the Tower and the Marshalsea. [*The note of the prisoners in the Tower is wanting.*]

B. The Marshalsea.

The list of prisoners in the Tower is wanting, but there are three lists of prisoners in the Marshalsea (nos 13 i, 22, 23; will be called *A, B, C*). *A* and *B* seem to be different compositions, and both are printed. *C* gives names only and in the same order as *A*, adding however the dates of commitment. These dates, where they do not tally with those in *A*, are given in square brackets.

Semynary Priests in the Marshalsaye Ano 1586

John Lystar taken in Priscot in layncashire and comyted to the Marshalsaye by the Right honorable M^r^ Secretary Walsingham the v^th^ of June Ano 1585 [Comited the xv^th^ of Marche Ano 1585—*C*].

John Habarlee comyted to the Marshalsaye ffrom Newgat by the Right honorable S^r^ ffrauncis Walsingham the xv^th^ of June Ano 1585. [Comited the xiij of June—*C*]

ffrauncis Tillison comyted to the Marshalsaye being taken at Sea, and brought to lastock in Suffolk the last of June 1585 comyted by Mr Secretary

James Edwards taken at Chigestar the xiiijth of 1585 July. and Comyted to the Marshalsaye by Mr Secretary [the xiiij of July—*C*].

Nycolas Knight John Bolton Willm̃ Clargenet	Taken in Chichistar haven and Comyted to the Marshalsaye by Mr Secrytary the xi of Novembar Ano 1585
Edward Cavarlee Robert Wilcox	Taken at Lydes in Sussex and Comyted to the Marshalsaye the vth of March by Mr Secrytary 1585 [Comyted the xvij of January—*C*].
Ralfe Pawmar John Smyth	Taken at Battell in Sussex the vth of March and Comyted by Mr Secrytary 1585 [Comyted the vth of Marche—*C*].
Thomas Bramston George Pottor Ralfe Crocket	Taken in Arundell haven in Sussex a shipbord by Mr Shelly Justis and Comyted by Mr Secrytary to the Marshalsaye 27 of Aprill 1586.

Temporall Men Recusants.

Willm̃ Grene Comyted by my lord of London the 19th of July, 1572.

Edmond Sexton, the 25th of March, Ano. 1581.

Walter Blunt comyted by my L. of London [the 18th of July—C], 1580.

John Tucker sent from the Tower by the Counsell, 24th of August, 1582 [1581].

Petar Lawson sent in by Mr Secrytary the 1st of February, 1581 [1582].

Robart Holland gent the 8th of Maye out of Chesshire, 1585, by the Counsell [the xixth of Maye].

Thomas Moore gent comyted by Mr Justis Yong the ffirst of January, 1585 [*C omits*].

Richard Webstar sent from Newgat by Justis Yong the 24 of ffebruary, 1585.

John Willyamson, comyted by the Counsell, being taken at Ry in Sussex Comyng a shore, the 8 of November 1585

Lyonell Edyes, taken at Ry, coming from ffraunce, the 26 of April 1585 comyted by Mr Secrytary.

Richard Weston Henry Webly Willm Crab Phillip Kyton Edward Chapman	Taken in Chechestar haven a ship bord going over, and sent to the Marshallsay, by Mr Secrytary 25th of April, Ao 1586.

15 Recusants

Comaundements [*C omits all these*]

Thomas Jones, comyted by Mr Secrytary, the 10th of Maye 1586

Willm Lawson by my Lord Chambarlyn the 28 of May 1586

John Wicarson, by Mr Secrytary the 18 of July 1585

Will[m] Diche by my Lord Chambarlyn, 27 of Maye 1586
Hercules ffulgam
Henry ffulgam } By the Counsell 22 of Maye 1586
Henry Leak
Richard Hodges Maryner by the Counsell 24 of May 1586
John Howell by M[r] Secrytary the 23 of July 1584.

C. The Marshalsea (*Another List*)

Semynary Prests in the Marshalsey.

ffraunsis Tillison brought from lostok to the Cort before my Lord Tresurer my Lord of Hunsdon and others of her Ma[ts] honorable Lords of the Counsell and by them comyted unexamyned and sence examyned by M[r] Atornye and M[r] Solyseter.

John Lystar examyned by the Bishop of Chester once, next by the right honorable S[r] ffraunsis Walsingham twice, and since his comytting examined by M[r] Toply, M[r] Justice Yong and Mr Doctar Stanhop at the Gyld Hale

Nycolas Knight
John Bolton
Willm Clargenet } Taken by M[r] Burro Capten of the Bull and by him examined and delyvered to the serchar of gravesend and examyned by the Right honorable Sir ffraunsis Walsingham so comited and since examyned by M[r] Toply M[r] Yong and M[r] Doctar Stanhop.

Ralfe Pawmar
John Smith } examyned at Battell in Sussex by Justice Pellam and so brought before the right honorable S[r] ffraunssis Walsingham and so comyted and sence not examyned

Edward Cavarlee
Robart Wilcox } examyned by the Balif of Lyd in Kent, sence by my Lord Cobham and last of all by the right honorable S[r] ffraunsis Walsingham and so comyted and not examyned sence ther comyting

John Habarlee examined by my Lords grace of Cantarbury and the rest of the Comysoners, after that by the Atorny of the Marches of Wales and sence by M[r] Wayed and by him comyted and not examyned sence his comytment, being removed from Newgat to the Marshalsaye.

Thomas Bramston
Ralfe Crocket
George Potter } examyned at Hamton in Sussex by M[r] Justis Shelley and since ther Impresonment examined at the Gild hale by M[r] Toply M[r] Yong M[r] Doctar Stanhop and M[r] Sebright

James Edwards examined at Chichistar by the maior and his brethren; so brought to the Cort to the right honorable S[r] ffraunsis Walsingham and examyned before him and so comyted and not sence examined

Temporall Recusants

Willm Grene examyned by M[r] Doctar Hamon and M[r] Wanslo Justice and steward to my L. Bishop of Cantarbury Bishop Parker: thrice since his comitment he hath byn examined.

Waltar Blunt examined by the Bishop of London and by him

comyted: sence his Imprisonment hath been examyned once by M^r^ Toply.

Richard Webstar examined and comyted by Justis Yong to Newgat wher he was examined Twice and removed from thence where he now is and sence not examyned.

Edmond Sexton brought before the Bishop of London: by him examyned and so comyted and sence his Imprisoment unexamyned.

Robart Holland comyted by the Right honorable the Yearle of Darby and sence his Imprisoment examined before the Lords at the Starr Chambar once

John Williamson examined by the Comissdoners at rey; from thence brought to the Right honorable S^r^ ffraunsis Walsingham and by his honor sent to the Marshalsay and not sence examined.

Lyonell Eddes brought from Rey to the Right honorable S^r^ ffraunsis Walsingham: by his honor examined and comyted, and sence not examyned.

Thomas Moore examined by M^r^ Justss Yong on newyers daye last and then by him Comyted, and since not examyned.

Willm Crab
Henry Webley
Philip Kyton
Richard Weston
Edward Chapman

examined by the maior of Chichistar and so sent to the Right honorable Lords of her Ma^ts^ Counsell and by ther honors comyted and sence not examyned.

John Tucker sent from the Tower and sence not examined.

Peter Lawson takin at Dunwing in Suffolk. Ther examyned by M^r^ Justis Browne from thence brought tofore the right honorable S^r^ ffraunsis Walsingham by his honor examyned and comyted and sence not examyned

[*Endorsed*] 12 June 1856 Certificate of the Priests and Recusants in the Marshalsey.

D. King's Bench

In most humble manner maye it please yo^r^ hono^r^ to be advise in the absence of M^r^ John Catesbie Under whom I serve in the Courte of Her Ma^ties^ Benche what persones are under a charge for Religion. We have one a preiste, named Thomas Clifton comitted by the Courte at Westm^r^ from the Barre pro diverseis contemptibus contra formam Statuti pro assurancia Regalis potestatis Et plitam non Cul. The xij^th^ daie of Aprili in the xxiii^th^ yere of Her Ma^ts^ Raigne 1581 And of late examined before one M^r^ Topclieffe and so remayneth in charge: Ralfe Oldaker and Richarde Oldaker Recusants comitted from the Barre by the Justics in Her Ma^ts^ Benche by Habeas corpus removed from . . . simple ignorant and poor men ane lye here . . . . . Gaoll where they were comitted the fiveth daye of . . . laste the Courte examined them openlie if they would come to the Churche and they annswered no yt was a[gainst] their conscience And so they remain in charge [These] are all that are in o^r^ custodie for Religion Thus accordinge to yo^r^ honors comaundemente I am bolde in the absence of M^r^ Catisbie to do my dutie righte humblie take my leve this xiij^th^ daye of June 1586

from the King's Benche

Yo^r^ honors moste humble at command
Hen^r^ . . .

[*Addressed*] To the Right honorable S^r ffrauncs Walsinghm̃ Knight, principall Secreterie to the Queen's Maiestie one of the moste honorable privie Counsell.

[*Endorsed*] Certificat of the Priestes and Recusants Remaining in y^e Kinges Benche 12 June 1586

E. The Gatehouse

To the Righte Honorable the Lords of her Ma^ties moste honorable privie Counsell, &c., &c.

A Certyfficathe of all those Seminarie preists and recusants as are at this presente tyme remayninge prisoners in the Gatehowse at Westm^tr w^th their names herundere written as ffollowethe:

Ralfe Bickley a seminary preiste and comitted by the Lord Chauncelor and others of the Lords of the Counsell the iij daie of maie 1585 and was examined before M^r Attorney gen. and M^r Solisseter.

John Bawdewine a seminary preiste and taken Uppon Yarmouthe rodes cominge over from beyonde the Seas and comittede by the Lord Treasorare and others of the Lords of the Counsell the xxx^th daie of June 1585 and was examyned before yo^r honors at that time of his comittinge

Humphrie Comberforde gent sente in by the Lord Bishope of london the xvij^th daie of Julie 1580

John Hewes sente in from the Counsell borde in the Stare Chamber beinge taken in the Companye of a Preiste in the feilde the xxiiijth daie of Maie 1582

Thomas Edwards sente in by the Lord Bishope of london the xxviij^th daie of January 1582 and lyethe Vppon the statute

Rychard Johnson sent in by M^r Secretaris honore the viij^th daie of november 1583 from the Courte at S^te James.

Owine ffletcher. yeoman sente in by the L. grace of Caunterburie the xxvij^th daie of January 1583.

Thomas Worllington a boye sente in by the Lord Treasorar the xix daie of Julie from his honors howse beinge apprehended by M^r Toplyffe and taken in the companye of a preist his Unkle

Anthonie Snape a serving man sent in by the Lord Bishope of london the firste daie of Aprill 1585 and was examined by M^r Attorney generall and M^r Docter Stanuppe and other of the comissioners at yeld hall

John Parrie sente in by the Lord Bishope of london the xv^th daie of Auguste 1585 and is condembned uppon the statute in the sessions howse for heringe of Masse at the frenche imbassadors howse and lyeth uppon the statute.

Walter Whithall sente in by the Lords grace of Caunterburie the xiiijth day of Maie 1586.

Rogere Astelle yeoman sente in by the Lords grace of Caunterburie the ix daie of June 1586.

[*Endorsed*] Certificat of the Priestes and Recusants in the Gatehous 12 June 1586.

F. The Clink

The Retorne of John Sheppard Keaper of the Clinke of all the names of semynarye Preists and other recusants w^th^in his custodye the xij^th^ daye of June 1586 accordinge to the tenor of a warrante directed to hym from the Righte honorable S^r^ ffrauncis Walsinghame Knight, Cheefe Secretorye to her Ma^tie^.

+John Robinsone a Semynarye preest comyted the Laste daye of June 1585 by the Right honorable the Lord Thresurer of England and others of her Ma^ts^ most honorable pryvye Counsell and not sence examyned.

+Willm Parrye a Semynarye preiste comitted the xxviij^th^ daye of September by yo^r^ hono^r^ and hathe byne dyvers tymes examyned at the guild halle in London before the W[orshipful] M^r^ Yonge and others.

+John Adams a Semynarye preist comittid the xix^th^ daye of December 1585 by the worshipfull M^r^ Rookbye and examyned at the guild hale in London before Mr Yonge and others.

+Pawle Spence preist comitted the xxix^th^ daye of Decemb^r^ 1585 by the W[orshipful] M^r^ Rokbye and hathe byne examyned at the guild hale in London before the W[orshipful] M^r^ Yonge and others and sence that tyme hathe dyverse tyme byne conferred w^th^all by one M^r^ Doctar Copcoote a chapleine unto my Lords grace of Canterburye

+Edward James a Seminarye preiste comitted the firste daye of Maye 1586 by the W[orshipful] M^r^ topclife and not examyned since his comitmente

+John Lowe a Semynarye priest comitted the xi^th^ daye of Maye 1586 by my Lords grace of Canterburye and not sence his comytemente examyned.

The names of the Recusants
beinge prisoners in the Clynke the xij^th^ daye of June 1586

John Bradstocke yeman comitted the seconde daye of Maye 1581 and sence that tyme hathe byne dyvers tymes indighted upon the statute and comitted by my L. of London

John Lander gent. comitted the xviij daye of June 1584 by the W[orshipful] M^r^ ffleetwood recorder of the Cytye of London and hathe dyverse tymes byne indighted upon the statute.

Anne Lander the wiffe of the sayd John Lander was prisoner in hull and afterwarde was removed hyther the xxij^ti^ daye of Marche 1585

Rychard Dowse husbandman was comitted by my Lord Bishope of Winchester the iiij^th^ daye of Marche 1584 and examyned before the said L Bishope the xxj^th^ daye of Maye last

Stephen Chestone sometyme a pursyvante comytted the xxiij^th^ daye of November 1585 by my L. of Winchester and sence that discharged to go home to Winchester to be conferred w^th^all and comytted backe agayne by my L. of Winchester the xxvj day of Januarye 1585

John White husbandman comytted the xxi daye of December 1585 by my L of Winchester and by hym examyned the xxi^te^ daye of Maye last.

Bēniamyne Stockwithe gent. sometyme a Studyant in the Inns of Corte comytted the xxiij^te^ daye of Marche 1585 by the W[orshipful] M^r^ Yonge and since that tyme was araigned at the Sessyons howse at newgate for hearinge a Masse and afterward was comitted prisoner hyther agayne.

Davyd Ringsteed Comitted prisoner hither the viij^th^ daye of June 1586 by my L. of Winchester and not sence examyned but hathe byne an under Keper at Winchester and as yt ys suspected hathe byne a caryer of preists from place to place by the space of three or fowre yeares.

[*Endorsed*] Certificat of the Priests & Recusants in the Clinck.

G. The White Lion.

Right honorable my bownden dewtye in most humble and dewtyfull wyse remembred: may yt please y^r^ good hono^r^ to understand that George Collynson ys a Seminarye pryest bye me apprehended the xxij^ti^ daye of Marche 1584 who beinge then presentlye bye me browght before my Lord of Caunterburye his grace, did confesse the same uppon his then examynacon wheare uppon he was by him and Willm̃ Lord Byshoppe of Lyncolne and Rychard Cosen doctor of the Cyvyle Lawe hyghe Comisson^ers^ for Causes ecclesiasticall comyted to my charge to be safe kept; since w^ch^ tyme he hathe ben dyvers tymes examyned as well by the Justices of thassises as also by S^r^ Willm More S^r^ Thomas Browne and dyvers others.

I have also under my charge one Thomas Hygate suspected to be a Semynarye preyst sent to me by my Lord of Wynchester Mychaell Renyger and Ro: Bennett by theyre warrant dated the vith of this June 1586 but wheather he hath ben examyned or not, I knowe not.

I have also under my charge and Kepinge John Beaconsawe gentleman and Rychard Walderne a Lynnen drapyer w^ch^ towe have ben dyvers tymes Indyted and examyned by the Justices of the assises and others, and other or more prysoners for that cause of recusancye I have not under my Kepinge at this present. Thus in most humble sort I submytte myselfe and service readye at y^r^ honors Comaundment, desyringe thalmyghtye to blesse yo^w^ w^th^ longe lyefe and much encrease of hono^r^ wyth yo^r^ hartes desyre to his glorye who ever preserve yo^w^

Yor hono^rs^ most humble and ready at Comandement to do yo^r^ hon^or^ Servyse

13 Junij 1586 Edward Gateward Keper of her M^ties^ gaole of Surrey called the Whyte Lyon in Newyngton.

[*Addressed*] To the Right honorable S^r^ ffrauncys Walsyngham Knight hyghe and onlye Secretarye to the Quenes most exellent Ma^tie^ and one of the Lordes of her Ma^ties^ most honorable pryvye Counsell . . . geve theis.

[*Endorsed*] Certificate of Priests & Recusants in the Marshalsey [*clerical error for White Lion*] 12 June 1586

H. Newgate

The names of the Semynarye Priests and other Recusants Remaynynge in the Gaiole of Newgate the xiijth daye of London. June 1586

Thomas Penkevell late of the parishe of Penkevell in the Countie of Cornwall gent. was comitted unto the Gaiole of Newgate the vth daye of October 1584 from the Counter in the Powltry by M^{r} Younge for the Romysh Religion and hath byn examyned iiij tymes Before M^{r} Recorder M^{r} Popham M^{r} Doctoor Stannopp & M^{r} Younge.

+ Leonard Hyde Late of Hendride in the Countye of Barks Seminarie

+ Williame Wyggs Late of London Seminarie priest were both comitted unto the Gaiole of Newgate the xiiij^{ten} daye of June 1585 by S^{r} Xpofer . . . e Knight Lord Chieff Justice of England and hathe byn examined before the comittinge to Newgate three or fower tymes A pice by M^{r} Younge & the highe Comissioners

+ Izaake Higgins Late of London Seminarie priest was [committed] the first daye of July 1585 ffrom the Star Ch[amber by the] honorable Lordes of the Councell and Before was examined soundrye Tymes Before the Right Ho

+ Robte Rowley Late of Clethero Castle in the County [of Lancashire] priest was comitted unto Newgate the xxx^{tye} day by M^{r} Younge and other Comissioners and hathe byn ex[amined]

Dorothey Paunsford wyff of John Paunsford of Glocestershire was Comitted unto Newgate the xijth daye of December 1585 by the Arche Bishopp of Canterburye for the Romysh Religion and hathe byn examined once Before M^{r} Doctor Stannopp & M^{r} Younge.

Leonard Kield Late of Hackney in the Countye of York late Servaunt unto the Lady Pawlet was comitted unto the Gaiole of Newgate the xijth daye of December 1585 by the Lorde Arche Bishopp of Caunterburye for the Romyshe Religion And at the Sessions of Oyer & Terminer howlden the xix^{ten} daye of January 1585 at the Guild Hall in London was convicted by A Jury for hearing Mass of w^{ch} he had Judgment accordinge unto the Statute in that case provided.

Gregory Morgan late of Ridge in the Countye of Wilshire yoman was Committed unto the Gaole of Newgate the Last daye of December 1585 for the Romysh Religion by M^{r} Younge once examined Before the Comissioners.

John More Late of London gentilman was comitted unto Newgate the first of January 1585 for the Romysh Religion by M^{r} Younge and hath byn twis examined Before M^{r} Younge & other Comissioners.

Robert Bellamy Late of Harrowe uppon the Hill in the Countie of Middlesex gentilman was comitted unto Newgate the xxx^{tie} daye of January 1585 by M^{r} Younge & other of Comissioners for the Romysh Religion and at the Sessions howlden the xviij^{ten} daye of April 1586 was convicted for the hearinge of Mass and had Judgment accordingly.

Alban Dolman Late of London made priest in the iiijth yere of Quyne Mary was comitted vnto Newgate the xiij^{ten} daye of ffebruary 1585 by the Lorde Arche Bishopp of Caunterbury And was once examined Before me

Brian Lacye Late of Hoxon in the Countye of Suffolk yoman was comitted Unto the Gaiole of Newgate the xviij^{ten} daye of April 1586 for the Romysh Religion By M^{r} Younge & hathe ben iij tymes examined before hym.

Xpofer Clyff Late of London Cobler Comitted vnto the Gaole of Newgate the xviij^{ten} day of Marche 1585 for Causes Eccliasticall upon the Comaundement of the Lord ArcheBishopp of Caunterbury & other of the highe Comissioners: the sayed Xpofer Defyeth popery.

W^{m} Deyos Keper of Newgat

I. The Counter in the Poultry

Powltry.

May it please yo^{r} hono^{r} to vnderstand that wee have no more in our Custody but one Raphe Emerson for bringinge over sartayn books touchinge some of the honorable Cownsell who was comytted the xxvith of September Ano 1584 by S^{r} Edward Osbourne then lord maior of london examined beefor hym M^{r} Topliefe Justice Younge the M^{r} of St Caterns and others at Sundry tymes. We have no Recusants nor Jesuetts but only the Afore named Raphe Emerson whose examination Remayneth in the hands of the said Justices or Towne Clarke

Yo^{r} hono^{rs} most humble
Robert Gyttyns Keper

[*Endorsed*] 14 June 1586 The Keper of the Counter in the Poultry.
The names of the recusants in his Custodie

J. The Woodstreet Counter

The names of the Prestes and Recusants Comyted to the Coumpter in Woodstret this xiiijth of June Ano Dom 1586.
nowe ther remanynge

℔ John Bauande p[er] w[arrant of] M^{r} Justys Yonge, p[er] new all & worsley messengers the 24 of Apryle 1585, he is a preste he was made docter at Rome, he hath byne examyned once at Mr Justys Yonge hys howse & twyse at gelde hall before the Comyssioners, & hathe had conferance wth prechers.

℔ John Madoxe p. w^{t} M^{r} Justys Yonge p newall and worsley messengers the 7 of October 1586 he was made preste in Quenne Maryes tyme he hathe byn twyse examyned; once before M^{r} Justys Yonge at hys howse and once at Gelde hall.

℔ Rycharde Sherwoode alias Carelton p w^{t} M^{r} Justys Yonge p newall & worsley messengers the 23 of October 1586 he is a Semynarye preste of Remes he hathe byn dyvers tymes Examyned; twyse at Gelde hall & at M^{r} Justys Yongs hys house three or fower tymes.

Willm̃ Highame and Roger Lyne gent, they were taken

wythout byshopesgate at Masse wth blackborne Alias tomson that was hanged: they are in execucyon ffor C Marke a pece they have byne dyvers tymes examyned before M^{r} Justys Yonge.

John Chandler: he is a Recusant & was comytted by M^{r} Justys Yonge the 22 of Apryle 1586; he was examyned by M^{r} Justys Yonge once; he is a sarvinge man; his master's name is M^{r} Dogget.

℞ Rycharde Davis Alias ffoster he is thought to be A preste p w^{t} M^{r} Justys Yonge p newall and worsley messengers the 12 of May 1586 he hathe byn examyned by Mr Justys Yonge thryse.

Thomas Shelley gent p w^{t} the Righte Honorable S^{r} ffrancys Walsyngham per a letter ffrom Mr Welks the 26 of Apryle 1586: he hathe not byne examyned sence he came in.

Olyver Heywoode alias blythe he is a preste he was made preste in Kinge Harye the viij hys tyme, p w^{t} my L of the Counsell p newall and worsley messengers he was once examyned by M^{r} Justys Yonge.

Thomas Owene Richarde Warnforde gent they be Recusants p w^{t} my L of the Counsell p newall and worsley messengers the 22 of June 1586; they have byn once examyned by M^{r} Justys Yonge.

Marye Warnforde wyffe to Richard Warnforde p w^{t} my L of the Counsell p newall and Worsley messengers the 13 of June 1586.

Richarde Crypes sarvant to mysacke Rythe p w^{t} my L of the Counsell p newall and worsley messengers the 13 of June 1586; he was once examyned by Justys Yonge.

℞ Martyn Arraye he is a preste he was made preste in flanders about x yeers paste, p w^{t} my L of the Cownsell the xiijth of June 1586; he was once examyned by M^{r} Justys Yonge.

Heughe Dutton a Recusant he is in executyon ffor 240^{li} ffor not goinge to Churche p w^{t} my Lorde of Lester the 20 of June 1585 p bradley S^{er}gent; he is a trobelsam man.

K. The Fleet.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. cxc, n. 55.

Right honorable my humble dutie remembred. Wheras letters should have bene directed unto me to make certificate unto y^{r} hon^{r} of the names of such recusantes as remayne under my custodie. I never till nowe receyved any such commaundement by letters or otherwise wherby certification should have bene made in this behalfe. There ar here deteyned neyther Seminary priestes nor other recusauntes but one M^{r} Travis that is deceased the xxviith of Aprill last past.

Here is nowe remayninge one Stephen Vallenger committed from the Starre chamber by her Ma^{ts} privie Counsell for publishing certaine libells of Edmund Campion and hath here continewed these iiij yeares And likewise one M^{r} ffrauncis Trudgeon committed by her Ma^{ts} privie Counsell upon a premunire. Thus not having anything els to certifie y^{r} honor I most humblie take my leave ffrom the ffleet the xxvijth of June

Yor hon^{rs} to commaunde
John Calton. Ward^{n}

[*Addressed*] To the Right Honorable Sir ffrauncis Walsingham Knight secretary unto her Ma^tie and one of her most honorable privie Councell, theise.

[*Endorsed*] 27 June 1586 ffrom the Warden of the ffleete Certificat of the recusants.

L. Summary of London Prisons, June 18, 1586.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. cxc, n. 42.

This list (vol. cxc, n. 42) contains a summary of the June certificates with later additions in margin and postscript, the value of which will appear from numbers XXIII and XXX below.

An Abstract of the certificats of Priests and other recusants Comitted to sondry Prisons.

The Tower — Thomas Bristow ✠ for conuayeng ouer of yong gent
Thomas Layton ✠ for convayeng gent and letters

Counter in Poltrey — Raulphe Emerson Comitted for bringing ouer sclaunderus books 1584.

Marshalsey — Priestes *

+John Lyster taken at Prescot in Lancassr comited in Jun 1585

+John Haberley comitted in June 1585

+frauncis Tillison taken at Leistoft in Suff, June 1585

James Edwardes ✠ taken at Chichester Comitted in Jun 1585

+Nicholas Knight, +John Bolton, Willm Claregent — taken at Chichester Comited in Nov: 1585

Edward Cauerley, +Robert Wilcocks — taken at Lide in Sussx Comitted Nov: 1585

Raulfe Pawmer, John Smith — taken at Battell in Sussx comited in Mrch last

+Thomas Bramston, +George Potter, +Ralfe Crocket — taken at Arondell in Sussex Comited Aprill 158 . . .§

Temporal Recusants	Comitted	Temporal Recusants	Comitted
Willm Greene	1572	Robert Holland	1585
Edmond Sexton	1581	Thomas More	1585
Walter Blunte	1580	Richard Webstar	1585
John Tucker	1582	John Willmson	1585
Peter Lawson	1582	Lionell Edes	1585

Taken in Chichester hauen going ouer into france in Aprill 1586

Henry Weston — Phillip Kyten
Henrie Webley — Edward Chapma^n
+Willm Crabb

15

* In the margin, in a later hand, "for the gallowes or gallies. This perhaps refers to all fourteen names.

✠ Note by another hand, "lerned."

§ Mutilated.

xv other prisoners vppon Commaundment for Contemptes and other abuses

Counte[r] in Wodstret

Priestes	Comitted in
John Bauuand *	April 1585
+ John Maddox	Octo: 1585
Richard Sherwod *	Oct. 1585
Richard Dauies	May 1586
Martin Array *	Jun 1586
+ Oliu[r] Heywod als Blithe	

6

Recusants	Comitted in
Willm Higham als hig (?)	
Roger Lyne	
John Chaundler	April 1586
Thomas Shelley	April 1586
Thomas Owen	Jun 1586
Ric Warmford	Jun 1586
Mary Warmford vx[r]	Jun 1586
Richard Crips	Jun 1586

8

White Lion

Priestes	comitted in
+ George Collinson †	March 1584
Thomas Higate §	Jun 1586

Recusants
John Beconsaw
Ric Walderne a pore simple man
Smithe a collector of mony

Kinges Bench

Recusants	Comitted in
Raulfe Oldaker	
Ric Oldaker	Feb 1585

Newgate

Priestes	Comitted in
+ Leonarde Hide	Jun 1585
+ Willm Wigges	Jun 1585
+ Isaack Higgins	July 1585
+ Robert Rowley	Nou 1585
+ Alban Dolman	Feb 1585

5

Recusants	Comitted in
Thomas Penckwell ¶	Octob 1585
Dorathy Pauncefoot ¶	Dec: 1585
Leonard Keilde	Jan: 1585
Gregory Morgan	Dec: 1585
John More	Jan: 1585
Robert Bellamy	Ap: 1586
Brian Laicy ¶	April 1586

7

Clinck

Priests	Comitted in
John Robinson	Jun 1585
Willm Price	Sept 1585
John Adams	Dece: 1585
Paul Spence	Dec 1585
Edward Jeames	May 1586
John Lowe	May 1586

6

Recusants	Comitted in
John Bradstocke	May 1581
John Launder	Jun 1584
An Launder vx	Mar: 1585
Ric. Dowce	Mar 1585
Stephan Chester	No: 1585
John Whit	Dec 1585
Dauid Kingsted	Jun 1586

7

* In a later hand, "released" is written opposite to these names.
† Margin—"meet to be banished"
§ Margin—"he is a banished man but not so knowne"
¶ In margin "rich."

Gatehouse

Priests	Comitted in
+ Raulfe Bickley*	May 1580
John Baldwine	Jun 1585

Recusants	Comitted in
Humfrey Cumberford	July 1580
John Hewes ✝	May 1582
Thomas Edwardes	Jan 1582
Ric Johnston	No 1583
Owen fflecher	Jan 1583
Thomas Worlington	July 1585
Anthony Snapp§	April 158
Thomas Parry	Ap: 158
Walter Whitall	Aug 1586
Roger Astell	June 1586

10

Som of priests 37, since the last s[t]atut 35, before 2
Temporal Recusants 54
[*Postscript*]
Fleet Stephen Vallenger comitted for dispersing Campions book 1582
Frauncis Trugeon
Wodstret Priests newly taken
+ Richard Driland
+ Tirrell
+ Oseley

[*Endorsed*] 18 June 1856 Abstract of the certificats of the Priestes and other Recusants in the seueral geoles about London

XXIII. Prisoners to be Disposed of. [July, 1586.]

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. CXCV, n. 74, and vol. CXCI, n. 37.

In July, 1586, Walsingham was preparing to seize upon Babington and his companions. Many arrests would have to be made, and much prison room would therefore be required. The prisons being full, it was consequently necessary to dispose of as many as possible of the old prisoners. The following document, as also the similar papers printed in No. XXX below, throw much light on the methods used.

The Secretary of State, Sir Francis Walsingham, draws up a "note" of names and prisons, and sends it to the customs house officer Thomas Phellippes, who is also his chief decipherer and forger. Phellipes sends on a copy to a venal wretch, Nicholas Berden (Morris, *Troubles*, vol. II, pp. 149-167). Berden commented on the "note" in a paper still extant (vol. CXCV, 74, will be called B.) and returned it with several postscripts. Phellippes re-edits this in the paper here printed. He slightly improves the order in which the names are written, and slightly modifies the brutality of the comments. Berden's own phrases are added in italics, enclosed in square brackets.

The reference to the intercepted letter of Charles Paget is very important. It shows, what was previously unknown, that Berden was implicated in the provocation of the Babington Plot. Also that the intercepted correspondence had been already imparted even to a man in his subordinate position.

* In margin, "Meet to be ban."
✝ In margin, "a conueyer of moniey to them."
§ In the margin, "This Snap was Shellys man of secret consel wth him acquainted wth Pagets being in England."

Prisonners about London for matter of religeon of seuerall Condicions.

In the Marshalsey

Priests [*Meete for Wisbiche yf not for the gallows*—B.]

Caverley gentilman and priest

Palmer alias Stamford gentilman and priest brother to Mr Stamforde Justice of peace in Staffordeshire but not knowne but by the name of Palmer prowd arrogant fellowe

Edwardes of great learninge accounpted.

Claregennett

Meeter to be banished

Lyster	Bramston
Habberely	Bolton
Tilleson	Crockett
Knighte	Wilcocke

Thought meete for the gallowes [*or the galleys*—B.]

Smythe alias Owen a bannished man but not so knowen neither by the name of Owen

Potter a shrewde fellowe and obstinate.

Laymen. [*in the same pryson*—B.]

Gentilmen and of wealthe [*meete for Wisbeche*—B.]

M^r^ Beckett	M^r^ Shaxton
M^r^ Moore, thelder	M^r^ Blunte
M^r^ Williamson	

Pore fooles but verie knaves. [*neither welthy nor wise, but all very arrant*—B.]

Webster	Edes alias Gennings
Grene	Tucker
Lawson	Webley
Hollande	Crab & Tho. Shellies man

Counter in the Poultrie.

Little Raphe sometimes servant to the Jesuitts in England

In the Kinges Benche

Clifton priest condemned in premunire

And ij^o^ Brothers passing poore.

In the gatehouse at Westminster

Priestes.

John Bawdwyn meete for bannishement

Raphe Bickeley.*

Laymen.

Gentilmen and of abilittie [*mete for Wisbiche.*—B.]

Humfrey Comberlands	Walter Whitehall
	Thomas Worthington

+John Hewes a Collecto^r^ and maker ower of monye.

* This name, and that of Sherwood below, has been added later in B, and not by Berden. From his postscript printed below and from his letter printed in Morris, *Troubles*, II, 161, we see that he was expecting £50 in bribes for their liberation. The inference therefore to be drawn from their being both here omitted by him is obvious. Sherwood was in fact liberated, see p. 252 above.

Meane persons [*meete for what place you please.*—B.]

Owen ffletcher — Roger Astell
Richard Johnson — John Aparrye
Thomas Edwards

+ Anthonie Snape. William Shellies man and of his secrett Counsell and acquainted w^th^ Padgetts beings in Englande

In the Counter in wood streate

Priests.

Doctor Bavant an olde man no Semyarie*
Madox an olde man meete enoughe for wisbiche
+ Davis alias winckefielde and the Corrupter of Willm̃ ffitton and all his familye and a great guide vnto the Jesuitts, but not knowen but for Davis a gentilman and no Priest
Richarde Sherwoode alias Carleton well knowen.

Laiemen

Thomas Shelley, gentilman and of abillitie
Lyne, Higham } gentilmen vnder xix yeares
Chaundelo^r^, Dutton } passinge poore

In the White Lion

Priests

George Collyson to be banished
Higate alias Simpson a bannished man but not so knowen but by the name of Higate.

Laiemen

Gentilmen of abillities [*Wisbiche*—B.]

M^r^ Beckensale
+ M^r^ Smithe a great Collector and maker ouer of monie
Richard Sampson, Richard Waldren } poore knaves [*gallies or gallows*—B.]

In the Clynke

Priests. None of them of any accounpt [*of small wytte or honestie*—B.]

Adams a bannished man — Edwarde James
Loe meet for wisbiche — Parrye alias Morgan
Robbinson an olde preest. — Pawle Spence

Laiemen

Bengemyn Stookewithe of some abillitie. [*meete for wisbiche*—B.]

poore fellowes

John Lawnder — Richard Dowse
Bradstocke — Oulde White
Ceston

* "An old man, no Semynaire." This is added in B. (by Phelippes?) At first he wrote "an old *priest, but* no Seminarye, *and with all commended.*" Then he erased the words here italicised, and wrote "an old man," etc. The reason for this alteration will be understood by consulting Phelippes's letter to Walsingham of June 13, 1586 (Morris, *Troubles*, II, 162). Here he himself had asked for Bavan's liberty, using these very same words, "an old man and no seminary, commended by Mr Young." But the request had not yet been granted, and Phellippes presumably did not want to appear as if he were urging it. Bavan, however, was eventually released, see above p. 252.

In Newegate
Priests
Π Alban Dolman no Seminarrie but knowen [*a Justice of peace of Padgett's description*—B.]*

Wiggs, Higgins, Hyde } badd fellowes

Rowley [*Roley*], Nutter } banished men

Laiemen.

of Abillities [*Wisbiche*]
M^ris Pawnsfoote
Moore the yonger

Poore
Penkevill
Bellamy
Lacye

[*The following postscript is added by Phelippes.*]

Driland, Tirrel, Oseley } in y^e Counter in Woodstret aprehended this laste moneth and famous priests ✠

[*Endorsed*] Prisoners about London for Relligion, which are mete to be banished or otherwise disposed of.

[*Postscript to Berden's Note*]

A man of no accompte meet to mak a stale to take byrds of his kynd

Richard Sherwood Alias Carlton pryson^r in the Counter in Wood strete; And Ralphe Byckley semenary priest pryson^er in y^e gate house for whoes libertye I beseche you to move his hono^ur assuringe you that they bothe shall do good service & some what my present nede shalbe supplyed by them. They praye there liberty uppon good bond & good suerties & to appere w^th in xx^te Dayes warninge given at one of there Suerties houses & duringe there liberty to behave themselves dutefully towards her M^tie & the state (there conscience reserved.) Thus I conclude the ij pties notew^thstandinge there liberty are allwayes to be at his honors pleasure & in the meane tyme to do good service So w^th my dutie I rest this present Sondaye

Yours to Commande N. B.

Yt were good the sayd parties departe not London, or aboue V myles from the same, to thend they may be vsed.

[*Addressed*] To his Worshippfull good ffrend M^r Thomas [Phelippes *blotted out*] geve these w^th spede

[*Endorsed by Phelippes*] Information concerning all the preestes in London imprisoned from Berden. 80. [*Sealed*]

* Berden is joking over an intercepted letter of Charles Paget to Queen Mary, 4-14 January 1584-5, in which after commending Dolman he says that "when he is attyred like a gentleman of good calling, as commonly he goeth, one wolde esteem him a Justice of Peace" (Murdin, *State Papers,* p. 439). To make his practical suggestion clear, Berden has sketched a gallows in the margin.

✠ We shall see below, p. 270, that Dryland was committed the 20th of June and Wolsey, who may be the same as Osely, on the 4th of July. This would give the middle of July for the date of this document.

XXIV. Prisoners after the Babington Plot. September, 1586.

British Museum, *Harleian MS.* n. 360, fol. 44.

The arrests, foreshadowed in the previous paper, have been made. This paper shows how the prisons were packed with suspects, and the following lists tell of the means used to dispose of them. "g" in the following paper signifies "gentleman."

S[r] Tho: Jarrett Knighte
George Gifforde } pencioners
6[th] M[r] Tylney }
13 M[r] Gaige g[ent]
third M[r] Savaige g
8 M[r] Salisbury sq of Chesshire his man
11 M[r] Charnocke g
9 Harry Donne
M[r] Bellamy sen
M[r] Bellamy jun[r] hanged himself in the towre*
4[th] M[r] Poolley
M[r] Barnewell an Irisheman g
M[r] Tychyner broughte from Wynchester
5[th] M[r] Tytchebourne gt
fift Ballarde a semynarie
12 M[r] Travers broughte oute of Chesshire

All theis abovenamed are in the towre,

S[r] George Peckam Knighte
M[r] Peckham thoughte to be his sonne
M[r] Mayney sonne in Lawe to Sir G. Peckham
M[res] Bellamy & her 2 men
Anthony Babington sq. comitted to y[e] towre y[e] first of September
M[r] Abingdon Squier & his man
M[r] Gaige
M[r] Burnell
M[r] Tylman
M[r] Paige
M[r] Chute
father Edmonds promised to have bin made a Bisshopp
3 semynarie priests:
John Merydethe
Richard Taylor
John Tompson
M[r] Travers
M[r] Humerston
M[r] Awsten
M[r] Payne
M[r] Smyth
M[r] Bruyse
M[r] Sherwoodde
Edward Eglethorp or Uglethorp
M[r] ffootesney
John Loove
Charles Topliffe
M[r] Crosse
George Griffyn
M[r] Dunnyngton
M[r] Powell
M[r] Thupliffe
M[r] Lotte
M[r] Hill or Hull
M[r] Bromeley
10 M[r] Jones Squir
Anthony Bannyngton
Tho: Landaye
John Browne
Willm̃ Lee
M[r] Quircke
Hughe Tynsley
M[r] Price a scotte
M[r] Guylford
Clemente Wolfall
M[r] Tomson in Gloucester castle
2 Pooles
M[r] Denyse
M[r] Goyse
Anthony Bates
M[r] Catesbye

* When a sufferer expired under torture, Elizabeth's officials gave out that he had committed suicide. The non-official tradition of the day was that young Bellamy (? Bartholomew) "sank under torture and died."—Morris, *Troubles*, II, pp. 49, 187.

Mr Morgan
Tho: Throckmorton
Mr Dorrington
Mr Pounds
Mr Tudberie
Raphe Hall
Mr Asheton of Chesshire
Mr Travers brother to him in the towre
William Kirckham of Pynne neare Heavye tree in Devon
Mr Oldefielde

Theis Laste named be in holde & in sondrie prisons

All vndernamed supposed not to be in England.

Charles Arundell
Charles Padgett
Mr Lyngon
Mr Poynes
Mr Denyse
Mr Gorge
Mr Gylbe
Mr fforteskewe a Cappytayne
Robertte Poolley
Richard Moore

14th of September 1586-7. & 15th 7 The names of those that were firste Judgede at Westemester and nowe the [20]th of the same ar executed in St Giles Filde wthout holborne 7 persons to saye *

[*Endorsed*] Robt. Myco. The names of Traytors and Seminarie men.

XXV. Priests and others lately Apprehended.

Domestic Elizabeth, vol. cxciii, no. 64.

These priests have ben all of late comitted

In ye Clynck
Willm Edmundes a Jesuite
Nicholas Smith alias ffipp a Seminary priest
Lowe a Seminary priest

In ye Gatehouse
Jonas Meredeth a Seminary priest
James Taylor a Seminary priest taken at Abingtons
Christofer Thulyes a Seminary priest taken in Salisbury
Christofer Dryland Seminary priest
Thomas Stampe a Seminary priest
Robert Dibdale a Seminary priest
John Worseley a Seminary priest
Willm Alexonder an old priest

Besides these there bee some more taken lately wch I know not of and for Edmundes Dryland and Stampe together wth Ithell that is in the Towre they are specially to be dealt withall and touched for this last conspiracye

In ye fleete and Cownters
Katherine Copley widowe
Margett Copley her daughter
Edward Gage
Willm Wyborne
Norton Greene
Dorathye White

all these are in for Comon Conversing wth & entertaigning and releyving of Seminary priests

* The interpretation of this obscure sentence seems to be—The conspirators were tried in two batches of seven, on September the 14th and 15th respectively. On the 20th, the day of writing, seven of these were executed, that is "to say," Ballard, Babington, Savage, Barnewall, Tichborne, Tilney, Abingdon.

In y^e^ Gatehouse
Edward Scotte
In y^e^ Counter
Peter Penkevyle J. Popham

[*Endorsed*] 25 September 1586 A Calender of Semynary Priests and others in divers prisons in London

XXVI. The Attorney General's Lists of Priests and other Prisoners, 25 September, 1586.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. CXCIII, nn. 66.

Prisoners in y^e^ Towre lately comitted
S^t^ Thomas Gerrard knight both indyted of high treason.
Katherine Bellamy widdowe

These fitt to be further examined—
George Gifford his cause known to the LL's

John ffitzJames accused by Tychborne & his privytye confessed by himself

James Typping accused by Ballard, his offence triable in Yorkeshere

Anthony Tuchinor the man very suspicious, but no dyrect proof against him but a dealer w^th^ priests

Thomas Abington A dangerous fellowe but no dyrect proof against him for this cause, but a dealer w^th^ these seminarye priests.

Jerome Payne no dyrect proof against him for this cause but a very suspicious fellowe

Raff Ithell accused dyrectly by Ballard & much used in these Accõns & withall a Seminary priest.

+ Robert Polley the matter evident against him but M^r^ Secretary to be conferred w^t^hall therein
Sect + Jerome Parkyer one of the Scottish Q men

Bennett a priest made as he saith in the first yere of her Ma^ts^ Raigne comitted by the LL's for that he wold not answer them dyrectlye of the place where he had ben nor w^th^ what persons.

In y^e^ Gatehouse—

Thomas Heath accused dyrectly by Tychborne to be a partaker in his conspiracye.

In y^e^ fleete
Richard Abington
John Maynye
ex Willm Kyrkeham
ex Peter Bate
ex Thomas Crawley
In y^e^ Counter
Willm Page
Gervys Perpoint
In y^e^ Marshalsey
Willm Traves

against any of these wee find no matter, other then that they are obstinate Recusants, unles there be any matter knowne unto my Lls or M^r^ Secretary w^ch^ appeareth not unto us.

In y^e^ Counters

Roger Parker a Comen Carrier of lettres beyond the seas.

Nicholas Bosgrave comitted by M^r^ Osborne and M^r^ Owen by the Lls dyrecion, a very suspicious man, but his cause we know not.

In y^e^ Counters

Nicholas Dalton comitted by M^r^ Secretary the vi^th^ of August, whose cause we knowe not

Thomas Berblock comitted by M^r^ Secretary the 12^th^ of September, his cause we knowe not.

ex Raffe Emerson comitted by the Lls for bringing in books from beyond the Seas and was Servant to Persons or Campian

George Throkmorton comitted for felony but remaineth for that he had a Cipher found about him

Hugh Griffith comitted by the Lls in September 1585 for abuse to the Countesse of Arundell

In y^e^ Clynck

Roger Yardley A person vehemently suspected to be acquainted w^th^ these plotts beyond the Seas. He served the Erle of Westmorland. Came over at the Instant of this trobble

In y^e^ Clinck and Gatehowse

ex Thomas Dymmock
ex John Gage
ex Willm Lyngen
ex Charles Babington
ex Robert Homerson
Phillip Colbeck
John Newman
[Henry Edyall *cancelled*]

These comitted by y^r^ Lls and M^r^ Secretary, but y^e^ particular causes we know not.

In y^e^ Clynck

Christofer Isham Comitted by M^r^ Secretarye, a great dealer in the Erle of Arundell's cause; an obstinate recusant & what els there is to charge him wee knowe not

In y^e^ Marshalsey

James Kaynes lately comitted by My L. Chamberlen, his cause otherwise we knowe not

In y^e^ Gatehouse

Richard Maskary the widdow Bellamies man; Comitted for that he was the messenger to carry Vittills to Babington &c [discharged by M^r^ Secretary 6 octobris 1586. *Added later.*]

In y^e^ Clink

Richard Randall a Recusant & will not discover what man of haviour he was, that he pcured Bennet the priest to marry to a yong gentlewoman as Bennett chargeth him.

In y^e^ Gatehouse

Raffe Latham comitted by the L. Thresorer for being taken w^th^ M^r^ Bould, but M^r^ Yong (whome the L. Thresorer wished to have consideracon of the condicon of the man) saith this is not the same Latham w^ch^ he hath ben heretofore informed of to be of yll conversacon

In Newgate		
	Joseph Brewes a scott	Their causes wee knowe not,
In ye Cownter		but wee take yt to be about
	Richard Ugnall	coyning
	Clement Ofild	

E. J. Popham.

[*Endorsed by Ld Burghley*] 25 Septemb 1586, Prisoners in the towre and other persons apprehended lately.

XXVII. Walsingham's Report of the Resolutions of the Privy Council, held 30 November, 1586

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv, n. 30. Probably the actual notes taken by Walsingham at the Council Table.

The Tower

Braye To be contynewed and to appeare at the next Starre Chamber daye. To be informed agaynst by the Q Attourney.

Burlacye To be brought into the Starre Chambere and to be informed agaynst.

A Devys To conferre w^th^ the Q. Cownsell Her Ma^ts^ plesure to be known.

△ Creaghe To be contynewed in the tower.

△ Prestall To be contynewed in Pryson.

A W. Shelley To be contynewed.

Tho. Brystowe

A Thomas Baldwyn Her Ma^tie^ to be moved therin

□ Layton To be banished the realme uppon bondes.

□ Belson To be released uppon bondes to depart the realme.

D. Bagshawe To be comytted to the L. of Canterburye.

B G. Errington To be conferred w^th^all in poynt of relygion.

A Nevill To be contynewed

Jacob Vandering To be banished.

E Rafe Ithell To be examyned & indyghted.

E Bennett To be sent to Wysbyche. [*Margin*, Mr Yong.

E Kat.* Bellami To be arraygned and Condempned.

Fleete

F Katherine Copley To be proceaded agaynst in coorse of lawe.

G W. Greene The Arch. of Canterbury. To be sent unto Newgat.

Mr Yong

□ Swythen Weells Released uppon bond.

Jhon Wyllyams dead

Radforde discharged

Alexander Rawlyns To be released puttyng in suertie to depart the realme.

G Cope

O released.

G Laycock The B. of London to certifie.

* This name is added later. The first indictment had been quashed because she was called by a wrong name.

Tower

A S[r] Tho Gerrard To proceade against him.

A G. Gyfforde Her Ma[tie] to be moved for his release w[th] order to proceed in his vyage

Δ Ro Pooley To be contynewed.

☞ Typpyng His case to be consydered of and the L presydent to be written unto to advertyse what he is to be charged w[t]hall.

H Jerosme Payne To be contynewed in pryson and further examyned.

H Ant Towchener To be contynewed in pryson and further examyned.

H Tho Abyngton To be contynewed in pryson and further examined.

A FytzJames To be put to a fyne and to be bownd for his good behavior and to have his pardon.

A Packer Her Ma[tie] to be moved for his lybertye uppon bandes to departe the realme.

White Lion

G Tho. Poundes } The B to certifye
Eliz. Sherwood }

Gatehouse

\+ W. Cowlbecke* [*Margin*, Yong

I Ed. Scotte To offer conference unto him and to be released uppon bondes to returne to pryson in case he shall not become conformable.

K { Thomas Heathe The Q. lerned Cownsell to consyder of the matter he is to be charged w[t]all.
H. Foxwell To consyder of the matter he is to be charged w[t]hall.

Tho. Person To enquire of him.

H Sampson Lowe To be further examyned together w[th] Ithall.

In the Clynke

F + Norton Greene To be contynewed in pryson [to be proceeded against for receyving of priestes—*cancelled.*]

All Semynaryes and preestes to be contynewed in pryson untyll some generall consyderatyon be taken what course shall be held w[th] them. [*These words occur after the next name.*]

L Roger Yardley To be contynewed in pryson.

H Jhon Stevens To be examyned
[John Foxwell To be examined, indyghted—*erased*]

The Counter in Woodstreate

M Tho. Owen To be contynewed in pryson untyll he hathe put in suertye for the payment of his fyne.

Warnefourde
Heorde

□ Roger Parker To be released uppon bandes to departe the realme

L Jarvys Parpoynt To be contynewed in

* The cross in the margin probably means that his name is to be considered—crossed out.

N Owgnavell } To be released uppon bandes.
Dauleton }
F Dorothy Whyte To be proceaded agaynst. [*Margin*, Recorder.
☞ Ni Bosgrove To be returned to pryson
L Beareblocke To be contynewed.
Tho [*This heading not continued*
Jhon Mylls To enquire
W Wyberowe To proceade agaynst him.
Jhon Lea
\+ W. Harvye at Brydewell to be contynued.
H Ed. Hartley To be examyned.
H Leonard Horley To be examyned.
Cutb. Menell To be proceeded.
Charles Braie To be examined.

Counter Woodstreat

Walter Penkevyll

[*Endorsed*] 30 Novemb: 1586 The Lordes resolution uppon the prisoners

No. XXVIII. The Lords' Resolution upon the Prisoners, 30 November, 1586.

Domestic Elizabeth, vol. XCV. n. 32.

It is interesting to follow the transformation of Walsingham's paper into the following scheme. Its writer, who may have been Walsingham's secretary, Mills, first re-arranged the names on a separate page (now vol. XCV, n. 31), tabulating them according to the signs which Walsingham had placed in the margin, first A, then L, △, &c., &c., prefixing to each class directions which roughly correspond with those given by Walsingham, but are sometimes more severe. The names of Thomas Brystow, W. Cowlebeche, Norton Green, John Lee, Leonard Horley, Walter Pencavel have dropped out, that of Creyton has been added.

The amalgamation of class L in the class △ was a second thought. The L's come far on in Walsingham's list. In the preliminary list they were written in later and round class △. As the order, thus fixed, was followed in the paper here printed, we see that our paper is based on No. 31, not *vice versa*.

It has seemed well to add in square brackets the letters and signs which give the clue to Walsingham's arrangement.

30 Novemb 1586. The lordes resolution upon the prisioners.

Her Ma^ties^ pleasure to be knowne touching those persons.

A *Creyton* The matter he is charged withall suffycyently knowen.

Davies He received Charles Pagett the traytor when he came into Sussex about his treasons, was made privie therunto by Pagetts man and was made to departe the realme thereuppon by Shelley his master. [A

Thomas Baldwyn ffor dealing w^h^ the Queene of Scottes and for receiving and conveying of her letters [A

William Shelley He is attainted of Highe treason and respited at her Ma^ts^ good pleasure. [A

Nevill for practising w^h^ forrainers about an enterprise for taking of fflushing and other like misdemeanours. [A

George Gifforde Charged by report w^h^ an intent to have attempted somewhat agaynst her Ma^ts^ person. [A

ffitz James that he was acquaynted w^h^ the late conspyracye [A

S^r^ Thomas Gerrard That he was acquaynted w^th^ the late conspiracy. [A

Paquiere One of the Scot Queen's Servants [A

To be continued and to appear the nexte Starre Chamber Day, to be informed against by the queenes Attourney.

Bray He dealt in the transportacion of the Erle of Arondell and was a Comon transporter of Semynarie priests and such like.

Burlacy He was used by the said Earle the same Braye and others about the transportacon of the Earle and was taken w^th^ the Earle his master.

To be continued in prison.

Beareblocke He travelled into Itallie to obtaine relief by meanes of the Catholiques there. He offreth conformitie. [L

Jervis Parpointe A verie obstinatt recusant and a maintainer of all Semynarie priestes and papistes. [L

Creagh A pretended Bisshop of Ireland. [Δ

Prestall He standeth attainted of highe treason for more then seven yeeres past. [Δ

Robt. Pooley charged to have dealt trecherously. [Δ

Roger Yardley Servant to the Earle of Westmoreland suspected to have come over to somme evyle purpose [L

To be banished y^e^ realme

Layton ffor conveying of letters and gentillmens children beyond the Seas. [□

Belson ffor Conveying intellegence betweene Bridges the priest and others beyonde the Seas, and some in this realm by unknowen meanes. [□

Jacob Vanderinge. He is comitted for the same cause and practise that Neuyll is deteyned for. [O

Alexander Rawlins An obstinate papist and a follower of Semynaries.

Roger Parker an espie whose wief & family are at lisbona: he is suspected to have intelligence w^th^ Morgan and Pagett, and frequenteth to all priests and papistes about London [□

To be preceeded against in Course of lawe

Ralph Ithell A Semynarie priest by whom manie young gent. have ben corrupted [E

Katherine Bellamy Indyted for harboring of traytors and Semynaryes. [E

Katherine Copley A harborer of Seminaryes [F

Dorethie White An obstinatt recusant and receavor of Semynarie priestes. [F

William Wibourne A perverse recusant who receaved Semynarie priests and sent monie to prisons to relieve them.

Cutbert Mennill An obstinate recusant and a receivor of priestes.

To be continued in prison and furthir examined.

Jerome Paine Servaunt to one of the Conspyrators. [H

Anthoney Tuchiner Charged to have ben one of the 6 Conspirators. [H

Thomas Abington [H

Sampson Lowe Comitted for harbouring at his Chamber of Udall alias Ithell a priest [H

John Stevens A perverse recusant that refuseth conference. [H

Edw Hartley A recusant that resorted to priests and papistes in prison. He offreth now conformitie [H

Charles Braye [O

To be continued in prison untill they have putt in Suertie for paiement of their fyne.

Thomas Owen Condempned for hearing of Masse, desireth to have his debt stalled in the exchequer. [M

Warneford Comitted for the same cause that Owen is detained for. They desier likewise to have their debtes stalled in the Exchequer: for paiement whereof they offer to put in good Suertie. [M

Howrd [M

The Bushop of [? of London] to be written unto to certifie how thes are chargable.

Thomas Pounds a verie obstinatt recusant and a maintainer of that sect. [G

Eliz. Sherwoode Comitted by Doctor Stanhoppe for her recusancie. [G

To be Comitted w^th^ the Arch Bushope of Canterbury.

D. Bagshawe was taken w^th^ letters from Charles Pagett and the Bushoppe of Rosse to the Lord of ffarnihurst and others in Scotland and had a cipher about him to write to Charles Pagett.

To be conferred w^th^ all in point of religion.

George Errington ffor Conveying of letters and young gent. into ffraunce [B

To be sent to Wisbich.

Bennett An old priest that hath used to saie Masse about London, and hath married divers persons.

The Archbushop of Canterbury to certifie how he is chargable.

William Greene Discharged againe by the Archbishopp of Cantorburie. [G

The B of London to certifie how he is chargable.

Laycocke was sent upp by S^r^ Henrie Cocke and others from Hartfourd Castle where he remained three yeeres prisoner before for recusancie. [G

His cause to be considered of and the L President to be written unto to advertise what he is to be charged w^th^all.

Typpinge He was arraigned at Newegatte and had iudgement to be whipped at Bridewell, after the execution whereof he was discharged. [☚

The queens learned Counsell to consider of the matters they are to be charged w^th^all

Thomas Heath was accused by Tychbourne to be privie to the intended invasion of this realme and destruction of her Ma^ts^ person. [K

Henry ffoxwell He was a spetiall compagnion and of familiaretie w^th^ Donne lately executed by whom he was perswaded to be a Catholique. Offreth hope of conformetie so he maie be conferred w^th^all by one M^r^ Hancocke a preacher of Dorsettshire. [K

To be enquired of

John Milles A recusant that refuseth conference. [O

Thomas Person is not found prisoner. [O

To offer conference unto him and to be releassd uppon bonds to retourne to prison in case he shall not become conformable.

Edw. Scotte delyvered to M^r^ Edward Ysham who hath entred into bond for his fourthcominge. [I

To be released upon bonde

Ognoull Servante to Babington one of the Conspirators. [N

Dalton Servante to Polley who is prisoner in the Tower. [N

To be retourned to prison

Nicholas Bosgrave was discharged by M^r^ Peter Osbourne. [☜

To be comitted to Bridewell

William Harris an obstinatt recusant that will not receave conference [+

[*Endorsed*] 30 November 1586 The Lordes resolution uppon the Prisonners.

XXIX. Certificates of Prisoners since June, 1586. November, 1586.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. cxcv, n. 34. The words added in italics are additions by Lord Burghley.

An Abstract of the Certificattes of Priestes and other Recusantes comited to sundrie Prisons since the moneth of June 1586.

Tower

pr. Ralphe Ithell. Comitted by M^r^ attourney & sollicitor.
William Bennett. Sent by M^r^ Younge.

Fleete

+John Barnewall. Comitted by the lordes, discharged vppon band, by warrant from the lord chancelor.
M^rs^ Bellamymie. removed to the Tower [*Tower*—B.]
+John Maynie. Comitted by the lordes: discharged by their order vppon band taken of him by M^r^ attourney v^th^ Octob^r^.
Richard Abington gent. Comitted by the lordes: discharged vppon band taken of him by M^r^ Waade 17 Novemb^r^
William Kirkeham gent. Comitted by M^r^ Secretarie, discharged vppon band taken by M^r^ Waade 17 Novemb.
+Peter Bate gent. Comitted by M^r^ Secretarie, discharged vppon band taken of him by M^r^ Young by the lordes order.
M^rs^ Marg: Copley. Comitted by M^r^ Secretarie, discharged by him 28^th^ Septemb^r^.
+Giles Fenne gent. Comitted by the lordes, discharged by M^r^ Secretarie
Thomas Crawley Esq^r^. Comitted by the lordes x^th^ Septembr.

Mrs Catherine Copley. Comitted by Mr Secretarie 14th Septembr.
William Greene Esqr. Comitted by the archeb. of Cantorburie, and the rest of the Commissioners.

Newegate
Swythen Wells gent. Comitted by Mr Younge discharged by him 4th July.
John Williams. Comitted by mr Young discharged by him xvth July.
John Batfourd. Comitted by mr Young discharged by him 20th June
Alexander Rawlins. Comitted by Mr Younge discharged by him xvth July
George Cope. Comitted by Mr Young discharged by him xxxth July.
+ Rowland Parry. Comitted by mr recorder discharged by him vpon his conformetie the 26th of Octobr.
John Laycocke. Comitted by the Bushoppe of London the viijth of Octobr
Alexander Rawlins. Comitted againe by mr Younge the viij of Septembr

priestes
Ollyuer Haywoode. Comitted by mr younge, died in pris[on] the xvth of July
William Bennett. Removed unto the Tower the 6th Septemb̄er
+ William Wibourne a moncke. Delyuered by proclamation 7th Octobr

White lyon
Thomas Powndes gent. } Comitted by the highe Commissioners
Elizabeth Sherwood } the first of Septembr

Kinges Benche
Thomas Clifton priest. Delyuered by the lordes order to Mr Topliffe in June last.

Gate house
+ Henrie Morgan. Comitted by mr vicechamberlaine and Mr secretarie. Discharged by Mr Vice-chambrlaine the 20th August.
+ William Lingen. Comitted by the lordes discharged by Mr Younge xii Novembr
+ Robrt Humberston. Comitted by the lordes, discharged by Mr Waade the 18th Novembr
+ Phillippe Colbecke. Sent by mr Topcliffe, discharged by mr Younge 26th Octobr
+ Richard Maskerie. Comitted by the ll. discharged by Mr Barker by their order, 3d Octobr.
+ William Wiseman } Comitted by the Earle of Derby & mr secretarie: discharged by mr Waade xvijth Novembr
+ Thomas Wiseman }
+ Henrie Ediall. Comitted by mr secretarie discharged vppon band by the lordes order the sixth of Octobr *1586.*

+Ralphe Lathem. Comitted by the lord Thresorer discharged by him 23 Septembr

+John Newenam. Comitted by mr secretarie. discharged upon bond by the lordes order 17 Novembr

James Tipping [*cancelled*] comitted by the lord Thresorer, removed to the Tower 31th of August

Nicholas Burlacye
William Braye } Sent from the Tower the 19th of August

Thomas Heath. Sent by Mr Attorney Generall by the Lordes order 9th Septembr

Edward Scoote. Comitted by Mr Young by the lordes order the 14th Septembr

Henry Foxwell. Comitted by the lord Thresorer the 29 Septembr.

Thomas Leonarde. Comitted by Mr Secretarie. Suspected to be a priest but denieth the same.

Sampson Lowe. Comitted by Mr Attourney the 19th of Octobr.

Priestes

Joanas Meredith. Comitted by the lordes 13 August

James Taylor. Comitted by the lordes 15th August

Christopher Asheton. Comitted by the lordes 29 August

Clynke

Davyd Ringsteede. Comitted by the B. of Winton 8th June.

Richard Bawlbett. Comitted by the Archeb: of Canterburie 14th June

Roger Yardley als Bruerton gent. Comitted by Mr Secretarie 21 Augus[t]

+Thomas Leighton gent. Comitted by the lordes 28 August

Charles Babington gent. Comitted by Mr Secretarie discharge[d] by him the 8th Novembr

Thomas Dymocke gent. Discharged by Mr Waade the 18th Novembr

Norton Greene gent. Comitted by Mr Young 8th Septembr

John Gage gent. Comitted the 14th Septembr. discharged by Mr Waade

John Stephens. Sent from Winchester 30th Octobr

Rychard Lusher gent. Comitted by the Archeb. of Cantorburie the 16th of Octobr

Priestes

John Robinson pr. Comitted the 30th of June by the Lord Thresorer

Willam Parrye pr. Comitted the 28th Septembr by Mr Secretarie

Paule Spence pr. Comitted by Mr Rookeby the 19 Januarie 1586

Edward James pr. Sent by Mr Topcliffe 1 May 1586

Morrice Williams pr. Comitted by Mr Young the 17th June

William Edmonds pr. Comitted the 4th of August by Mr Secretarie

Nicholas Phipps alias Smyth pr. Comitted by Mr Secretarie the xith Septembr

Anthonie Tyrrell p[r]. Comitted by M[r] Young 13 Septembr.
William Cartricke p[r]. Comitted by M[r] Secretarie 30 Octobr.
+ Nicholas Gellebrand p[r] Comitted by M[r] Young 9[th] Octobr

Counter in Woodstreate

Thomas Owen. Comitted by the lordes 12 June
Richard Warnefourd. Comitted by the lordes 12 June.
+ Richard Cripps. Comitted by the lordes, discharged by M[r] Young 23 August.
+ Mary Warnefourd. Comitted by the lordes, discharged by Newall and Worsley the xv[th] June.
+ Henrie Earsley. Comitted by M[r] Secretarie discharged by M[r] Young the viij[th] June.
Jervais Peirpoint. Comitted by the lordes xv June
+ James Stannburrow. Comitted the 19 June by the lord[es] discharged by M[r] Young 13 July.
+ William Hourd. Comitted the 27 June by
+ Lawrence Cheyney. Comitted by M[r] Secretarie discharged the vij[th] of July by M[r] Younge
+ Hughe George Comitted by my lordes, discharged the fifthe of July by M[r] Younge
Roger Parker. Comitted by M[r] Younge 4[th] July
+ Walter Wolsley. Comitted by M[r] Younge, discharged by him the 5[th] July
+ John Callwell. Comitted by the lordes discharged by M[r] Younge 22 July.
+ Symon Godfraie. Comitted by the lordes discharged by M[r] Younge 2 July.
+ Richard Vgno servant to Babington. Comitted the fifthe of August by M[r] Secretarie
+ Nycholas Dalton servant to Pooley. Comitted the vi[th] of August by M[r] Secretarie
+ Edward Osbaston. Comitted by the lordes, discharged by M[r] Young 20 August
+ William Page. Comitted by the lordes discharged by M[r] Younge 5[th] Octobr.
+ Dorothie White. Comitted by M[r] Younge discharged by him 22 Octob[r]
+ Nycholas Bosgrave. Comitted by M[r] Osbourne & M[r] Owen discharged by M[r] Re[cord]er 30[th] Septembr.
Thomas Beareblocke. Comitted by M[r] Secretarie 22 Septembr.
+ Edward Gage. Comitted by M[r] Secretarie discharged vppon bond taken of him by M[r] Waade 17 Novembr.
James Thorneborrowe. Comitted the 22 Octob[r] by M[r] Younge
John Williams als Lighe. Comitted by the Archeb. of Cantorburie 22 Octob[r]
John Mylles. Comitted by the lordes 23 Octob[r].
William Wibourne. Comitted by the lordes 30 Octob[r]
John Lee. Comitted by the lordes 30 Octob[r].
+ William Harris. Comitted by the lordes 30 Octob[r] discharged by M[r] Young 20 Novemb[r].

+ William Braddall. Comitted by the lordes discharged by M^r^ Younge 31 Octob^r^.

+ Edmond Knolles. Comitted by the lordes, discharged by M^r^ Younge 2 Novemb^r^.

Edward Hartley. Comitted by M^r^ Young viii Novem[b^r^]

Leonard Morley. Comitted by M^r^ Younge the tenth of Novemb^r^.

Cutbrt Mennell. Comitted by M^t^ Younge 11^th^ Novemb^r^.

+ Phillippe Bucke. Comitted by the lordes, discharged by M^r^ alderman Barnes on Bond 29 Sep.

+ Nycholas Bangor. Comitted by the lordes discharged by M^r^ Younge 25 Novemb^r^.

Priestes.

ob + Olyver Haywood alias Blyth p^r^. Comitted by the lordes, removed to Newegatte 27 June.

Christopher Dryland p^r^. Comitted by the lordes, 20 June.

Charles Browne alias Anthonie Tyrrell p^r^. Comitted by M^r^ Secretarie, removed by M^r^ Young to the Clincke 13 Septemb.

John Wolsley pr. Comitted by M Yonge 4^th^ July

Thomas Smythe alias Tempe p^r^. Comitted by the lordes 24 July.

Robart Palmer alias Dipdaile p^r^. Comitted by the lordes, removed to Newegatte, whence he was sent to execution.

Edmond Broddocke p^r^. Comitted by M^r^ Younge the 23 Septemb^r^.

Counter in the Poultrie.

Peter Penkevill. Comitted by M^r^ Younge.

George Throgmorton. Comitted by the lordes, discharged uppon bond taken of him by M^r^ Wadde 19 Novemb^r^.

[*Endorsed*] An abstract of the Certificattes of priestes and other recusantes comitted to sundrie prisons since the moneth of June vntill Novembr 1586.

XXX. Prisoners not contained in Mr Secretary's Note. 7 December, 1586

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. xcv, n. 51. This paper is supplementary to Nos. 13, 14.

Prisoners Seminary priests remaining in the Goale of *Newgat* June 1585

Leonard Hide of Westm and W^m^ Wiggs of the same place preests comitted by the l. cheefe Justice le xiiij^th^ of June 1585

Isacke Higgins of Westm comitted by the Lls from the Starre Chamber, July 1585.

Thomas Penckwell of London comitted by M^r^ Yong for hearing a Masse v^th^ of Oct. 1584

Robert Rowley of Clithero Castell in the County of Lancastre preest comitted the xxx^th^ Novemb 1585 by M^r^ Yonge.

Dorothy Pansford wife of John Pansford esquier comitted by the L. Archebushopp of Cant. the xij^th^ of December 1585

Leonard Keild shervaunt to the Lady Pawlett comitted by the L. Archbusshopp of Cant: the xij^th^ of December 1585

Gregory Morgan of Ridge in the County of Wiltshire comitted by M^r^ Yong the last of Dec. 1585.

Robert Bellamy of London yeoman comitted by Mr Yong the xxxth of Jan: 1585.

The Whit Lion

John Beondsawe gent. Richard Walderon Linen Draper
Richarde Sampson gent. John Colinson preest
Thomas Highgate gent.

In the Clinke

Tymothie Willis comitted the xxiijth of August 1586.
John Bradstocke yeoman comitted the xxth of Maye 1586
John Lawnder alias Landrye and his wife comitted the xviijth of Julie 1584
Richard Dowse comitted the iiijth of Marche 1584
John Whit yeoman comitted the xxjth of December 1585
Stephen Cheston comitted the xxvjth of January 1585
Beniamyne Stockwithe comitted ye xxiiijth of March 1586
Richard Randolf gent comitted the xxth of September 1586

The Kings Benche

Ralf Oldacker and Richard Oldacker comitted by the Coort the vth of ffebruary by the Coorte [*sic*].

In the Gathowse at Westmr

Humfrey Comberford comitted by the Busshopp of London the xvijth of July 1580.
John Hewes comitted by Mr Attorney by order from the Lords the xxiiijth of May 1582
Thomas Edwards comitted by the Lls the xxiiijth of January 1582.
Richard Johnson comitted by Sr ffra. Wallsingham the viijth of November 1583.
Ralf Bickeley preest comitted by the Lls the iijd of Maye 1583
John Bawdwyn preest comitted by the LLs the xxxth of June 1583
Owin ffletcher comitted by the L Archbusshopp of Canterbury the 2 of January 1583
Thomas Worthington comitted by the L. Tresorer the xixth of July 1584
Anthony Snape comitted by the Busshop of London the first of Aprill 1584
John Parrye convicted by the L. Busshopp of London the xv of August 1583
Walter Whithall comitted by the L Archebusshopp of Canterbury xiiijth of Maye 1586
Roger Astill comitted by the L. Archbusshopp of Canterbury the ixth of June 1586

Prisoners in the *Cownter in Wood Street*

John Maddox prieste comitted the vijth of November 1583 by Mr Yonge.
Roger Line comitted by Sr ffra Walsingham the iijd of ffebruary 1583
Willm Higham comitted by his honor also the xxxth of July 1585

The *Counter in the Powltrey*

Ralf Emarson comitted by Mr Alderman Osborne the xxvjth of September 1585.

[*Endorsed*] 7 Dec 1586 Prisoners in Sundry prisons not contained in Mr Secretaryes note:

XXXI. Prisoners to be Disposed of. December, 1586.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. xcv, n. 72.

The redaction of this document is exactly similar to that of No. XXIII, *ante.* Walsingham sends his list to Phelippes, Phelippes sends a copy to Berden, who puts his comments in the margin and adds a long postscript (no. 73). This being returned, Phelippes filled in Walsingham's list, with notes which generally do nothing more than give Berden's recommendations a somewhat more polite cast. But there is one variant which is highly instructive (*see note* §). Berden's comments are here printed on the left, Phelippes's upon the right. Berden's postscript is printed entire at the end, and should be compared with that of Phelippes. J. Morris, *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers,* vol. II, pp. 152-156, 229-233, describes the episode, and prints Walsingham's letter to Phelippes, dated December 25, 1586.

The names of the priestes comitted to sundrie prisons.

Tower

[*I know hym nott*]	William Isell.
[*hang him*]	Ralphe Ithell, mete to be hanged.
[*Wisbiche*]	William Bennett, for Wisbiche or soch like place.

—— 3

Gatehouse

[*banyshe*]	Ralphe Bickley, to be banished.
[*banyshe*]	John Baldwyn, to be banished.
[*hange him*	Π Joanas Meredeth, worthy to be hanged,*
once banyshed before]	being once banished before & sent over by Morgan & Pagett, he may do harme on the other side.
[*hange hym taken with*	James Taylor, to be hanged, he was
Abyngton]	taken w^th^ Abington.
[*banyshe*]	Christopher Asheton, to be banished.

—— 5

Clyncke

[*wisbiche*]	John Robinson, to Wisbich or soch like place.
[*discharged*]	+ Willliam Price, is discharged.
[*hanged allreddy*]	+ John Adams, is hanged alredye.
[*subscribed to her Ma*^ties^	Paule Spence, hath subscribed to the
Auchtoritie]	Q. supreme authority in all causes.
[*banyshe*]	Edward Jeames, to be banished.
[*hanged allreddy*]	+ John Lowe —— is hanged alredye.
[*Banyshe*]	Parry als Morgan, to be banished.
[*wisbiche*]	Morrice Williams, fitt fo^r^ Wisbich or soch like place.
[*Jesuyte*]	William Edmondes, is the only Jesuite of England, to be well kept if not hanged.
[*banyshe*]	Nicholas Phipps als Smithe, to be banished.

* Phelippes enforces this recommendation by drawing a gallows Π in the margin.

[*discharged*] Anthonie Tyrrell, William Cartricke, Nycholas Gellebrand, } discharged all but of the worst sorte.

Newgatte

[*wisbiche*] Leonard Hide, for Wisbich or soch a place.

[*hange*] William Wigges, to be hanged.

[*hange*] Isacke Higgins, to be hanged.

[*banyshe*] Robert Rowley, to be banished.

[*discharged*] + Alban Dolman, at libertye, but fitt for Wisbich & to be restrayned.

[*banyshe*] Nutter, to be banished.

—— 5

Counter in Wood streate

[*This mans banyshment I have warranted uppon his honors promyse*] * Christopher Dryland to be bannished in the manner yt Woolselye is.

[*wisbiche*] John Maddox, an old poore fellow and and malicious but no seminarye.

[*dead*] + Ollyuer Haywood als Blythe dead alredye.

[*discharged*] Richard Sherwood als Carlton to be banished being so at the L. commandement.

[*both one man & discharged*] Charles Browne als + Anthonie Tyrrell } discharged

[*discharged*] + John Woolsley alredye bownd wth good suretye to depart the realme and not to retorne.

[*hange*] Thomas Smythe als Tempe to be hanged.

[*banyshe*] Edmond Broddocke to be banished.

—— 5

White Lyon

[*Banyshe*] George Collyson, to be banished.

[*hange, once banyshed*] Thomas Higatte als Samson, to be hanged being once alredye banished.

—— 2

Marshalsea

[*I beseche you to shew hym all favour, he is my wyves nere kynsman*] John Lister is no seminary but an old preste. ✠

* Berden had written on the 23rd of November (vol. CXCV, n. 21) to thank Walsingham for having spared Dryland's life at the Sessions, and to request his banishment (Morris, *Troubles,* II, 163), which he now says was promised (see also Berden's postscript below). But, in fact, Dryland was sent to Wisbeach, and not banished till Elizabeth's death.

✠ This is not true. Lister was ordained at Rheims March 30, 1584 (*Douay Diaries,* p. 200). At p. 12 ibid. he is marked as a martyr. This may mean that he died in prison, but he is not otherwise spoken of as a martyr. The motive for Phelippes's lie may be gathered from Berden's note.

[*wisbiche*] John Habrley mete for Wisbiche, or soch like place.

[*wisbiche*] Fraunces Tyllyson mete for Wisbich or soch like place.

[*banyshe*] Jeames Edwardes to be banished.

[*wisbiche*] Nycholas Knight mete for Wisbich or such like place.

[*banyshe*] John Bolton, to be banished.

[*banyshe*] William Claregent to be banished.

[*banyshe*] Edward Cauerley to be banished.

[*banyshe*] Robert Wilcockes to be banished.

[*discharged*] Ralphe Palmer discharged alredye

[*banyshe*] John Smythe to be banished.

[*banyshe*] Thomas Bramston to be banished.

[*wisbiche*] George Potter for Wisbich or such like place

[*wisbiche*] Ralphe Crockett, for Wisbiche or soch like place.

*Sherson to be banished

✠ Watson to be banished.

—— 16.

Kinges Benche

[*banyshe, commytted to Mr Topcliffe*] Thomas Clifton ✠ delyuered to the custodie of M^r^ Topcliffe by the lordes order, to be banished. ✠

—— 1.

Soch as are noted to be hanged are of most trayterous mindes and dispositions. Soch as are noted to be banished are therefore fittest by cause exceding poore and contentious.

Soch as are noted for Wisbich are well able to defray theyr expences, of the graver sorte and best accompted of for learning.

There be some abroad y^t^ were mete to be restrayned or otherwise vsed.

Martin Arre, was bound to depart the realme and yett remayneth in the North partes. His bond wold be called vppō.

Dolemã discharged by the Recorder of London.

Davys alias Winkefeld shifted out by the name of Davys for a laymã he is a notable corrupter and conducted Campiõ Parsons & Edmondes through England.

Palmer alias Stansford. A seminary and a maliciows traytor. His brother is a gentleman of some accompt in Staffordshire and was lately hye sheriffe.

Preests remayning abroade —— 4.

Sm —— 48.

[*Endorsed*] The names of the priestes Comitted to seuerall prisons, w^th^ theyr qualityes. Decemb^r^ 1586.

[*Postscript of Berden's letter.*]

Syr there are diverse Prests abroade whereof some of them are more perillous then thoese in Pryson viz.

* Added in Phelippes' hand. ✠ Added in another hand.

Martyn Arre. This deserveth well to be hanged for y^t^ he R^d^ great ffavor of his hono^ur^ and was bounde to dept this Realme & yett Remayneth in y^e^ Northe pts, y^t^ were good to call uppõ his bondes.

Dolman. You knowe hym to be a notorius vyllayne M^r^ Recorder discharged hym

Davys alias Wynckfeld late prysoner in the Counter in Woodstrete. This Company^on^ was shyfted oute for a laye man by the name of Davys, he was the principal p'son that R^d^ Campion Persons & Edmondes, & conducted them throughe England & the Corrupter of William ffytton his mother in lawe & all there ffamylle, w^th^ dyverse others

Buckley late prysoner in the Marshallsea. An ould prest most meete for Wisbiche

Palmer alias Stanfford This ffellowe is a gentellman of accompte in Stafford Shyre his brother was lately Highe Shereff there a Semenarye & a Malicious Traytor

Anthony Tyrrell, William Carterick, Nicholas Gellebrand These are all worthie of hanginge, butt I dare nott encounter M^r^ Harris whoe was the cheffe means of there libertye, for that his M^r^ dothe warrante his man will take no brybes.

Syr on my Wyves behalf I thanke you moste humbly fo^r^ y^r^ prm̃yse for Lysters libertie. I assure you y^t^ pleased me excedingly, & I y^t^ think myself infinytly bounde to your worshippe, that yt will please you to consider so favorably of her kyndred whoe are of verry worshippfull stocke.

[*Berden's Covering Note*]

Woorshippfull

Syr, herinclosed I retorne his honors notte, w^ch^ I well perused accordinge to my knowledg & intelligence. Soche persons as I have noted to be hanged are of most trayterous myndes and disposicions Soche as I have marked for banyshement are most meete for the same puerpose for thatt they are excedinge pore & contentious. Soche as I have marked for Wisbiche are well hable to defraye there expences, of the graver sorte & best accounted for learninge, & [yf] myght stande w^th^ the pleasure of his hon^r^, yt were meete they shoulde all be hanged. ffor Dryland I still entreate in most earnest manner for otherwise [my] credytt is utterly loste. M^r^ Justice* hathe bynne w^th^ his hon^r^, I praye god he & his Clarke hynder not our purpose; for Lyster I am urged moste earnestly to entreate for ffavo^r^ in regard of Kyñred. The oulde p'verb is he must nedes go that the devill driveth; my wyef comandeth and I must obaye, wherefore once more in her behalf I entreate. So w^th^ my duty I end

Yo^r^ wourshippes bounden

Yf Edmondes is not to be hanged butt banyshed I would desyer to knowe for that I woulde make a league of frendshipp the rather I being nowe by Brinckle entertayned whoe is factor for all y^e^ Jesuyts.

* Probably Mr Justice Young, whose interests sometimes conflicted with those of Berden. See Morris, *Troubles,* II, 164.

[*Addressed*] To his Woor[shippeful good ffrend, Mr Thomas . . . Phelippes *erased*].

[*Endorsed by Phelippes*] A note of the prestes disposition & desert now in prison. [*Also marked 80, which is Berden's number, & sealed by his seal—a rose with five petals and two leaves.*]

XXXII. Priests and Recusants Lately Committed. March 10, 1586-7

British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.*, vol. li, no. 67.

The names of Suche priestes & Recusants as have bene lately apprehended & comitted to Sondry prisons in & aboute the Citie of London

Xpofer Southworth fourthe Sonne of Sir John Southworth of Lancashire was student at Rome vij yeares & was made prieste there by Goldwell Bishop of St Asaph & came ouer at Christmas laste: a most daungerous perverter of the Quenes Ma^ties^ subiects.

Thomas Simpson alias Hygate a Seminary priest: a most perilous person and the moste obstinate gainesayer of her ma^ts^ lawes, denienge that wee have the Churche or any lawfull Bishops or mynisters & so consequently adnihilatinge the lawes and statutes.

John Grene alias White alias Strawbridge a Seminary prieste who hath for two yeres laste paste frequented the houses of many Recusantes & hath done muche harme aboute London & is very obstinate.

Nicholas Gillibrand an old massinge priest who resorteth to Recusants houses & saithe masse & is maintayned by them: a very ignorant man w^th^ out learninge & yet will not bee reformed or have conferance.

Henry Drury a younge gentleman whose landes beinge of the yearely value of ccc^li^ are lately come to his possession by the deathe of his father, hee is a moste obstinate recusant & receyver of priests & suspected persons & refuseth to be conversant w^th^ any preacher, sayinge he will stoppe his eares.

John Barton a younge gent of Lancashire hath bene student at Rome & in other places of Italie x yeares & came ou^er^ at Christmas laste w^th^ Xpofer Southworth prieste. hee is a moste daungerous person.

John Yaxley a younge gent. a seconde brother of Suffolke is an obstinante Recusant gevinge very evill example in those countries and refuseth to have conference.

Charles Rooper a very younge gentleman & an obstinate Recusante who in the searche for Babington & thother traytors broke open a dore & toke into his custodie certeyn apparell & other goodes of Edward windsores w^ch^ he hath sithens wholely consumed to the value of cc markes.

Robert Humberstone a younge gent heire to His father who hath bene lately seduced & is a moste obstinate conveyer & con-

cealer of priests & their superstitious tromperies. hee is a Lincolnshire man.

John Webb a younge gent of great welth lately seduced by priestes & hath broken her mats peace in laying violent [hands] upon him who detected him to bee a Recusant: hee will not be bounde from the company of priestes.

Henry Roise a vagrante Recusante who was taken in the countrey goinge from one papistes house to another & is a dissemblinge papiste.

Robert Reeve an obstinate Recusante who goeth from the house of one papiste to another to carry and convey intelligences and lettres & is for that cause mainteyned by them.

John Harrison alias Lynions a Recusant lately come from beyond the seas & hath bene at Doway, Arras, Lucar & the Spawe & a carryer of Lettres from one prieste to another.

x Martii 1586

[*Endorsed by L. Burghley*] The newes of priestes and Recusants lately comitted. Presented by Rich Yong

XXXIII. Priests and Jesuits in Prison in London, July 20, 1587

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. ccii, n. 61.

Names of Priests and Jesuites in the seuerall prisons in London

Tower

William Bennett, Christopher Bagshawe } Seminarie Priests

Marshalsea

John Lyster
John Hetherley
ffrancis Tyllison
ffrancis Edwards
Nicholas Knight
John Bolton
Willm Clargenet
Edward Calverley
Robert Wilcocks
John Smyth

Thomas Bramston
Ralf Crockett
Martyn Searson
Willm Watson
Robert Nutter
Thomas Clyfton
Thomas Sympson
Edward Campion
Launcellott Blackburne

Kings bench

Whyte Lyon

Clinck

Maurice Williams
Willm Edmonds Jesuite
Nicholas ffelpes ãls Smyth Seminarie
Anthonie Tyrrell ãls Browne Seminarie

Nicholas Gellibrand Seminarie
Willm fflowre ãls May Seminarie
Willm Parrie Seminarie
John Robinson Seminarie
Edward James Seminarie
Paule Spence

Counter in the Poltrie

Counter in Wood street

Christopher Dryland
Thomas Smyth

John Cabell
Edward Braddock

John Strawbridge
Nicholas Gellibrand
Christopher Southworth

Thomas Swynnerton ãls Strangwais
John Maddox

Newgate

Leonard Hyde Seminarie
John Higgins Seminarie
George Collinson Seminarie

William Chaddock Seminarie
+ Oliver Haywood
+ William Bennett

Fleet

Gatehowse

Ralph Bickley
John Bawdwine
Jonas Meredith

James Taylor
Christopher Thules
James Powell Seminarie

[*Endorsed*] 20 July 1587. Names of Priests and Jesuites in y^e^ severall prisons in London, taken out of y^e^ certificats

XXXIV. Prisoners fitte for Wisbiche.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. CXCIII, n. 67.

This undated document is with the lists in No. XXV, as if belonging to September, 1586, but it more probably belongs to the end of 1587.

Preestes and others in the prisons about London fitte for Wisbich, able to bear the charges.

Gatehouse

Jonas Meredithe — James Taylor.

Newgate

leonard Hyde
Isack Higgens

George Collynson

Counter Woodstrete

Greene
Stampe

Edmonde Bradock

Whyte Lyon

Thomas Pounde

Marshallsea

John Lyster
John Hubberley
Edward Caverley

George Potter
Nicholas Knyghte
John Smythe

Counter Powltry

Strangwyshe

[*Endorsed*] Preestes & others fitt for Wisbiche.

XXIII. A Note of Priests in Prison, March, 1588.

British Museum, Lansdowne MSS., vol. LV, 458.

This paper is anonymous, and contains in other sections, "the names of Papists in several shires," "priests at liberty," and "priests beyond the seas."

In the Tower

Ithell ãls Vdall — Willm̃ Bennett

Prisoners in Wisbitche

John Greene als Strawbridge
Phillip Strangwitch
Thomas Brampstone

Xpofer Dryland
George Potter
Isaac Higgons

John Lister
Thomas Simpson ãls Hyegate
Frauncis Tilletson
James Powell
Willm Edmonds Jesuite
Willm Wigges
Willm Chaddocke
Leonard Hide
Blewett
Mettham
Thomas Stampe ãls Dighton
Edmond Calverley escaped out of Wisbitch

In the Coumpter in Wood Street

Lewis Barlow ãls Chester
Anthony Tirrell ãls Browne
Edmond Braddocke
Xpõfer Southworth
Cabell

In Bridewell

John Wildane ãls Savell

In the Gatehouse

Xpõfer Thules ãls Ashton
James Tailor
Raffe Bickley
John Baldwin
Jonas Merideth
Willm Deane

In the Clinke

Willm Parrye
Willm Flower als Maye
Morris Willyams
Edward James
John Robinson
Paule Spence

In the Marshalsea

John Habberley
Frauncis Edwardes
Nicholas Knighte
John Bolton
Willm Clargenett
Robert Wilcoxe
Raffe Pallmer
John Smithe
Raffe Crockett
Martin Sereson
Robt Nutter als Rowley
Edward Campion
Thomas Clifton
Willm Buckestone

[*Endorsed*] Martii 1587.

XXXVI. Prisoners at Wisbych. [? 1588.]

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. cxc, n. 44.

For the date of this document, it may be well to refer to the *Privy Council Registers* for Jan. 7, 1588, when writs were issued for the transfer of Tilleson, Lister, Edmunds, Stampe, Stranguish *als* Banister and two others unnamed. But Father Weston, *Troubles*, p. 238, says that twelve were taken. On March 24, 1588, Robert Aufield was paid £12 15s. for carrying 12 priests from London to Wisbeach, *Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts*, 1588, memb. 109. On May 20, 1590, Selioke, a pursuivant, was paid for bringing down thirteen more priests. From this date the number of prisoners was about 30. Our list of 24 names must therefore be earlier.

The names of the prisoners at Wisbych.

Recusants

Mr Scroope
Mr Parpoint
Mr Pownde

Preists

Mettam
Wigge
Blewet
Bradash
Chadock
Stranguich

Cauverley
Edmundes
Potter
Powell
Bramstone
Southworth
Hide
Bickley
Greene
Wigges
Stampe
Driland
Baggshawe
Tillison
Borlwin

[*Endorsed*] The names of the Prisoners at Wisbiche.

XXXVII. Note of Priests at Wisbich.
Before October, 1588.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. ccvi, n. 76.

Priests in Wisbitche sent from London.

Lewis Barloe priest was in company wh the Abingtons in Worcester and herefordeshire when they were soughte for and was prevy of their conspiracies and went from them the same day they were apprehended and lyved allmost hallfe a yeare amongest the Outlawes in Monmouthshire & since hath lurked in London untill December last that hee was taken & was the greatest cause of Tirrell his revolte

Thomas Stampe alias Dighton prieste did muche harme in the Lord Vaux his house & was one of them that did coniure and exorcise at Denham and other places his companion Dipdale was executed.

Willm Wigges priest a most traiterous seducer of the Quenes Ma^ts^ subiects from their truth & from their due obedience & a moste obstinate defender of the Popes Bulles & proceedings againste our Soueraigne Lady.

Philip Strangwiech priest, a greate psuader of the Quenes subiects havinge done muche harme aboute the Innes of courte & is of a most traiterous mynde againste her Ma^tie^ as all these foure are especiall persons

Prisoners in the Tower

Ithell alias Udall a condempned priest in the Tower for Babington's conspiracie who hath corrupted many younge gentlemen in the Innes of Courte & hath practised lately to say masse in the Tower.

James Harrison priest taken in Staffordshire

Alexander Gerard a priest taken in Lancashire sente up by the Lord Straunge.

Roger Ashton broughte ower a bull for his marriage: was of especiall familiaritie w^th^ S^r^ William Stanley & taken in Kente

George Stoker the old Earle of northumberlands man & would have conveyed his daughter awaye, he came lately from Rome.

foxcroft servant to Ashton who is reformed [*in Ld Burghley's hand*].

[*Endorsed*] A note of y^e^ priests at Wisbich.

XXXVIII. Prisoners in the Tower, 2 July, 1588.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth*, vol. ccxv, n. 19. The additions in square brackets are by Lord Burghley.

Right Honorable for performance of my dutie according to y^r^ commaundment I have set downe the names of all such personns as remaine under my chardge and custodie.

All these crossed are at the Queenes chardge.

Aprill 1: 1585. Imprimis the Earle of Arundell prisonner iij yeares iiij monthes.

February 14. 1586. M^r^ Secretarie Davison prisonner one yeare vj monthes

August 23: 1586 S^r^ Thomas Gerrard Knight prisonner one yeare xj monthes—Indicted of Treason.

Januarie 11. 1583 × William Shellie esquire prisonner v yeares vii monthes condemned for Treason

Nouemb 31. 1586 Edward Wyndesore esquire prisonner one yeare viij mothes Condemned for treason.

August 8. 1586 Georg Giffoord esquire prisonner two yeares. Comitted uppon suspition for diverse cawses

Septemb ij. 1585 Edmund Nevill esquire prisonner iij yeares xj monthes Comitted uppon suspition of treason beeing accused by Captaine Burnestrawe

Septemb 5 1586 Thomas Abington gent prisonner one yeare xj monthes Comitted uppon suspition of treason whose brother was executed

January 15. 1586 × William Staffoord & Mychaell Moodie gent prisonners one yeare vij monthes for practising with the ffrench ambassador.

Octob 8. 1586 John Digby gent prisonner one yeare x monthes indicted of treason

Januar 11 1586 × John Stoughton gent prisonner vij monthes comitted by Justice Younge.

Januar 6 1586 × Roger Ashton gent prisonner vij monthes, who was in the company of S^r^ Willm Stanley and privy to the raising of Deventrie

Januar 28. 1586 × John Ardent gent prisonner one yeare vj monthes condemned for treason [unto y^e^ Ks bēch—B]

August 26 1586 × Anthony Tuchehnier gent prisonner one yeare xj monthes comitted uppon suspition of treason [unto y^e^ Ks bēch—B]

August 29 1586 × James Tippinge gent prisonner one yeare xj monthes, comitted uppon Suspition of treason. [to y^e^ Ks bēch —B]

August 23 × Robt. Pollie prisonner one yeare xi monthes comitted uppon suspition of treason

August 27. 1586 × Jerome Paine prisonner one yeare xj monthes comitted uppon suspition of treason. [to y^e^ Ks bēch—B]

July 4 1585 × William Davis prisonner iij yeares one monthe uppon suspition of treason [to have favor—B]

June 12 1587 × Edward Dixon prisonner xiiij monthes comitted for that he was determined to have gone beyonde the Sea [to inqir —B]

Februa 7 1587 × Georg Stooker prisonner vj monthes who hath bin in ffraunce these xx^{tie} yeares and came over to fetch the Earle of Westmorlands daughter. [to y^{e} Mshalsey—B]

Januar 29. 1587 × John Snowden seafaring man prisonner vj monthes. sent from Barwicke to Court by the L. Chamberlin and Comitted uppon Suspition for victuling the enemyes [to y^{e} Marshalsey.—B]

Septemb 11 1585 × Jacob Vandermast Strainger prisonner iij yeares xj monthes servant to M^{r} Nevill comitted uppon the lyke suspition as his M^{r} was, beeing also accused by Captaine Burnestrawe [to be moved to y^{e} Q: Maty for his libty—B]

April 18 1587 × Andrewe Vanmetico Straunger prisonner one yeare iiij monthes Comitted uppon suposition of treason

Septemb 6. 1586 × William Bennet preest prisonner one yeare xj monthes for religion [to Newgat.—B]

Septemb 29 1586 × Ralphe Ithell preest condemned for treason prisonner one yeare x monthes [to Newgat—B]

May 11 1588 × James Harrison preest prisonner xj weekes, comitted for religion [to Newgat.—B]

May 16 1588 Alexander Gerard preest prisonner xj weekes comitted for religion [to y^{e} K bēch—B]

July iiij 1588 Richard Leighe preest prisonn^{r} iiij weeks taken in the Tower for speaking wth prisonners, examined by me and M^{r} Shelton and afterwards by the Q^{s} Atturney and mee and his Examinacons remaine wh M^{r} Atturney. [to y^{e} K bēch—B]

Theare are at the Queens chardge twenty prisonners

[*Endorsed by Lord Burghley*] 2 July 1588. prisonners in y^{e} Tow^{r} of London. [*But the Record Office Calendarer notes*, "August clearly"]

XXXIX. Prisoners in and about London and their Guilt. September 30, 1588.

British Museum, *Lansdowne MSS.*, lviii (Plut. lxxiv, E.) no. 13.

1. These persons are by theire owne confessions guyltye of Treason, or ffellonye.

Jonas meredethe preeste
John Robynson preeste
John Wyldon preeste
James Taylor preeste
Roberte Nutter preeste
John Bickerton preeste
Willyam Claregenett preeste
John Boulton preeste
Thomas Hall reconsyled
John Cradocke reconsyled
Edwarde Tyas reconsyled
Roberte Sutton reconsyled
Roberte Sutton reconsyled [*sic*]
Rycharde Andrewes reconsyled

2. These persons are semynarye preests, and beinge taken vppon the seas, or in pryson att the tyme of the statute are not in dainger of Lawe.

John marche
Davye Kempe
John Vyvyan
Willm Parrye
Thomas Haberley

3. These persons were reconsyled to the Pope of Rome, before the statute, & are daingerous persons, refusinge to take the Quenes parte againste the Popes armye, & refuse to take the oathe given in Leets, w^ch^ ewerye subiecte shoulde take beinge above the age of twelve yeares.

Robte Standen
Roger Yardley
Rycharde Sampson
Rycharde Walderne
Roberte Bellamye
Thomas Bristoe.

4. These will not take the oathe mynistred in the Leets, nor the Quenes parte againste the Popes armye.

Martyn Rainebowe
Lyonell Edes alias Genynge.
Willm Travers
Thomas Pencavell.
Peter Pencavell.
Gracyan Brownell.
Raphe Emersham, he is a lay Jesuyte.
John Willyams.
Godfrey Barton, to be reex[amined] touchinge Ballarde
Nicolas marwood, a dangerous person.
Nicolas Horner.
Richarde webster
Edwarde Chester.

5. These recusants will not take the Quenes parte, againste the the Popes armye, and yett have taken the oathe in the Leete

Roberte Jackson
Richarde wakefielde
John Bradstocke.
John Graye.
Roger Astell.
John Beckinsall
John Launder.
Rycharde Randall.

6. These Recusants refuse the oathe of the Leete, & saye playnelye, that they wyll take parte with the popes armye.

Thomas Layton
George Stocker
Walter Blunte.

7. These persons are onlye Recusants.

Anthonye Snape.
Nicolas Burlace this gent praieth to be comytted prisoner to some mans house uppon sufficient bond w^th^ Surties vntill he recover his health.
Owyn ffletcher, was reconsyled x yeares paste.
Thomas Cavell.
John Tucker.
Thomas Rychardson.
Stephen Cheston.
Richarde Tremayne.
Wittyam Lyngyn.
Davyd Ryngested reconsyled 8 yeares paste.
Richarde Dowse, reconsyled 7 yeares paste.
Stephen Valenger.
Roberte Beckett, reconsyled 16 yeares paste.

George Napper.
ffrauncs Eirman.
Thomas Edwards.
Thomas Pott.
John Rayson.
ffrauncs Bastarde.
Willm̃ Greene.
Elizabeth Sherwood her sonne is a semynarye preeste
John Ellyott.

Willm̃ Braye, a Common Conveyor of preests and recusants, & of naughtye books over the seas, & was taken carryinge the Erle of Arundell over seas.

Henrye ffoxcrofte, hath taken the oathe in the Leete, & the oathe of supremacye and will goe to Churche.

[*Endorsed*] 30 Sept. 1588 Certeficat of Seminary Priestes and Recusantes in y^e^ Prisons, in, and abowte London.

XL. Prisoners removed from the Tower, 16 Oct., 1588.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. ccxvii, n. 27.

Prisonners removed out of the Towar to other Prisons.

Wyllm Davys, Typping, Gerrat the Prist } to the Gatehouse

S^r^ Thomas Gerrard, Bennet, Ithell, Stansby, Ralf Cook } Cownter in Wood Streat.

Abington — Cownter in the Poultry
Peter Welles — Newgate
Humfry Falding — Bridewell

To write to the Lavetenaunt to knowe howe many of the seyd partyes were mayntyned at her Ma^ts^ charges

To cause the Kepers of the prysons to certifie howe long the prysoners have ben comytted

[*Endorsed*] 16 Oct 1588 Prisonners removed out of the Towar to other Prisons

XLI. Table of the Catholic Prisoners [end of 1595].

Westminster Archives, vol. v, pp. 2, 3. Original.

1. Recusants convicted.

Kings bench	Pybush	priest attainted of treason
Newgate	Dangel Studley	Sectary of felony.
Gatehowse	M^rs^ Bellamy	Of felony
Newgate	Alice Welles	Of felony. Receyving of seminary priests.
Flete	Fra: Tregian	
Flete	Nich: Roscarrock	
Flete	Rich: Warneford	
Gatehowse	M^rs^ Wyseman	
Gatehowse	Edw: Chester	

Gatehowse	Will[m] Page	Convict
Clynck	Rich. Dowse	p[apist]
Clynck	Davyd Ringstead	p.
Marshalsey	Walter Blount	gent. p.
Marshalsey	Rich: Webster	p.
Gatehowse	Roger Pechy	p.
Newgate	John Clark	Sectary
Flete	Tho: Hutton	
Flete	John Sturgis	
Kings bench	Rob: Goldsburgh	for Recusancy.

2. Recusantes dangerous having ether ben beyond Sea Harborers of Jesuites or having ben in Conventicles.

1593	by M[r] Yong	Clynck	Rob: Wyesman A traiterous p[apist]
1594	by M[r] Yong	Newgate	Henry Thirkell p. he hath ben beyond seas
1594	by y[e] Councell	S[ct] Katherins	Barth: Wickham p. he hath ben beyond sea.
1594		Brydewell	John Hales } have ben beyond Edw: Hales } seas.
May 1594	by y[e] Councell	Clynck	Edw: Cotterington gent. he hath ben beyond seas.
1594	close prisoner	Gatehowse	Rob: Barones p. M[r] Topcliff chargeth w[t] recevying of Jesuits.
1587	by M[r] Yonge	Clynck	Raff: Emerson yom. p.
Sep. 1595	L. Chamblen	Marshalsey	W. Calverley
1591	by M[r] Yong	Clynck	Will[m] Cook gent. p.
1593	by y[e] high Com[r]	Clynck	Roger Adyn he hath ben beyond seas.
Nov. 1595		Gatehowse	Edw: Margott
1592	by y[e] high Com[r]	Clynck	John Lylly p.
14° Nov 1595	by y[e] high Com[r]	Clynck	Henry Ovyn p. l. ch. Justice. to be conferred.
25 Oct 1595	by y[e] h. Com[r]	Clynck	Will[m] Lockyer p. Just: Fenner to be conferred.
Dec. 1595	by y[e] h. Com[r]	Clynck	Clement Hale yoman. p.
Dec. 1595	by y[e] h. Com[r]	Clynck	John Ayer yom[n]. p.
1592	by y[e] h. Com[r]	Clynck	fra: Johnson Sectary
1592	by y[e] h. Com[r]	fleete	George Johnson Sectary in Conventicles to be indyted abiured.
1595	by ye h. Com	Fleete	Roger Loope p.
1594	by ye Councell	Flete	John ap John p.

3. Meere Recusants not daungerous to ye State for any thing that yet appeareth.

1594	by Mr Yong	Marshalsey	Anth: Morrice p. offerith conconferens.
1590	by ye h. Com	Clynck	John Brigges a weaver p.
Oct:	by ye h. Comr	Newgate	Michael Jeneson p.
1595			
May	by Mr Waade	Bridewell	Tho: North
1595			
Oct:	by ye h. Comr	Clynck	Tho: Bassett yom. p.
1595			
1595	by Mr Yong	Marshalsey	John Stratford p.
1593	by Mr Yong	Marshalsey	Robert Foxe p.
3 yeres imprisoned	by ye l. Buckh:	Marshalsey	Robert Page p.
		Marshalsey	Edw: Tyrrey p.
11 yeres imprisoned	by ye Councell	Gatehowse	John Hughes gent.
1592	by ye h. Comr	Gatehowse	John Mason
1593	by ye l. Maior	Newgate	John Collyns
Maij	by Mr Yong	Newgate	John Fulwood
1594			
Sept	by Mr Waade	Newgate	Robert Towle
1595			
1591	by ye h. Comr	Clynck	Mary Cole p.
1592	by ye h. Comr	Clynck	Christian Ringstede p.
Octob:	by ye h. Comr	Clynck	Ann Glascock
1594			
Octob:	by ye h. Comr	Clynck	Alice Cole p.
1595			
Octob:	by ye h. Comr	Clynck	Jane Clitherbuke p
1595			
Octo:	by ye h. Comr	Clynck	Jone Twyne p.
1595			
July	by ye Councell	Gatehouse	Awdry Bellamy
1594			Mary Bellamy
1591	by ye h. Comr	Flete	Mary Warneford
			Elizab: Warneford

Seminary Priests & Jesuits.

1593	by Mr Yong	Clynck	R. Walgrave als Barrowes
July	by Mr Yong	Clynck	John Jerrard
1594	by ye L. Threr	Marshalsey	David Lawe Novis Sacerdos.
1593	by ye Councell	Marshalsey	Willm Staney Fryer
Dec.	by Sr Rob: Cecyll	Gatehowse	Robert Hawkesworth
1595			
Aug:	by Sr Tho: Egerton	Newgate	Edw: Hughes
1595			
5 yeres imprisoned [in Sct Katherines]		[St Katherine's]	William Cornewallis

1594	by y^e^ Councell	S^ct^ Katherines	George Hethersall Nich: Lenche

Counterfettors of my L. et y^e^ Councells hands.

July 1575	by M^r^ Topcliff	Clynck Marshalsey	Willm Johnson Walter Peppar
1594	by y^e^ Councell	Gatehowse	
	by y^e^ l. keeper	Gatehowse	Ryc: Hawes
April 1595	by y^e^ l. Admirall	Gatehowse	George Ellice
April 1595	by y^e^ l. Admirall	Brydewell	Will^m^ Lathbees
August 1595	by M^r^ Topcliff	Bridewell	George Anglesar

Treason beyond Sea & other Treasons.

1594	by y^e^ Councell	Gatehowse	Will^m^ Randall
4 yeres imprisonm^t^	by y^e^ l. Threr.	Gatehowse	John Dextre
Junii 1595		Newgate	Hanse Beese for Coyning Robert Wyseman a tryterous recusant.

Her Ma. to be mouede / .·. Gatehowse M^rs^ Bellamy; Fleete M^rs^ Shelley; Newgate Danyel Studley; Newgate, Martiningo to be banished; S^ct^ Katheryns Henry Yarge.

		Quere	
Maij 1595	M^r^ Waade	Gatehouse	Tho: Richardson
Octob: 1595	l. Threr	Gatehouse	Edw: Hayley Ireshman
Nov: 1595	l. Threr.	Gatehouse	John Erle
1591	l. of Cant.	W. hoe	John Sparrowe
19yeres	M^r^ fletewod	W. hoe.	Rich: Sampson p.
15yeres	B. of London	W. hoe.	Rich: Waldron
July 1595	l. of Cant.	Bridewell	Robte. Colton
1593	by y^e^ h. Com^r^	Clynck	Anne Burd

Quere

Their LL pleasure concerninge close imprisonm^t^

XLII. All Preists prisoners in the Citty of London, Feb. 1598/9.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. CCLXX, n. 45.

Tower	Doctor Bagshaw.
Edmunds	Xpofer Southworth
Archer	Newgaite
Gatehouse	Nicholas Knight
two Irish preists	Nicholas Linche

Robert Barwis
Anthony Rowse.
Wood Street Counter
Edward Coffin
Robert Benson
Kings bench
John Pibush
Marshalseas
John Champrey
Clincke
William Cornewallis
Edward Hughes
Edward Tempest
Bridwell
Wright.

[*Endorsed*] February 1598. Names of all the Preists prisoners in the Citty of London.

XLIII. The Bishop London's List of Catholic Prisoners, July 6, 1602.

Record Office, *Domestic Elizabeth,* vol. CCLXXXIV, n. 62, I.

Holograph of Bishop Bancroft, enclosed in his letter to Cecil of July 6, 1602.

Newgate

One Pownde a desperate and an obstinate fellow.

Clincke

Adams, a priest
Dowce, a very forward fellow and an intelligencer.
Tichburne

Gatehowse

Tilletson: a priest, respected of neyther syde.
Hughes, Rayson } Two obstinate Recusants that have been there long.

Marshalsey

Webster, a great perverter of youth.
Blunt
Colbecke: a pestilent fellow.

Kings benche

Eden.

No. IV

RECORDS RELATING TO CATHOLICISM IN THE SOUTH WALES MARCHES, 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

EDITED BY JOHN HOBSON MATTHEWS

I

REPORT FROM ROBERT BENNET, BISHOP OF HEREFORD, TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY, as to the Proceedings of the Papists in South-West Herefordshire; Apprehension of Persons participating in a Popish Funeral and an Armed Assembly; the Hearing of Mass; Names of Recusants from other Counties, settled in Herefordshire.

Record Office, *Domestic James I*, vol. XIV, nn. 52, 53. (1605.)

RIGHT honorable maie it please yo^r Hono^r to bee advertised, that vppon wedensday last att eveninge beeing y^e xix^th of June, Sir James Scudamore,* accompanied with M^r Ruddhall,† M^r Rowland Vaughan§ and M^r Kirle,¶ Justices of y^e peace, with such aide as I could giue them, went vnto y^e Darren,** and places neere adioyninge to make search and apprehend Jesuites and Priestes their abettors and Receavors, certaine daies beefore beeing riotouslie abroade with weapons, and did make diligent search all that night, and daie following, from village to village, from house to house, about thirtie miles compasse, neere y^e confynes of Monmouth-shiere, where they found houses full of alters, images, bookes of superstition, Reliques of idolatry, but left desolate of men and weomen, except here and there an aged woman, or a child, all were fledd into Wales, and but one man apprehended, out of whose examination nothing worthie of relation can bee gotten; all that circuite of rude and barbarouse people carried head-long into these desperate courses by Priestes (whereof there is greate store) and principall gentlemen, Lordes of Townes and mannors there; who leade y^e rest at will. But o^r purpose was descried, and made vayne, except a terror striken into them. And therefore vnder correction of their Hon. wisdomes, some other course must bee taken; ffor if wee goe out with fewe, wee shal bee beaten home; if wee Levye any strength, wee are descried, and they are all fledd into woods, and there they will lurke vntill the assizes bee past; therefore not I, but all y^e rest are of opinion, that a proclamation must call them in by a daye prefixed to yeeld themselues to his ma^ts either iustice or mercie. I have allso sent inclosed two severall examinations concerning y^e Riott committed at y^e first going out of y^e Justices; w^ch will yeeld some matter of further dis-

* of Holm Lacy (the Protestant branch).
† of Rudhall, near Ross.
§ ? of Bredwardine.
¶ Kyrle of Walford and of Eaton Tregoes, an ancestor of "the Man of Ross."
** in the parish of Garway, Herefordshire, on the border of Monmouthshire.

cover, wherein are detected many principall actors, and all daungerous men, whereof, speciall men, Thomas Pricharde, who raised manie (a man of Sir Roger Bodenham*) and Rice ap Price, Sir Charles Morgans ✠ brother in lawe. And all theise are fled their houses into corners, and presently cannot bee apprehended. No vigilancie or endeav^or^ shalbee wanting, and what service shall happelie bee effected, shall bee as speedilie certified as maie bee. ffurther it is discovered vnto mee, w^ch^ I dare not conceale, that Sir Charles Morgan att the late Queenes death, was sollicited to rise vpp in armes. It is said in his commendation that hee refused, yet were it expedient he were sounded, by whom. I am told that out of question it was by William Morgan, John Smith, and one North, a Priest. It is allso insinuated that Cadwallader § y^e^ priest, and William Morgan were actors, and had their finger in the late Watsons¶ intended Treason, which was in parte hammered here in theise parts.

Beesides theise things I thinck it necessarie to disclose, what maketh some more fearefull in this service; if in theise searches any violent resistaunce be made, and blood bee shedd besides purpose, we haue no warrant of discharge in iustice, Wee our Landes and goodes fall into y^e^ kings mercie, this maketh some goe out in cold blood. My servaunt was putt in hope, and attended long for a commission Ecclesiasticall for mee, whereby I might better bee enabled to doe his Highness service, but hee found that w^ch^ I ever fownd, some vnwilling that any aucthoritie of that nature should passe further then their owne handes. If I maie haue it, I will doe the service: if I maie not, liberavi animam meam, I will lyve the more priuate, and Let the blame light where it will; beesides I am told, that it will cost mee neere xx^l^ in charge of drawing, writing and sealing, w^ch^ my man was not furnished to disburse, nor I willing to giue. Many Bishopps haue it, no man hath more neede then I in all y^e^ Land. Thus humbly craving pardon I commend yo^r^ honor to y^e^ gratious tuition of y^e^ allmightie, who ever blesse you with all heavenly graces. ffrom Hereford the xxij^th^ of June 1605.

Your Honors in all dutie.

Ro[BERT] HEREFORD.**

To the right honorable the Earle of Salisburie ✠ ✠ one of his Ma^ts^ most honorable privie Councell at y^e^ Court.

[Episcopal seal of arms.]

[52. i.]

Heref[ord] 22° Junij. The examination of John Guillim of y^e^ parrishe of Dower ffroome &c

This examinate conffesseth and saith that one Thomas

* of Rotherwas.

✠ of Arkstone.

§ Ven. Roger Cadwallader, priest, martyred at Leominster, 27 August 1610 (Challoner, *Memoirs.*)

¶ Richard Griffiths *alias* Fleming *alias* Watson, S.J., apparently a relative of William Griffiths of the Cwm in Llanrothal.

** Robert Bennet, the Bishop of Hereford, who examined the Ven. Roger Cadwallader on his apprehension. ✠ ✠ Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury.

Prichard* of the Grange in the said parish ✠ willed this deponent to goe w^th^ him which hee did, and came with him about a mile to a place called the Cockett, vppon Corpus Christi daye. hee confesseth there was some xx^tie^ in the vallett, whither this deponent came; it was about xj of y^e^ clock in the night when this examinate came thither, and hearing some company came to take M^r^ William Morgan, § viz., S^r^ James Scudamore and others, they there staide with weapons as Bowe and Arrowes etc. Persons present were Henry Williams, Geo. his son, Tho^s^ Quarrell¶ of Wormbridge, Rice ap Price, Leonard Marsh, John ap Price, James Coles, Fra^s^ Griffith, Tho^s^ ap Parry ** of Wormbridge, Thomas John Vayne a tucker & his man, Tho^s^ Whopper of Hardesewes, Rich^d^ Merrick of Kingston, Philip Giles. They were convened by Prichard.

[52. ii.]

Watkin Phelpotts of Dower ffrome conffesseth: That There were also present Tho^s^ Price, W^m^ Caunt, W^m^ Chalnor, John Prickett. Tho^s^ ap Prichard drove his cattle from his own ground, fearing their seizure.

[No. 53. fol. 1]

A note of such persons as are detected to haue beene present att y^e^ funerall of Ales Wellington, wife of Thomas Wellington of Allensmore vppon the Tuesdaie in Whitson weeke, 1605.

James Coles.
Phillip Giles, bare the crosse.
William Browne.
William Marsh, apprehended.
William Chadnor.
Richard Smith, bare y^e^ Bell.
William Caunt.
Henrie Jenkin.
Thomas Dunston.
Thomas Chadnor.
William Taborer.
Henry Tailor.
Margaret Coles.
Alice Coles.
Joane Dunston.
Joane Bailie.
Margaret David.
Llekie Guillim.
Anne Church.
Margaret Wheeler.
Sibill Jenkin.
Elinor Winnall.
Joane Wellington.
Anne Lewis.
Thomas Kerrick.

Whereof as yet none apprehended but William Marshe, y^e^ rest being ffled.

The names of such persons as are detected to haue been actors in the Rescue of Leonard Marshe, 24° Maij 1605.

Apprehended

M^r^ W^m^ Morgan
W^m^ Marshe
William Pye
John Phillipps

* Prichard of the Grange in Skenfrith, an old Catholic gentle-family regularly appearing in the Monmouthshire Recusant Rolls.

✠ This is an error, the Grange being located as mentioned in the last preceding note.

§? William Morgan of Blackmoor in Abbey Dore, cousin to Sir Charles Morgan of Bredwardine. ¶ of Treville in Wormbridge, gentleman.

** Thomas ap Lewis ap John ap Harry (Parry) of Hengwrt or Oldcourt in Ewyas, gentleman, related by marriage to Quarrell of Treville.

ffledd, and as yet cannot be taken

Phillip Giles
W^m^ Chadnor
John Griffithes a drover
John Griffithes a grasier
John Spencer
James Pye
Walter Pigg
W^m^ Porter
W^m^ Wheeler
Tho^s^ Meredith

[fol. 2]

The names of some of ye persons, that were assembled and armed to encounter y^e^ Sheriffe and Justices vppon Corpus Christi daie.

Rice ap Rees of Kilpeck gent, apprehended
Tho^s^ Price of Madley
William Caunt
William Chadnor
ffrancis Griffith
Richard Merrick
James Coles
Henrie Williams
George Williams his sonne
John Prickett
Thomas John Vayne and his man
Thomas Quarrell of Wormebridge
John ap Price
Thomas Whoper
Tho^s^ ap Prichard the capteyne of them
Phillip Giles
Tho^s^ Jane alias way
William Browne
Richard Powell
Henry Chadnor
Thomas Dunston
Thomas Windoe
John Wiliams
Thomas Meredith
John Davies
James Quarrell

All having weapons, viz bills, Javelings, pikes, bowes and arrowes, Swordes and bucklers, and some Gunns.

In y^e^ Cockett, to y^e^ number of xxx^ty^ persons But in y^e^ vallett neere M^r^ William Morgans howse, a greater nomber, confessed by Watkin Philpotts

The persons in this assemblie, apprehended are

John Guillim
Thomas Parry
John Powell
Watkin Philpotts
Hugh Webb

The rest are fled, and as yet cannot be taken.

*The names of such as are detected to haue been present att Masse at Whitfield**

Roger Cadwallader y^e^ priest that vsually said Masse there.

John Powell
ffra^s^ ffoster alias Bishopp
James Coles clerk to y^e^ priest
Leonard Marsh
John Smith
William Morgan gent.
William Symondes
John Griffithes y^e^ drover
Phillipp Giles, and his wife
James Coles his wife
William Marshe
William Browne
Henry Tailor
Thomas Chadnor
Thomas Marshe
Sible Jenkin
William Caunte

* A mansion in the township of Treville, parish of Wormbridge.

And of these are apprehended

Leonard Marshe
John Powell
ffrancis ffoster alias Bishop
William Marshe and
Mr Willam Morgan

Such as haue been detected to haue been att Mass at ye Darren.

Jones alias Morrice ye priest att ye Darren.
Richd Davies and his wife.
Thos Davies and his wife.
William Powell.
John James
John Philpotts, and his mother, and his wife.
John Phillip and his wiefe.
Geo: Davies.
John Davies and his wief.
William Morgan of Skenfrith and his wief.
Walter Cowarne, and his wife. Hee vsed to keepe ye dore,
William Walker of ye Darren and his wief.
William Watkin of Treithell and his wife.
John Phillipps of Garway Towne, and his sonne, and his sonnes wife.

[fol. 3]

Mr Wm Vaughans wife of Llanrothall.*

His mother. ✠
Elizabeth his sister. §
James his Shephard.
John Jenkin his man.
Evan Jenkin his man, and
Rice his Bailie.
Anne Davies widowe.
Blaunch her daughter.
Maude Howell of Llangarren.
Wm Hughe of Monmouthshiere.

Theise are confessed by John Rudge.

The names of some of ye persons (wch are confessed) armed att the Darren, and assembled to resist the Bisshopp and Sheriffe, whom they heard were comminge.

Richard Davies with a Javelinge.
James Mr Vaughans Shephard with a forrest bill and a Longe hanger.
John Phillips of brode oake with a pike.
William Hughe of Monmouthshiere with bowe and Arrowes.
Mr Vaughans men of Llanrothall had all weapons.

[fol. 3]

The names of the principall and most daungerous Recusants in the diocesse of Hereford, presented at ye feast of ye Nativitie of Christ last. 1604.

The ladie Bridgett Boddenham, wife to Sir Roger Boddenham Knight of ye Bathe.
John Carpenter of Almerly gent, and Elizabeth his wife.
Mrs Margerie Vaughan of Kinnersley, wydowe.

* She was Ann Gwilym of Cillwch Fach, co. Monm., and was at this time a widow.

✠ *olim* Maud Cox of Norton in Skenfrith.

§ wife of Walter Vaughan of Cophill.

John Leeth of Stretton and his wife
Elizabeth Brainton, wife of John Brainton Esquire.
Mrs ffrancis Gage of Wormesley.
Anne Monington, wife of Wm Monington of Kinnersley gen'.
Ralphe Lingen gen' ib'm.
Sibbell ye wieffe of John Seaborne of Sutton St Michaell Esquire.
Edward Wigmore of ye same gen'.
Alice ye wife of John Wallwen of Sutton St Nicholas gent.
Richard Clerk * of Wellington gent. and Anne his wife.
Edward Clerk ib'm and Mathys his wife.
John Vaughan of ye same gen' and Anne his wife.
Anne ye wife of Anthony Pembridge of ye same gent.
James Hiett, a sojourner att Lempster, ✝ wt Rich. Blunt Esqre
Rachell the wife of ye said Richard Blunt.
Evan Lewis of Presteigne gent. and Elizabeth his wife.
Barber Rodd, of ye same widowe.
Sibell Bradshawe wife of John Bradshawe of Presteigne Esquire.
Mrs Wigmore of Lucton.
Peeter Lloide of Norton Esq:
Richd Monington of Pembridge gen' and Marye his wife.
Alice Lothard wife of William Lothard of ye same gent.
Katherine Hopwood wife of Roger Hopwood ib'm gent.
Rich. Lewis, late parson of Sarensfield. §
Margaret Hawkins wife of Wm Hawkins of Strettford gent.
Wm Hawkins abouesaid, a seducer or p'swader to Poperie.
John Awbrey of Birley gent. and Margarett his wife.
Mrs Alice Monnington of Sarensfield.
Alice Bowin wife of Thomas Bowin of Kimbalton Esqre
Richard Griffiths ib'm and Elinor his wife.
Katherine Phillipps wife of John Phillipps of Dewchurch gen'.
Thomas Sayce of Kilpeck gen' and Jane his wife.
One Mrs Parry abiding there.
Rice ap Rice gent. ib'm and Mary his wife.
Richard Powell gent. ib'm and Katherine his wife.
Thomas Kerrick and Margerie his wife ib'm.
Anne Purslowe of Sidburie, abiding with Robert Purslowe Esq.
Edward Bridgman of Aston Line gent.
Thomas Rea of ye same.
Raph Hopkins of Watford.

[fol. 4]
William Harper of Madley Esquior.
John Harper ye elder gent. ib'm.
John Harper ye yonger gent. ib'm and Katherine his wife.
Thomas Price a seducer ibi'm.
William Caunt of ye same and Katherine his wife.
Charles Bourne gent. and Anne his wife of ye same.

* Father-in-law to William Vaughan of Courtfield.
✝ Leominster.
§ Sarnesfield.

William Chambers of Hampton Bishopp and Alice his wife.
Dorothie wife of William Carpenter of Norton gent.
Elizabeth wife of Charles Whitney of y^e^ same gent.
John Griffith of Kingston gent. and Jane his wife.
M^rs^ Wye of Allensmore widowe.
Robert Clough gent. of Worthin and his wife.
Elizabeth y^e^ wife of Thomas Berrington of Pontesburie gent.
John Lutley gent. of Diddleburie and Marie his wife.
William Lutley of y^e^ same gent.
George Moore of the same gent. and Anne his wife.
Margarett Adams widowe of Little Hereford.
Adam Crompe and Jane his wife of Holgate.
Edward Harper of y^e^ same.
Lewes Brecknock and Margarett his wife of y^e^ same
M^rs^ Elinor Ridley of Linley Chappell.
Robert Mathewes of Burrington.
Susan Meysey wife of Thomas Meysey of Barton gent.
Charles Foxe of Greete Esq^r^ and his wife.
William, George and Rowland, brethren to y^e^ said Charles.
George Kemble * of Welsh Newton gent. and his wife.
Adam Watkins ib'm gen' & Margarett his wife.
James Watkins of the same.
Richard Hipson al^s^ Siloe ib'm Schoolemaster.
James Griffith of Llanrothall and Marye his wife
John Watson & Sara Watson ib'm.
John William Cicell and Alice his wife ibi'm.
William Watkins ib'm.
James Probin ib'm.
John Hailes ibi'm.
William Whooper ib'm.
Edward Poines gent. and his wife ibi'm.
Thomas Scudamore of Kenchurch and Anne his wife.
Christopher Scudamore of the same gen.
George Scudamore of Llangarren Esq^re^ and his wife.
John Kemble of the same gen' and his wife.
M^rs^ Elizabeth Morgan of Eaton Bishopp widowe.
Katherine Bridges wife of Thomas Bridges ibidem
Randall Best and Katherine his wife ibidem.
M^rs^ Newton al^s^ Prater of Hereford widowe.
M^r^ ffetiplace and Joane his wife ib'm.
Lucie y^e^ wife of Ambrose Griffithes ✠ ib'm.
John Hollwood alias Dier ibid.
Richard Stockton and Elizabeth his wife.
Owen Morgan of Marden gen' and his wife.
Elizabeth Russell wife of John Russell gent. ibid.
Henry Rawlye of Withington gent. and Julian his wife.

* Originally of Kemble, co. Wilts., an ancestor of the Ven. John Kemble, priest and martyr, of Pembridge Castle in Welsh Newton.

✠ "Ambrose Griffith, a lawyer, dwelling in Hereford, though he goeth to the church, yet he runneth the Jesuites' courses most violentlye" (S.P.D. vol. XIV, no. 40). See also *post*, p. 297.

Thomas Jauncie and Jane Jauncie ibidem.
Edward Price of Pipe gen' and Katherine his wife.
John Williams of Hereford and his wife.
Anthony Ingram, a phisition in Hereford.
M^rs^ Rose Mailard of Hereford widowe.
Sibell Price her daughter.
Joane wife of Robert Mailard ibi'm.
Richard Abington of Bromyard Esquier.
Richard Denton, Roger Colley, Richard Lirey } his Servaunts.
William Beraston in Vpper Sapie.
Joan Berington wife of Frauncis Berington of Yankhill gen'*
Gregory Havard ✠ gent. of Pipley and Sible his wife.
William Wigmore of Lucton Esq.
Margerie Scrivener of Ledburie, wife of M^r^ Scrivener D^r^ of Physick
Jane y^e^ wife of Frauncis vnet of Castle Frome Esq.
William Leighton of Thorneburie Esq.
William Minors of Garwaye gent. and Katherine his wife.
Richard Whiting alias Witting of Orcop gent.
Raph Hopkins of Watford gent.
Elizabeth y^e^ wife of John Breynon of Stretton Esq.
M^rs^ Anne Catchmay of Mauncellacye.
Thomas Pritchard gen' of the same.
John Berrowe gen' ib'm.
M^rs^ Anne Morgan of Eaton Bishopp.
M^rs^ Mary Lingen of S^t^ Owins in Hereford widowe.
Mrs Margerie Vaughan of Kinnersley widowe.
Joahne wife of Thomas Beale of perkhill gent.
Richard Whiting and his wife of Orcopp.
Richard Bubb of Culmington and Marie his wife.
John Bullock of y^e^ Lowe gent.
M^r^ Altham of Overbullingham gent.
The wife of John Baggott of Stretford gent.

The names of such Recusants as were assembled to heare a masse in y^e^ house of John Ireland in Hereford 2^o^ February 1603.

John Phillipps	Lucie Griffithes
George Tailor	Anne Eliott
John Andrewes	Margarett Williams
M^rs^ Jane Vaughan	Elinor Eliott
Anne Wilton	Elizabeth Watkins
Katherine Jenkin	Elizabeth Stockton
Elinor Morrice	Margarett Turnor
Michaell Vaughan	Joane Davies
Thomas ffetiplace	Elizabeth ffield
Henrie Rawlee	Katherine Scudamore

* An ancestor of the family of Berington now of Little Malvern, still Catholic.

✠ In no. 40 he is described as being specially "hett for the Jesuites."

Wm Vaughan
Anthony Scroope
James Griffithes
John Kilcmpp
ffrancis Gage
Anne Bridges
Alice Ireland
Margery Newton
Elizabeth Gerry
Anne Harper
Joane Thomas
Katherine Watkins
Joane Philpotts
Margert Comond
John Ireland
Julian Rawlee
Margarett Knight
Howell David
Richard Stockton
Evan Thomas
Elizabeth Brominnage
Marie Streete
Jane Mailard
Marie Gwatkin
Joane Morgan
ffrancis Rumsey
Elinor Smith
Beatrix Thomas
Joane Davis
Sible Price
Elizabeth Thomas
Margarett Weauer.

52

The names of Recusantes wch are of other contries but nowe are soiurners in ye County of Hereford.

[fol. 5]

Mr George Kemble of Wiltshire now dwelleth at Pembridge.
Mr John Kemble his brother dwelleth in Urchinfield.
Mr Poynes at Signate * 2 miles from Monmouth.
Mr Wm Griffithes of Glamorganshiere dwelleth at ye Combe.
Mrs Whiting having another name, dwelleth at Vrchinfield.
Mr Bonard at Llanrothall.
Mr Andrewes of Yorkshire abideth in Vrchinfield.
Mr ffoster alias Bishopp abideth at Trevill parke.
Mrs Wye, her name is Straunge of Glocestershire; she nowe abideth att Hungarston.
Mr Richard Griffith at Kingstone.
Phillip Giles of Monmouthshire, dwelleth at Winnall.
Mrs Newton, her name is Prater, of Somersetshire, dwelleth in Hereford.
Mr ffetiplace alias ffoller, of Barkshire, abideth in Hereford.
ffrancis Barker of Warwickshire dwelleth at Garwaye.
Elizabeth Grove of Dorcetshire, dwelleth at Garwaye both theise confessed they came hither for their conscience.
Mr Ambrose Griffith, an halfe Recusant, and a dangerous man, said to bee of Glamorganshire, dwelleth in Hereford.
Mr John Moore, of Stretton North of Oxfordshire and Elizabeth Moore his wife.
Richard Jepson, a minister without orders, and one that teacheth schoole, not having Licence.
Richard Hipseley alias Siloe, One that teacheth Recusants children, not licenced.

* Probably Treget or Trygate. This was Edward Poyntz, a cadet of Iron Acton, co. Glouc.

II

1625.

A list of all the names of the recusants disarmed w^th^in the hunderds of Bergeveny S^t^ Kenffreth Ragland and Uske and Treleck the Armes from them taken.

BERGAVENNY HUNDERD

Lanfoyest

Imprimis one Corcellett and two pickes from Walter Williams gent' a recusant.

Item one Corcellett and one fowlinge peece from Catherine Lawrence widowe a recusant.

Lantillio Pertholey

Item one fowlinge peece and a pistoll from Elizabeth Prichard widowe a recusant.

Bergavenny Villa

Item one halbart one glayeth * and one forest bylle from Valentin David a recusant.

S^t^ Kenffreth Hundred

Item one Curesse w^th^ pouldrans and one gauntlett from William Hughes Esq^r^ his wife a recusant.

Lantilio Gresseny

Item one Corcellet and a picke from Charles Jones gent' his wife a recusant.

S^t^ Kenffreth

Item one corcellett and a picke from Richard Jones gent' his wife a recusant.

S^t^ Moughans

Item one Corcellett and a pecke from John James✝ Esq^r^ his wife a recusant.

Item one Corcellett and a picke from Elizabeth Watkins widowe a recusant.

Langattocke Veibon Awell

Item one Corcellett and a picke from Thomas Prichard a recusant.

RAGLAND HUNDRED

Clytha

Item one Muskett from Rees Morgan gent' a recusant.

USKE HUNDRED

Lanvihangell

Item one Corcellett and a picke from Lewis Richards gent, a recusant.

TRELLECKE HUNDRED

Langowen §

Item one Corcellett and a pecke from Christopher Proger gent' a recusant.

* Glaive, Welsh *cleddyf,* Irish *claidheamh.*

✝ of Treivor, in the Monnow Valley, an ancient mansion, with its domestic chapel still remaining, though dismantled. § Llangoven.

III

Enquiry as to Lands given for Catholic Purposes (1689)

Record Office, *Bundle of Recusant Papers, 1688-1717,* Monmouthshire and Herefordshire.

Superstitious Uses in Monmouthshire.

The Pl'ff's Case and Title.

Their present Ma^ties^ by their Espiciall Com^con^ Issued out of y^e^ Petty Bagg in Chancery dated y^e^ 14^th^ of September in the first year of their Reigne did Impower Authorise and Appoynt Richard Milner, Edward Warner, Charles Stocke and severall others therein named to Inquire by y^e^ Oaths of 12 men what Manners, Messuages, Lands, Tenem^ts^ and Hereditam^ts^ in this County of Monmouth within or for Divers Years last past were fallen p'chased Sold Given Conveyed or otherwise Secured in ffee Simple; or for terme of life or lifes or for terme of years yet to come or otherwise And alsoe what Goods & Chattles Creditts Speciallities debts Sume & Sumes of Mony in the names of Sev'all p'sons unknowne In trust for certaine Superstitious and Vnlawfull Uses And against y^e^ fforme & Effect of divers Statutes in that Case made & p'vided, the Benefitt Interest & Advantage of which forfeited Estates ought to Come to their Ma^ties^

Which s'd Com^con^ by Inquisic'on taken before them or some of them att Monmouth in the County of Monmouth 4° Octobris Anno R^s^ & R'ine nunc primo Upon the Oathes of William Price Adam Adams Walter Prichard & others being very able and Substantiall men Did upon their Oathes ffinde & present That before y^e^ Issueing out of the Com^con^ afores^d^ a Certaine Messuage & forty Acres of Land Meadow & pasture with th' app'ten'ces Scituate lying & being in the p'ish of Rockfeild in Com. Monmouth then or late in the tenure or Occupac'on of Mary Jones Vid. was Given Conveyed and Assured by Mary Watkin Tyler to p'sons unknowne To y^e^ vse & vnder the Trust following (vizt) for Susteyning & supporting of one Francis Williams then & still a Preist in Ord^rs^ of y^e^ Church of Roome of y^e^ Order of S^t^ Francis in y^e^ s'd Church of y^e^ Clear Yearly Value of 6^li^ And rec'd for 3 years then last past by Francis Baskervill to the Superstitious Vses afores'd.

M^r^ Michael Nevill, M^r^ Peeter Berrault,* Mr Lewis Jones, M^r^ Thomas Powell, Peeter Walter and M^r^ John Taafe proves this to be as found in the Inquisic'on.

And alsoe that a Certaine Messuage with th' app'ten'ces scituate in Monmouth in y^e^ County of Monmouth afores'd in a certaine Street there called Monnoe Street † late in Possession of Ignatius Thorpe a Priest of y^e^ Church of Roome Granted Conveyed & Assured by one George Milbourne § to one James Richardson Superior of y^e^ Jesuites and to his Heirs to y^e^ Vses & upon the

* Pierre Bérault was an apostate French priest, who became one of the notorious "Chaplains of the Fleet," and in 1681 published a work entitled *The Church of Rome evidently proved Heretick.*

† Monnow Street, the main thoroughfare.

§ of Wonastow, esquire.

Trusts following (vizt) for susteyning of Certaine Jessuits then Residing in a certaine place called the Colledge of S^t^ Xeverius att y^e^ Combe * in y^e^ County of Hereford & their Successors Exercissinge y^e^ Romish Religion.

M^r^ Gwillym M^r^ Walter James and M^r^ W^m^ Taylor proves this Inquisic'on as found.

And also another Messuage with th' app'ten'ces in the s'd Towne then or late in the tenure of W^m^ Perkins Given & Conveyed by p'sons unknowne to y^e^ Affores'd James Richardson & his Heirs for y^e^ Support & Mainetainaunce of y^e^ s^d^ Combe Colledge of S^t^ Xeverius Colledge of y^e^ yearly value of 46^s^ And Rec'd for one Year past by Ignatius Thorp the Priest.

The same p'ves this.

And a certaine Messuage & one hundred & ffifty Acres of Land Meadow Pasture & Wood called Langunvill ✠ cum p'tin. in y^e^ p'ish of Dixton in Com. Monmouth in y^e^ tenure of Edward Phillpott Given Graunted & Conveied by p'sons unknowne to p'sons unknowne to the vse of y^e^ Colledge of S^t^ Xeverius & of y^e^ Jessuitts there at the Combes affores'd of y^e^ Yearly Value of 28^li^ which were p^d^ for 4 years last past to Peter Pullen for Superstitious vses. Edr̃us Philpott Tenant & Def^t^

M^r^ Gwillym M^r^ Nevill M^r^ Taafe M^r^ Berrault and John Lace p'ves this.

And a Certaine Messuage & one hundred & 40 Acres of Meadow & pasture with th'app'ten'ces called Amberly § scituate Lying & being in y^e^ p'sh of Monmouth in the Com̃ Monmouth then & now in the tenure of John Prichard Given Conveyed & assured by Edward Winter Jane his wife & W^m^ their sonne to certaine p'sons unknowne & their Heirs to y^e^ Uses and in Trust for the Susteyning & Support of y^e^ Jessuits in the Colledge of S^t^ Xeverius residing att the Combes of y^e^ yearly value of 35^li^ p' Ann. And 14 Years Rent thereof paid to Peter Pullen for Superstitious vses.

Jno. Prichard Tenant & Defendant.

M^r^ Nevill, M^r^ Berrault, M^r^ Jones, M^r^ Gwillym, M^r^ Powell, M^r^ Taafe, M^r^ Walter James p'ves this as found.

And alsoe 3 Gardens in the Towne of Monmouth in the s'd County in the tenure of James Gabriell Given to the uses affores'd of y^e^ Jessuits of S^t^ Xeverius Colledge at the Combes at 30^s^ p' Ann. And for two years last past Rec^d^ by Thorpe a Preist for Superstitious Uses.

Note, That Gabriell hath Attorned Tenant for this formerly And p'd Seu'all Years Rent to my Lords Agent but now pretends that M^r^ W^m^ Milbourne hath given him a Bond to save him harmeless. And hee'l pay noe more to my Lord Warrington. M^r^ W^m^ Milbourne Defends this.

* The Jesuits' secret residence at the Cwm in the parish of Llanrothal, Herefordshire, in the Monnow Valley.

✠ Llangynfil, a farm at the foot of the Buckholt, in the Monnow Valley. Philpotts of Llangynfil were Catholics all along.

§ Amberley, a farm on the western confines of the Borough and Parish of Monmouth.

Quer: Whether we had not best insist Upon his Atornment, and wave o^r^ Ejectment, And bring an Account of Debt for the Rent.

And alsoe that an Appartm^t^ of the Priory House* Scituate in Monmouth in Coñ Monmouth late in the Possession of Francis W^ms^ Franciscan ffryer & was by one Thomas Edwards Given Graunted & Conveyed & Assured to one Francis Baskervill to the vse of y^e^ Elders of y^e^ Church of Roome to make a Popish Chappell of which afterwards was so made in the time of King James the Second And Mass frequently Celebrated there, together with one little Tenem^t^ thereunto belonging & Apperteyning in y^e^ tenure & Occupac'on of one John Woodwin of y^e^ yearly value of 3^li^ 10^s^ Rec'd by John Woodward for Superstitious Vses.

M^r^ Thomas Edwards proves this.

And that the Reu'c'on of y^e^ Priory House with th'app'ten'ces scituate in Monmouth afores'd in Coñ pr'd. now or late in the tenure of John Williams were by y^e^ said John Williams Given, Conveyed and Assured to M^r^ Edward Burdett of Grayys Inn London Esq^r^ and his Heirs to y^e^ Use and in Trust for the Maintainance & Sole Benefitt of Francis Williams, a Brother of y^e^ Ord^r^ of ffranciscan ffryers & his heirs. M^r^ Jno. Williams Defends this. To prove this call M^r^ Wybrants and M^r^ Nevill.

And that a Certaine Meadow or Pasture called Blackmore cum p'tin. lying in y^e^ Parish of S^t^ Mothans in Coñ Monmouth p^d^ conteyning by Estimation 60 Acres then or late (& now) in y^e^ Possession of Robert Needham ✠ by one Bodman § Given Conveyed & Assured to one William Pew¶ then & yet a Presbeter in Ord^rs^ of y^e^ Church of Roome To the vse & for y^e^ Support of y^e^ s^d^ William Pew of y^e^ Cleare Yearly Value of 22^li^ And for 7 years last past Rec'd by Robert Needham. M^r^ Needham Defends this. M^r^ Nevill M^r^ Berrauld M^r^ Turbervill Morgan** M^r^ James M^r^ Gwillym and M^r^ Taaf proves this.

And y^t^ a Certaine Messuage with 4 Acres of Land to y^e^ same belonging with th' app'ten'ces Scituate Lyeing and being in y^e^ Parish of Lanthewy Skirryd ✠ ✠ in Coñ Monmouth in the tenure of Richard Thomas and one other Messuage & 3 Acres of Land to y^e^ same belonging Scituate in y^e^ Parish of Lanvihangell Crew Corney in Coñ pr'd. in the tenure of Thomas Morgan, by one Francis Morgan a Priest in Ord^rs^ of y^e^ Church of Roome were given Conveyed and Assured to one Turbervil Morgan Esq^r^ & his Heirs In Trust for & to the vse of y^e^

* The ancient Benedictine Priory, adjoining the parish church, was at the Suppression granted to a branch of the Herberts, from whom it passed by descent to the Williams family. The old Norman chapel of Saint Cadoc, abutting on the churchyard, was the portion used for Catholic worship in the reign of James II.

✠ of Hilstone in Saint Maughan's, esquire.

§ Bodenham of Blackbrook in Skenfrith.

¶ Father William Pugh, O.S.B., a zealous missionary priest, a physician and a talented Welsh bard. He was a Pugh of Penrhyn, co. Carnarvon, and had held a Captain's commission in the Royalist army at Raglan. He died at Rotherwas 1680.

** of Llanfair-cilgoed, of an ancient Catholic family.

✠ ✠ *rectè* Llanddewi Ysgyryd (the church of Saint David by the Skirrid mountain), near Abergavenny.

Priests of the Church of Roome & Support of y^e^ Popish Religion att 45^s^ p^r^ Annum for 6 years last past Rec^d^ by M^r^ Robert Needham for superstitious vses.

And that one Messuage & 20 Acres of Land Meadow & Pasture to y^e^ same belonging with th'app'ten'ces called Tyers Vffrinall * Scituate Lying & being in y^e^ Parish of Lanishen in Com. p'd. in the tenure of Evan Morgan by one [blank] Jones Esq^r^ were Given Conveyed and Assured to Hugh Harris & his Heirs to y^e^ vse for y^e^ Susteyning Support & Sole Benefitt of y^e^ Priests of y^e^ Church of Roome of y^e^ yearly Value of 5^li^ And for 4 years last past Rec'd by y^e^ s^d^ Hugh Harris And Appropriated to Sup'stitious Uses. The Deft. M^r^ Hugh Harris Appears to & Defends for this.

To prove this call M^r^ Nevill, M^r^ Berrault, M^r^ Gwillym.

Inquisition taken at Abergavenny.

2 messuages & 14^a^ in parish Bettus in Com. p'd., given by W^m^ Morgan for support of priests.

House in Throgmorestreet al^s^ ffrogmore street in the Town of Bergavenny and 1^a^, given by Peter Morgan to one Tho^s^ Williams and his heirs for support of priests.

4 houses and 250^a^ in parish Lantillio Grossenny in occupation of Mary Pullen were given by persons unknown to persons unknown for support of the Jesuits of S^t^ Xaviers College at the Combes. Value 45^li^ 9^s^ 4^d^ rec^d^ for 10 years past by Peter Bullen ✠ "a knowne Receiver of y^e^ Jessuitts Rents and p'fitts."

12^a^ meadow in parish Abergavenny in tenure of H^y^ Watkins and Rich^d^ Williams "were the p'per Lands of one Mary Prichard & her heires, being lately Admitted into Religious Ord^rs^ in the Monastries beyond the Seas." Value 19^l^ p' ann Rec^d^ by John Aleworth § for superstitious uses.

House and 60^a^ in parish Langattocke juxta Uske given by John Jones to one Walter Jones a priest, for support of certain priests.

House and 6^a^ in parishes Langattocke by Usk and Abergavenny, in tenure of Valentine Mathews and John Thomas, given to Walter Jones for support of priests.

Parcel of land in parishes Trelleck and Langoven in possession of Evan Morgan containing 15^a^ given by John Jones of Dingestow Esq^r^ to Xtopher Clarke and Thomas Powell priests, for the support of Popish priests. Annual value 5^l^ received by Hugh Harris.

House and 60^a^ in the Hamlett of Clytha in parish Lanarth, in tenure of Phillip David, given by Christian Milbourne to George Bonnett for the support of priests.

House, water-mill and 4^a^ in parish Landilo Pertholly given by James Morgan of same parish, esq., for support of priests.

* *rectè* Tir-offerenol, "the Mass-land."

✠ *alias* Prichard, of the Graig in Llantilio-groseny. This family were originally Boleyn of Norfolk, but staunch Catholics. One of them was Matthew Prichard, O.S.F., afterwards Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, ob. 1750 at Perthîr.

§ Ayleworth of Llangoven, esquire, of an old Catholic family.

House and 80[a] in Landilo P'tholly in occupation of John and Cycilla Lewis "did descend from James Lewis to Phillip Lewis, right heire of y[e] s[d] James Lewis, which s[d] Phillip Lewis was a Priest in Ord[rs] of the Church of Roome." Annual value 27[l] received by Thomas Herbert, esq., and appropriated for superstitious uses.

House and 60[a] in Lanvihangell Yesterne Lewerne parish, in tenure of Thomas Evans, conveyed by persons unknown to persons unknown and their heirs, in trust for certain priests. Annual value 14[l] received by George Vaughan for superstitious uses.

"And that a Certaine Romish Chappell * in which Mass was frequently said and Celebrated next Adjoyning to the Dwelling house of Thomas Crofts ✠ scituate in Lanvayre in y[e] Parish of Lantillio Grossenny with y[e] Tythes to y[e] s[d] Chappell belonging Ariseing out of y[e] seu'all p'ishes of Lantillio Grossenny, Grosmont and Skenfrith in Com̃ p'rd. in y[e] tenure of Thomas Crofts Annui Valor̃ 30[l] Rec'd 6 years last past by Thomas Crofts for Sup'stitious Vses."

House and 28[a] in Lantillio Grossenny in tenure "of Jeonett Phillips & John Phillips her sonn did descend from Walter Morriss to David Morris a priest," as son and heir of said Walter.

House and 10[a] called the Upper Galthen in the parish of Lantillio Grossenny, given by persons unknown to persons unknown for the use of priests.

IV

A Return of y[e] Number of reputed Papists in the Diocese of S[t] David's, 1767.

Cardiff Free Library, *Phillipps MSS.*

Radnorshire.

Cleirow. 6 males & 6 females; ages of 4 from 50 to 70, 8 from 6 to 18. One a cooper and his family, the rest poor labourers; natives.

Herefordshire. §

Clodock. 2 males and 1 female; ages 40 to 50; poor persons; natives.

Oldcastle. 3 females; ages 27 to 70; poor persons; resident 12 to 30 years.

Evias Harold. 1 female, aged 50, wife of a labourer; 9 years resident.

* This was no other than the ancient chapel of Llanfair-cilgoed. It was used only for Catholic worship down to 1680, and a hundred years longer for Catholic burials. The credence-niche and holy-water stoup still remain in the ruined walls, and fragments of inscribed tombstones. Note that the priest even received tithes in this chapelry. Hardly a Protestant resided in the district.

✠ Croft of Llanfair-cilgoed were a cadet branch of Croft of Croft Castle, co. Hereford, and remained Catholic all through. They have only become extinct in the male line within the last quarter of a century.

§ Only the five undernamed parishes in South-West Herefordshire are (or were) in Saint David's Diocese, the rest of the county being under the See of Hereford. Monmouthshire is in the diocese of Llandaff; only one of its parishes, Cwmyoy, in the extreme north of the county, is (or was) in Saint David's. Hence this report throws no light upon the statistics of the Catholics in the counties named. Even for the stated parishes, the list is probably very inadequate. It was not to the interests of the incumbent and churchwardens to represent their parish to the bishop as a hotbed of Popery.

Walterstone. 1 male, 2 females; ages 32 to 60. One 7 years and one 8 years resident, the other a native.

S[t] Margarets. 1 male, a tailor.

Monmouthshire.

Cwmyoy. 3 males, 12 females; ages 30 to 80; small freeholders, farmers, labourers &c.

Brecknockshire.

Hay. 2 females, aged 30 and 60; milliners; 15 years resident.

Merthyr. 3 males, 1 female; ages 12 to 46; farmers; resident 1½ to 38 years.

Brecknock. 4 males, 3 females; ages 19 to 60. Apothecary, shoemaker, servants. Natives. The apothecary at 15 was sent from Westminster School to Flanders, and returned a Papist.

Devynnock. 14 males, 15 females. Thirteen of them are under 20 years of age, and 16 are aged from 20 to 70 years. Small freeholders, farmers, labourers and working tradesmen. Two of them were perverted by marrying Papists.

Llangunnider. 2 males, 1 female; ages 30 to 60. One is a farmer. Resident 10 to 20 years.

Llangattock. 1 female aged 66, a blacksmith's widow.

Llanelly. 1 female aged 61, a forgeman's widow.

Crickhowell. 2 males, 2 females, ages 10 to 50; cordwainer and prentices; 15 years resident.

Llansanfreed. 5 males, 1 female. Man and wife, aged 40, eldest child aged 9. Farmer, 6 years resident.

Llanigan. 1 male, 2 females; ages 15 to 60; farmer, 20 years resident.

Total of males 52.
females 62.

No. V

ASSENT TO A LICENCE TO LEAVE HOME GRANTED TO JOHN BEAUMONT

JOHN BEAUMONT, Esquire, of Gracedieu, Leicestershire, created Baronet in 1626, and elder brother of the great dramatist Francis Beaumont, was himself a poet of distinction, whose works have been frequently edited, and whose life may be found in Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss, II, 434-5), Nichols, Chalmers, Gillow, the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The fullest life is that of Grosart, *Poems of Sir John Beaumont* (in the Fuller Worthies' Library, 1868).

Though his father Francis, a justice of Common Pleas, condemned more than one Catholic priest to the gallows (Challoner, *Memoirs,* 1874, p. 190; *Catholic Record Society*, vol. I, p. 86), there seems to have been a great deal of catholicity in this generation of the family (see Gillow). As early as October, 1605, John's estates, which he had just recovered with difficulty by law (*D. N. B.* I, p. 58), were assigned to one of the Scottish favourites of the King, Sir James Semphill, for him "to make profit of" (Tierney-Dodd, *Church History*, vol. IV, p. lxxvi); and on the 14th of November, 1607, King James made "a gift" to the same Sir James of "2 parts of the site of Grace Dieu and other lands in the hands of the crown by the recusancy of John Beaumont" (*Domestic Calendar*, 1603-1610, p. 381). The document now before us shows him still labouring under all the cruel penalties for adhering to the old Faith.

It is certainly strange that Grosart should have failed to find any of these references to Beaumont's religion. In his Introduction to the *Poems*, he says that the poet "had touches of the Puritan: or to put it in another shape, was centrally and controllingly a Christian man" (p. xxxix). But in his notice in *The Dictionary of National Biography* he goes further and mistakenly says, "He was a Puritan in religion" (p. 58). His second son, Francis, is said by Wood to have become a Jesuit. His name indeed is not found in Foley's *Records S.J.*, but, as he would have changed his name on entering, this does not disprove Wood's statement.

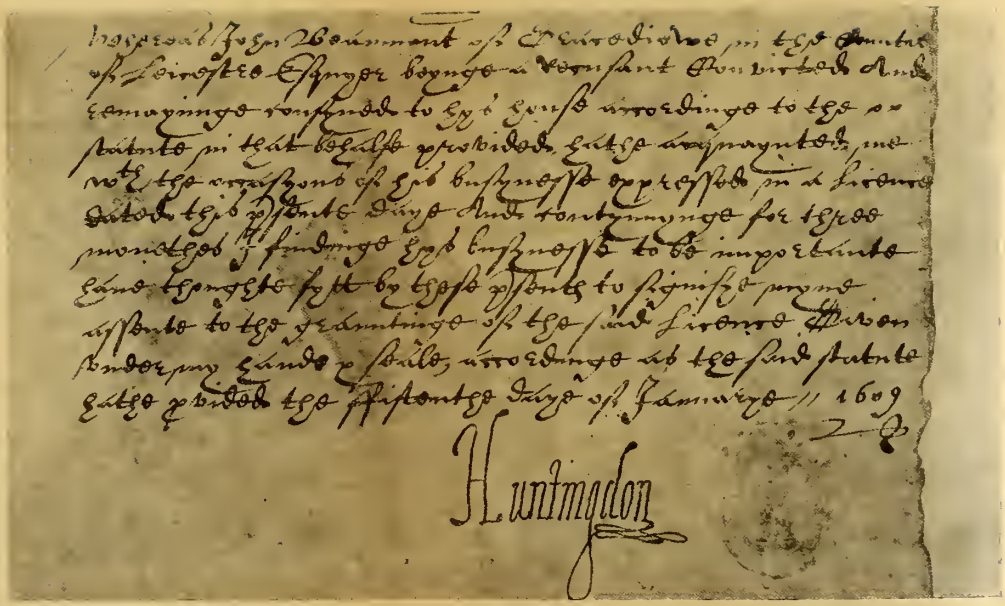
Beaumont's confinement to his house and his many sufferings for religion go far to explain the grave and religious tone which pervades all his writings, and one cannot help wondering whether the licence to leave home, now before us, may not have been connected with some endeavour to procure the protection of some friend against his persecutors. It may be noted that Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, who signs our document, was a distant relative, Gracedieu having been returned to the Beaumonts through the marriage of his grandfather with a Hastings.

John, having been made a baronet in 1626, died the next year, 1627, apparently in more felicitous circumstances than those of 1610. The reason of this improvement was the rapid rise of the Duke of Buckingham, whose mother was one of the Leicestershire Beaumonts, the daughter of Anthony Beaumont of Glenfield, and presumably a relative of the Gracedieu branch. She was moreover also a Catholic. It is evident from Sir John's poems that Buckingham had exerted himself for his protection.

J. H. P.

Whereas John Beaumont of Gracediewe in the Countie of Leicestre Esquyer beyinge a Recusant Convicted, and remayninge consyned to hys house accordinge to the statute in that behalfe provided, hathe acquaynted me with the occasyons of his busynesse expressed in a Licence dated this presente daye and contynuynge for three monethes, I findinge hys busynesse to be importante, haue thoughte fytt by these presents to signifye myne assente to the grauntinge of the said Licence. Given under my hande & seale, accordinge as the said statute hathe provided, the ffiftenthe daye of Januarye, 1609

HUNTINGDON (SEAL)



FACSIMILE

of the Assent to a License to leave home granted to John, afterwards Sir John, Beaumont of Grace Dieu, a recusant convict. Signed by Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.

The date, being old style, would be the 25th of January, 1610, according to present reckoning. The seal, which has not photographed well, shows—Out of a coronet, a bull's head erased, surrounded by a border inscribed *Honorabo Honorantes,* and surmounted by an Earl's coronet. The paper mark is the water-pot. The document was left to the Library of the Jesuit Fathers at Farm Street, London, by the late Father John Morris, S.J.

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No. V

ASSENT TO A LICENCE TO LEAVE HOME GRANTED TO JOHN BEAUMONT

JOHN BEAUMONT, Esquire, of Gracedieu, Leicestershire, created Baronet in 1626, and elder brother of the great dramatist Francis Beaumont, was himself a poet of distinction, whose works have been frequently edited, and whose life may be found in Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss, II, 434-5), Nichols, Chalmers, Gillow, the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The fullest life is that of Grosart, *Poems of Sir John Beaumont* (in the Fuller Worthies' Library, 1868).

Though his father Francis, a justice of Common Pleas, condemned more than one Catholic priest to the gallows (Challoner, *Memoirs*, 1874, p. 190; *Catholic Record Society*, vol. I, p. 86), there seems to have been a great deal of catholicity in this generation of the family (see Gillow). As early as October, 1605, John's estates, which he had just recovered with difficulty by law (*D. N. B.* I, p. 58), were assigned to one of the Scottish favourites of the King, Sir James Semphill, for him "to make profit of " (Tierney-Dodd, *Church History*, vol. IV, p. lxxvi); and on the 14th of November, 1607, King James made "a gift" to the same Sir James of "2 parts of the site of Grace Dieu and other lands in the hands of the crown by the recusancy of John Beaumont " (*Domestic Calendar*, 1603-1610, p. 381). The document now before us shows him still labouring under all the cruel penalties for adhering to the old Faith.

It is certainly strange that Grosart should have failed to find any of these references to Beaumont's religion. In his Introduction to the *Poems*, he says that the poet "had touches of the Puritan: or to put it in another shape, was centrally and controllingly a Christian man" (p. xxxix). But in his notice in *The Dictionary of National Biography* he goes further and mistakenly says, "He was a Puritan in religion" (p. 58). His second son, Francis, is said by Wood to have become a Jesuit. His name indeed is not found in Foley's *Records S.J.*, but, as he would have changed his name on entering, this does not disprove Wood's statement.

Beaumont's confinement to his house and his many sufferings for religion go far to explain the grave and religious tone which pervades all his writings, and one cannot help wondering whether the licence to leave home, now before us, may not have been connected with some endeavour to procure the protection of some friend against his persecutors. It may be noted that Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, who signs our document, was a distant relative, Gracedieu having been returned to the Beaumonts through the marriage of his grandfather with a Hastings.

John, having been made a baronet in 1626, died the next year, 1627, apparently in more felicitous circumstances than those of 1610. The reason of this improvement was the rapid rise of the Duke of Buckingham, whose mother was one of the Leicestershire Beaumonts, the daughter of Anthony Beaumont of Glenfield, and presumably a relative of the Gracedieu branch. She was moreover also a Catholic. It is evident from Sir John's poems that Buckingham had exerted himself for his protection.

J. H. P.

Whereas John Beaumont of Gracediewe in the Countie of Leicestre Esquyer beyinge a Recusant Convicted, and remayninge consyned to hys house accordinge to the statute in that behalfe provided, hathe acquaynted me with the occasyons of his busynesse expressed in a Licence dated this presente daye and contynuynge for three monethes, I findinge hys busynesse to be importante, haue thoughte fytt by these presents to signifye myne assente to the grauntinge of the said Licence. Given under my hande & seale, accordinge as the said statute hathe provided, the ffiftenthe daye of Januarye, 1609

HUNTINGDON (SEAL)

No. VI

CATHOLIC REGISTERS OF TOWNELEY HALL, LANCASHIRE (Baptisms and Marriages). By the Rev. Thomas Anderton, 1705-1727. With the Chaplain's Stipendiary Accounts, 1705-1720. Also, Some Account of the Terrier of Martholme, 1667, and the Chaplain's Commemorations at Mass, 1706-1722. Edited by Joseph Gillow.

Shortly after his arrival at Towneley Hall, as chaplain to Richard Towneley, Esq., who died at York in Jan. 1706-7, the Rev. Thomas Anderton commenced to keep a record of the payments of his stipend, of his baptisms and marriages, and of his daily commemorations at Mass. The last take up by far the largest portion of his MS., being entered daily from May 1, 1706, to Dec. 31, 1722. He offers up the Holy Sacrifice for many deceased members of the Towneley family and their connections, for his own relations and friends, for those of his congregation, for the benefactors and deceased members of the Lancashire Infirm Clergy Fund, and for many priests whose deaths were noted to him through the usual ecclesiastical channels. These entries are often of value as approximating dates of death in cases where exact records are wanting. Amongst other notable intentions are "Pro Rege Jacobo III" and "pro conversione Angliæ." His omissions to celebrate are comparatively rare, save during those troublous times following the unsuccessful Jacobite Rising of 1715, when the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates came down to Towneley in 1717. During the whole month of July and the first eight days of Angust in that year he was unable to say Mass, being no doubt in hiding. Though these commemorations are interesting, and in some cases, as it has been said, are of historical value, they would occupy too much space to print them in the present volume.

The good chaplain made his entries in a thick but small oblong volume, of which about a fourth of the space was filled with "A Terrier of the Manor of Martholme, in Great Harwood," belonging to the Heskeths of Rufford, "begun on Tuesday, the 8th of October, 1667," and "finish'd the 16th of November, 1667," evidently at that time accompanied by a map. The Hesketh up to this time were staunch recusants. Robert Hesketh, Esq., lord of Rufford, Martholme, &c., was thrice married. His third wife was Jane, daughter of Thomas Spencer, of Rufford, and by her he had a son Robert, alleged to have been born before wedlock, and subsequently a son Cuthbert, who settled at Kenwick, co. Salop. Robert Hesketh died in 1620, and his widow married Sir Richard Hoghton, of Hoghton Tower, Knt and Bart, who died Nov. 12, 1630. Lady Jane Hoghton was a staunch recusant, and in 1650 two-thirds of the demesne lands of the manor of Martholme, belonging to her as dower, were sequestrated for her recusancy, and let by the receiver-general to John Molyneux, Esq., for the yearly rent of £50 2s. This was afterwards discharged, and Thomas Hesketh, a minor, born in 1647, grandson of Lady Hoghton's step-son, Robert Hesketh, who died in 1653, was admitted into possession of the estates. The child's father, Robert, who died in his father's lifetime in 1651, married Lucy, daughter of Alexander Rigby, of Middleton, Esq. Rigby was an intolerant puritan, and it was no doubt owing to this unfortunate marriage that the Rufford Hesketh were deprived of the ancient faith. The boy's uncle, Edward Rigby, of Preston, barrister-at-law, appears to have been his guardian, and had him brought up a Protestant. In a letter dated Preston, Dec. 26, 1667, he writes to William Daniell, Esq., at Wigan, as follows: "The reasons are obvious why we desire all the speed that may be in this matter, viz., it is full time my nephew sh^{d} be disposed of, hee being the onely sonn we have amongst us and of the family y^{t} is well descended; next it is meet that at y^{e} next assises a Recoverie sh^{d} be suffered of his whole estate to barre the spurious issue of the Lady Hoghton from all pretensions to the estate w^{ch} also, if things before that time could be concluded, would serve for the new settlement." Thomas Hesketh, the nephew,

was then nearly of age, and intending to marry Sydney, daughter of Sir Richard Grosvenor, of Eaton, Bart. The estate was at this time worth above £1,100 a year. The marriage took place, the settlement being dated June 27, 20 Car. II, 1668, whereby £300 a year for life was settled upon the said Sydney. After Thomas Hesketh's death she remarried Richard Spencer, of Preston, Esq., her marriage settlement being dated Mch 5, 1699. Lady Jane Hoghton was living at Hoghton a recusant convict in 1667, and annually suffered the usual penalties for her religion till her death, which seems to have occurred soon afterwards.

The "Terrier" is followed by the stipendiary accounts of the chaplain, who then reverses the book and commences his christenings, but returns to the other end of the volume with the baptism of Francis Towneley on June 9, 1709. The marriages commence with the second leaf at the opposite end of the book again, and are followed by the commemorations at Mass.

The Rev. Thomas Anderton, born May 22, 1675, the writer of this MS., was a younger son of William Anderton, of Euxton Hall, Esq., by Mary, daughter of William ffarington, of Worden, co. Lancaster, Esq., and his wife Katharine, daughter of Edward ffleetwood, of Penwortham, Esq. He became an alumnus at Douay College, April 12, 1697, and thence proceeded to the English College at Rome, where he was admitted September 12, 1699. There he was ordained subdeacon and deacon in March and April, and priest on June 10, 1702. On the following May 2, he left the college for Paris, and probably continued his studies in St Gregory's Seminary till shortly before his appointment to the chaplaincy at Towneley Hall, where he arrived June 23, 1705. There he spent the whole of his missionary career, with the exception of the period during which he resided with the Towneleys at their town-house at York. He was greatly respected by his patrons, and esteemed by the numerous Catholics of the district who formed his congregation. He was a member of the Old Chapter, and on July 13, 1732, was elected archdeacon of Lancashire. Singularly it was on the anniversary of this election that he closed his days, July 13, 1741, aged 66.

During the persecution which followed the unsuccessful raid of the Chevalier de St George in 1715, the good chaplain, like all other priests in Lancashire, had repeatedly to seek safety in hiding. Under the description of "Mr Anderton, a reputed priest," of Burnley, he was convicted as a recusant at the Lancaster sessions, January 15, 1716-7; and in the same year John Haydock, the high-constable of Blackburn Hundred, reported him to the Commissioners for Forfeited Estates as "One Anderton a reputed popish priest at Towneley."

The original MS. was sold at the last dispersion of the Towneley Hall library, and became the property of the Burnley Literary and Scientific Club.

I came to live at Towneley on y^e^ Eve of St. John Baptist, y^e^ 23^d^ of June, Anno Domini 1705.

My Accounts about my pension.

Received of Mada^e^ Towneley November y^e^ 2, 1707, forty shillings.

March y^e^ 31, 1708, five pounds.

Received of Mr. Orum ten pounds by order of Mr. Charles, September, Die 30th 1708.

Pay'd to Mr. Idsforde 1^ll^. 04. 00, y^e^ 3^d^ of December (1708) due for y^e^ oats for my mare for y^e^ year.

Received of Mr. Orum six pounds by order of Mr. Charles, April y^e^ 16, 1709.

Received of Mad. Towneley four pounds May y^e^ 26th 1709, due for ye two years past upon account Mr. Charles stopped 40 shill: p annum for 2 years.

Received of Mr. Orum 8 pounds by order of Mr. Charles, January y^e^ 23, 1710.

Reced. of Mr. Orum £8. 00. 00 by order of Mr. Charles, January 22^d^ 1710

Recd. of Mr. Orum £8. 00. 00 by order of Mr. Charles Towneley January 22d. 1711-12.

Recd. of Mr. Orum £01. 03. 4 January 14th, 1712-13 in part of salary April 9: 1713. Recd. yn. of Mr. O. £8. 16. 8 for ye salary for ye year 1712.

Recd. of Mr. Orū 10th April, 1713, £0. 16. 8 wch. made ye whole salary for ye year 1712.

Febr: 13. 1714, recd of Mr. Orū ye part of a year £8. 0. 0.

September 1714 received £2. 0. 0.

Jany 27th, 1714-15, Recd ye £8. 0. 0

likewise ye same day Recd £2. 0. 0

(March 24, 1715, Recd yn of Mr Orū £10. 0. 0

October 27, 1716, Rec. yn of Mad. Ursula Towneley for ye halfe year £10. 0. 0

(Recd of Ric: Towneley, Esqr March ye 6th for half a year ending April 21, 1716, £10. 0. 0

(Recd of Mr. Orum July 22, 1718, £20. 0. 0

(April 9, 1719, Recd of Mr. Orum, £10. 0. 0

(April 19, 1720, Recd of Mr Orum £10. 0. 0

Christned since I came to Towneley ye year of our Lord, 1705.

George Smith	March ye 8th, 1706.
Mr. George Towneley*	May ye 12th, 1706
Martha Eastwood	November ye 10th, 1706.
Ann Dawson	December ye 1st, 1706.
George Vivers	December ye 8th, 1706.
Margret Appleton	January ye 8th, 1706-7
Richard Walker	January ye 27th, 1706-7.
Alice Thomas	May ye 15th, 1707.
Will Bertwisle	May ye 17th, 1707.
Alice Giles, ye mother 50 & her first child	July ye 20th, 1707.
Ann and Mary Eastwood, Twins	July 27th, 1707.
Margaret Sharp	September ye 20th, 1707.
James Halstead	December ye 2d 1707.
David Simpson	December ye 12th 1707.
Catherine Watson	December 21st. 1707.
Margret Whitehead	April 20th, 1708.
Francis Stuttard	April 25th, 1708.
John Appleton	May ye 2d, 1708.
John Norminton	June 21st, 1708.
Peter Pullain	August 1st., 1708.
Jane Smith	October ye 3d, 1708.
Ann Rumley	November 23d, 1708.
Mary Dawson	February 26, 1708-9.
Mr. Francis Towneley†	June 9th, 1709.

born ye 8th of yt same month in ye said year of our Lord.

* 4th s. of Chas. Towneley, Esq., of Towneley, & his w. Ursula, d. of Rich. Fermor, of Tusmore, co. Oxon, Esq. He died in 1786.

† 5th son of Charles, joined the standard of Charles Edward in 1745, was taken prisoner & executed in 1746, his head being spiked on Temple Bar.

Richard Eastwood	October 2, 1709.
Isabel Thomas	November y^e^ 8, 1709.
Mary Walker	April y^e^ 2^d^ 1710.
George Hardgreaves	May y^e^ 7th, 1710.
Elizabeth Bertwisle	July y^e^ 3d, 1710.
William Eastwood & Ann Eastwood, Twins	July 30th, 1710.
Eliz. Wittam	July 31st, 1710.
James Crabtree	August 27th, 1710.
Mary Travis	December 24th, 1710.
Nicholas Smith	March 25th, 1711.
Peter Ascens: or Whitehead	May 10th, 1711.
John Walker	August 5th, 1711.
Elizabeth Seager	August 12th, 1711
James Taylor	January 5th, 1712.
Thomas Shakelton	January 21, 1712
James Ormorod	March 8:, 1712-11.
Mathew Stell	June 25th, 1712
Elizabeth [Pollard, *erased*] Hardgrave	July 6th, 1712.
Ginnet Smith	May 28: 1713.
Ellen [*blank*]	July 5th, 1713.
John Chadock	September 8th, 1713.
Benjamin Whittam	November 25, 1713.
Ann Dourden	December 10, 1713.
Martha Dawson	December 29, 1713.
George Eastwood	January 29, 1713-4
Mary Shackleton	March 3^d^, 1714-13.
Mr. Will: Towneley,* born the same day	May 30th, 1714.
James [*blank*]	July 13, 1714
James Hardgraves	October 10, 1714
Agnes Chadock	November 1, 1714.
Elizabeth Stell	January 16, 1714-15.
Ann Pickopp	March 27th, 1715.
Mary Eastwood	August 24th, 1715.
Mary [*blank*]	September 18th, 1715.
Elizabeth Whittam	March 27th, 1716.
Mary Whittinam	April 8th, 1716.
James Hardgraves	May 12th, 1716.
Joh: Bertwisle	June 16th, 1716.
Agnes Lee	September [*blank*], 1716.
Elizabeth Brown	December 14, 1716.
Elizabeth Ainsworth	Dec: 30th, 1716.
Mary Lee	Sept: 23: 1716.
Joh: Hardgraves	Nov: 3: 1717.

* Wm. Towneley was the eldest son & heir of Rich. Towneley, Esq., whose father Charles died on March 5, 1711-2. His mother was the Hon. Mary Widdrington, daughter of William, Lord Widdrington. He succeeded to Towneley upon the death of his father, Aug. 18, 1735. His mother died in July, 1731. He married Cecilia, daughter and sole heiress of Ralph Standish, of Standish, Esq., by the Lady Philippa Howard, daughter of Henry, 6th Duke of Norfolk, and dying at Bath, Feb. 2, 1741, was succeeded by his eldest son Charles Towneley, born Oct. 1, 1737, the distinguished connoisseur and collector of ancient art, who died a bachelor, Jan. 3, 1805.

John Eastwood	Nov: 24, 1717.
John Stell	Nov: 27: 1717.
Elizabeth Whittinam	Mar: 9. 1718.
Margret Seager	June 3, 1718.
Lawrence Whittaker	March 15, 1719-20.
John Stell	May 13th, 1720.
Hedwige Clementin Blackwell	June 11 [*blank*]
William Sharper at a Town called Catton Emily of York	Feb: 1, 1720-21.
Mrs. Mary Catherine Towneley,* born Feb: 8th, about a quarter of an hour before ten at night at York.	February the 9th, 1720-21.
Martha Stell	June 18, 1722.
Mr. Richard Towneley, † born at Towneley a little after eleven of y^e^ clock at night, & baptized immediately after.	August 25th, 1722.
Elizabeth Whittaker	September 23, 1722.
William Gregson	May 10, 1724.
Agnes Lee	Dec. 28: 1725.
Abraham Dawson	Jan: 9: 1725-6
Mary Appleton	Feb: 13, 1725-6.
James Norminton	May 8, 1726.
James Scofield	May 9: 1726.
Joseph Chaddock	August 14: 1726.
Brigit Ferrars	Oct: 2: 1726.
Elizabeth Whittam	Nov: 9: 1726.
Henry Corlas	Nov 22, 1726.
James Whittinam	Dec: 8. 1726.
Ellen Marshall	Jan: 10: 1726-7.
Eliz: Gregson	Feb: 10: 1726-7
Ann Hitchen	Mar: 10. 1726-7.

Married since I came to Towneley.

Robert Walker §	September 18, 1705.
James Shaw	May 16, 1706.
Oliver Brooks	Febr: 15, 1707-8.
James Taylor	May 20, 1708.
George Hardgraves	June 2, 1709.
John Shackleton	July 31, 1711.
Henry Fisher	August 5, 1711.
Will: Grimeshaw	February 3^d^, 1714-13.
Mathew Stell ¶	May 16, 1714.
William Whittinam **	August 4th, 1715.
John Lee,	October 2^d^, 1715.

* She was the only daughter of Rich. and Mary Towneley. She married Thomas Hornyold, of Blackmore Park, co. Worcester, Esq., and had two sons and a daughter. She died in 1762.

† Third s. of Rich. and Mary Towneley. He died in infancy.

§ Robt. Walker, yeo., of Cliviger, was convicted of recusancy at the Lancaster Sessions Jan. 15, 1716.

¶ Mat. Stell, yeo., & his wife, of Burnley, recusant convict 15 Jan. 1716.

** Wm. Whittinam & his wife of Burnley, recus. convict 15 Jan. 1716.

George Tomlinson	October 19: 1717.
John Ferrar	Nov. 3d, 1717.
Robert Helass at York,	Aug: 7th, 1721.
John Mayas at York,*	Jan: 30, 1721-22.
Robert Leaf at York,	April 3, 1722.
James Hurst at Towneley,	June 15, 1722
George Eastwood at Towneley.	May 1, 1727.

* John Mayes, of The Fryerage, Yarm, Esq.

No. VII

PETITION OF DENIS MOLONY TO PARLIAMENT TO BE ALLOWED TO PRACTISE AT THE BAR

This petition is copied from the *MS. Rawlinson, M.L.A. 253, fo. 129,* in the Bodleian Library.

Denis Molony was admitted to Gray's Inn September 7, 1687, and to Lincoln's Inn, November 21, 1711. In his will, dated November 30, 1726, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, January 10, $172\frac{6}{7}$, he describes himself as "now of Gray's Inn and late of Lincoln's Inn." He was a nephew of the Most Rev. John O'Molony, Bishop of Limerick, under whose will he inherited four thousand livres. The Bishop was the principal founder of the Collège des Irlandais, in Paris, and also endowed several Bourses in the College of Louis le Grand, Paris. My father's uncle, James Molony, was appointed to one of the latter on November 26, 1789. Denis Molony died unmarried at Gray's Inn December 11, 1726, and was buried in St Pancras Churchyard, London. On his tombstone he is described as "being the 77th year of his age having always lived Faithfull to God King and Country."

ALFRED MOLONY.

To the Honble. the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament Assembled.

The Humble Petition of Denis Molony

Sheweth:

That your Petitioner has been out of Ireland these twenty years past and was entered of Gray's Inn and begun the Study of the Law there in the late Reign And observing that even in all former Protestant Reigns Roman Catholick Lawyers were allowed to practice the Law in that Kingdome he continued his said Study after the Revolution untill he was of a Standing for the bar at which time viz 3 Will and Mar an act of Parliament was made in England whereby it is enacted that no person such as are comprised within the Articles of Limerick should afterwards practice the Law in Ireland unless he first took an Oath and made and subscribed a Declaration inconsistent with the principles of the Religion your Petitioner doth profess.

That your Petitioner's case is most particularly severe and the only single case of its nature He is the only person of his Country and principle that remained in England, continued the study of the Law after the Revolution and was ready for a call to the barr when the said Act was made He did besides soe far spend his means and youthe to qualify himselfe for the practise of the said profession (at a time the exercise thereof was allowed in Ireland to all persons of the same principle) that when the said Act was made his age education and circumstances made it too late to think of applying himselfe to any other profession or calling **whereas** all other Irish Roman Catholick Lawyers concerned are such as were either called to the barr before the making of the said Act and because of their being for the most parte comprised within the Articles of Limerick are now permitted to practice the Law in Ireland Or such as begun

the study of the Law after the said Act was made when they knew they were not qualified to practice the same and might apply themselves to other callings Soe that upon the whole matter the said Act bears infinitely harder upon your Petitioner than it doth upon any other person whatsoever.

That your Petitioner became entitled to a small Estate in Ireland by the death of Daniel Molony of Ballisseen in the County of Clare Esquire but the said Daniel being outlawed after death and being found by Inquisition to have dyed in the late King's Service your Petitioner lost the benefit of the said estate

That your Petitioner as he is ready to make appear Not only lost the said estate as aforesaid but alsoe by the Outlawry of another Kinsman (who has not been in Ireland since the Revolution) a certain debt of Record of about £1,000 principall and Interest Money put out in the name of one Luke Hore late of Dublin Merchant and afterwards assigned to your Petitioner Soe that your Petitioner unless relieved by this Honble. House is left without either estate or calling to struggle for a livelyhood notwithstanding all his Industry and hopes

May it therefore please this Honble. House to take into consideration your Petitioners said sufferings and circumstances and since his case is so particular that it hath none paralell to it either in England or Ireland to enable your Petitioner (by inserting a clause in such bill as your Honours shall think most proper) to practise as Counsell or Barrister at Law in Ireland as other Roman Catholicks now doe with that tenderness of regard to his conscience which hath been always shewn Roman Catholick Lawyers in Ireland in all former Protestant reigns or otherwise to relieve your Petitioner in some proportion to his said lossess in such manner as to your Honours in your great Wisdome shall seeme most reasonable.

And your Petitioner will pray &c.

Denis Molony.

(cop. ver. R.T. 24. 3. 1900)

No. VIII

THE CATHOLIC REGISTERS OF CHEAM IN SURREY

A MISSION or chaplaincy at Cheam, according to Fr Raymund Palmer, existed as early as the reign of Charles I, being served by the secular clergy, Bartholomew Fromond, lord of the manor, having charged his estate with £5 towards the support of it. However, Mr Gillow, whose notes enable me to extend Fr Palmer's defective list, states that Fr Edward or Thomas Green, *alias* Wright, S.J., was there in 1724 and probably died there July 2, 1727, whilst Fr Thomas Lockhart, S.J., was there about the same time. The Dominican Friar, Fr Morgan Joseph Hansbie, D.D., was there about 1742, and at the end of 1745 was arrested in the house of the Dowager Lady Petre at Lower Cheam, but continued to serve the mission until 1747. About 1755, when the Registers begin, the mission was attached to the Portuguese Embassy Chapel in London, and was served, as the Registers show, by Fr William Maurus Heatley, O.S.B. His labours, and those of his successors, are herein partly recorded. Fr Thomas Andrew Greswold, O.S.F., of the Portuguese Embassy, served here during the temporary persecution in June, 1760. Fr Bernard Bradshaw, O.S.B., came from the Portuguese Embassy December 20, 1761, and probably, off and on, till 1768. Fr Edward Ambrose Elliot, O.S.B., was here in 1762 and from time to time in 1769 and 1770. Fr Thomas Bede Bennet, O.S.B., also of the Portuguese embassy, was serving temporarily in January, 1764; Fr Richard Harris, O.S.B., from 1770 or 1771 to 1776; Fr John Bede Brewer, O.S.B., in 1776; Fr John Joseph Placid Naylor, O.S.B., 1776 to 1785; Fr William Benedict Short, O.P., from 1785 to 1788. The Rev. John Greenway served here after Fr Short from St Mary's, Moorfields. And Fr Charles Benedict Caestryck, O.P., served casually from Woburn Lodge from 1802 to 1814.

The Hon. James Talbot seems to have contributed £6 16s. 8d. per annum towards the support of the Mission for three years, 1786-88; and Ferdinand Watkins, M.D., is recorded as a leading Catholic (Payne's *Old English Catholic Missions* and Mr Gillow's MS. Collections).

Mr Payne printed some extracts in the above work. The copy from which these Registers are printed was made by the late Fr Raymund Palmer, O.P., for Mr Frederick Arthur Crisp, F.S.A., the third founder of our Society, who presented it to us, the original being then, and probably is still, in the archives of the English Province at St Dominic's Priory, Haverstock Hill. The Rev. Dr King, Rector of Cheam, 1747-1780, seems to have displayed strong animus against the living and the dead, especially in refusing burial to the infant Mary Andrews (Nov. 6, 1776) and writing the mother that death was the penalty for a priest baptizing or converting anyone.

The Registers are not very full and not very ancient; but Fr Palmer's words near the end, "*The last page of the Register is torn and part lost,*" is ample justification for their being printed whilst a MS. copy remains. If not old now, they will improve in that respect. J.S.H.

LIBER

Baptizatorum
Conversorum
Confirmatorum
Matrimoniorum
Statûs animarum
&
Mortuorum

In Districtu de Cheame
Comitatûs de Surrey.

Inchoatus die 20mo Mensis Julii, Anno Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo Quinquagesimo Quinto, per me Guilielmum Heatley, Sacerdotem Missionarium Ordinis Sti Benedicti, Congregationis Anglicanæ, hujus Districtûs Pastorem in Dño.

1755.

LIBER BAPTIZATORUM
inchoatus Anno Domini 1755.

Anno Domini 1757.

Die 8vo mensis Maii. Ego Guilielmus Heatley, hujus loci et districtûs de Cheame in Surrey Pastor, baptizavi Infantem, die 4to Maii, anno Domini 1757, natum ex Johanne et Susannâ Smith, oppidi de Ewell in Surrey, conjugibus, cui impositum est nomen Guilielmus. Patrini fûere Guilielmus baro de Stourton, et Catharina d'na de Stourton, vidua Caroli baronis de Stourton.

Anno Domini 1757. Die 24to Julii. Ego Guilielmus Heatley, hujus loci et districtûs de Cheame in Surrey Pastor, baptizavi Infantem, die 23^{tio} Julii, anno Domini, 1757, natum ex Davide et Sarâ Moloy, oppidi de Ewell in Surrey, conjugibus, cui impositum est nomen Joannes. Patrini fuêre Joannes prædicti Davidis Moloy frater, et Elizabetha Richardson, filia Guilielmi Richardson, ibidem commorantes.

Anno Domini 1760.

Die 17mo Junii. Thomas Greswold, sacerdos, capellanus in sacello publico Portugaliæ, Londini (tempore persecutionis apud Cheame) rogatus per me Guilielmum Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey, Pastorem, baptizavit Infantem, die 15to Junii, anno Domini 1760 natum ex Thomâ et Hester White, parochiæ de Corrington prope Cheame in Surrey, conjugibus. Patrina fuit Maria White, filia prædictorum parentum.

1762.

Januarii 31° Baptizata est, apud Cheame Inferiorem, Elizabetha Andrews, filia Thomæ et Saræ Andrews, nata autem 28vo hujus, horâ circiter 5ta matutinâ: Susceptore, Matthæo Earley; susceptrice Elizabetha Bryant. Pater fuit acatholicus. per me B. B.

Maii 16to Baptizatus est Jacobus White, filius Thomæ et Esther White, natus 14to hujus: Sponsoribus, David Meloy et Sarâ uxore ejus. per me B. B.

1763.

Feb. 10° Baptizatus est Thomas Andrews, filius Thomæ et Saræ Andrews, natus circa horam duodecimam noctis præcedentis: Sponsoribus, Gulielmo Bryant et Elizabethâ filiâ ejus. per me B. B.

NB. 11° heri baptizatus, hodie mortuus est. *Vide librum mortuorum.*

Junii 8vo. Baptizata est Elizabetha Burnham, filia Thomæ Burnham acatholici, et Mariæ Burnham, (nata autem 4to, horâ circiter 10^{a} noctis): Susceptrice, Mariâ Briant, matre Mariæ Burnham, ut suprà. per me B. B.

Julii 11° In Domiculâ in planitiem propè Epsum, vulgo dic' Epsum Heath, Baptizata est Elizabetha Stacey, filia Gulielmi et Elizabethæ Stacey, nata heri, horâ tertia matutinâ. Susceptrice: Sarâ Meloy. Pater fuit acatholicus. per me B. B.

1764.

Januarii 24to Baptizatus est apud Cheam, per Dñm Bennet, unum ex capellanis ex sacello privilegiato Regis Portugalliæ, Lon-

dini, Thomas Andrews, filius Thomæ et Saræ Andrews, natus 21° hujus: Susceptrice, Elizabethâ Bryant. Pater acatholicus.

NB. Ad evitanda litigiosa jurgia, quæ sæpe evenerant cum Dño Doctore King, ministro Parochialis Ecclesiæ de Cheam, Dominus Bennet, ut suprà, rogatus, descendit, et munere hoc charitativè functus est. Ita testatur B. B.

Feb. 27° Baptizatus est Robertus White, filius Thomæ et Esther White, natus heri multô mane: Susceptrice, . . . White sorore baptizati, præsente etiam patre. per me B. B.

1765.

Martii 5^to^ Natus et baptizatus est Georgius Stacey, filius Gulielmi et Elizabethæ Stacey: Susceptrice, Mariâ Richardson, sorore Elizabethæ Stacey. per me B. B.

Novembris 2^do^ Nata et baptizata est Maria Andrews, filia Thomæ et Saræ Andrews. Susceptrice, Mariâ Bryant. per me B. B.

1766.

Julii 27° Baptizatus est Georgius White, filius Thomæ et Ester White, natus autem circà finem mensis Junii: Susceptrice, Sarah Moloy. per me B. B.

Augusti 24^to^ Baptizatus est Thomas Stacey, filius Gulielmi et Elizabethæ Stacey, (natus 17^mo^ hujus): Susceptrice, D'nâ Susannâ Smith. per me B. B.

1767.

Februarii 13^tio^ Baptizata est Maria Bryant, filia Elizabethæ Bryant, nato autem 11° hujus, ignoto patre: Susceptrice, Sarah Crockford. per me B. B.

1768.

Maii 31° Baptizatus est Gulielmus Bryant, filius Georgii et Saræ Bryant, natus 29° hujus: Sponsoribus, Gulielmo et Mariâ Bryant. per me B. B.

1770.

Aprilis 22° Baptizatus est Georgius Bryant, filius Georgii Bryant: Susceptrice, Elizabeth Bryant. per me H. Elliott.

Junii 10° Baptizata est Maria Bryant, filia Ricardi Bryant: Mariâ Bryant, susceptrice. per me H. Elliott.

1772.

Januarii 21° Baptizatus est Richardus Bryant, Georgii et Saræ Bryant filius, 19° hujus mensis die natus: Patrino, Gulielmo Bryant, ejusdem baptizati avo. per me R. H.

1773

Maii 16° Baptizatus est Jacobus Bryant, Richardi Bryant et uxoris ejus filius, paucis antè diebus natus: Patrini, Jacobo Mangum. per me R. H.

Decembris 5° Baptizatus est Joannes Bryant, Georgii et Saræ uxoris ejus filius: Patrino, Richardo Bryant ejusdem Joannis patruo. per me R. H.

1774.

Januarii 31° Baptizatus est apud Mitcham, Thomas Edwardus Chesson, Chesson et uxoris ejus filius: Patrino, Edwardo Newton; Patrinâ, Aliciâ Hathersol. per me R. Harris.

1775.

Martii 26° Baptizata est Elizabetha Bryant, Richardi et uxoris filia: Patrina, . . . per me R. Harris

A.D. 1776.

Die Junii septimo, anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo septuagesimo sexto, Baptizatus est Joannes Dearlove, filius Joannis Dearlove viri acatholici, et Elizabethæ (Smith) legitimæ uxoris ejus et catholicæ, pridie hujus diei natus: Patrino, Joanne Smith; Patrinâ, Mariâ Smith. Ita testor Joannes Brewer.

Die Novembris tertio, baptizatus, die verò Octobris trigesimo natus est, apud Micheam, Jacobus Bryant, filius Georgii et Saræ Bryant, conjugum, matre autem infantis heterodoxâ. Patrinus fuit Richardus Bryant de Micheam; matrina verò Elizabetha Burnham: vices autem Patrini absentis supplevit Gulielmus Bryant, infantis avus ex patre. Ita præsentes testantur. D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Georgius Bryant.
Gulielmus Bryant.
Elizabetha Burnham.

A.D. 1777.

Die secundo mensis Martii, apud Tooten, baptizata est Sara Smith, filia Roberti et Annæ Smith, conjugum, catholicorum: Patrino, Richardo Besley ex Chelseâ, infantis avunculo; Matrina, verò Franciscâ Roche de Hamersmith. Nata est autem infans hæc vigesimo quarto die mensis Februarii ultimi. Ita præsentes testantur.
D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Richard. Smith.
Richardus Besley.
Francisca Roche.

Die Julii 10° Baptizatus, heri verò natus est, Jacobus Dearlove, ob mortis periculum sine cæremoniis: filius Joannis Dearlove anacatholici, et Elizabethæ olim Smith catholicæ, conjugum, degentium in Cheam superiori. Die 27° Julii, suppletæ sunt baptismi cæremoniæ: et sola matrina (non invento Patrino moribus condigno) Elizabetha Kay spopondit pro hoc infante. Testes præsentes fuêre,
D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Elizabetha Kay.
Johannes Keghan.

Die Septembris 14° Baptizata est, die verò Augusti ultimi 25° nata, Johanna Bryant, filia Richardi et Elizabethæ, hac heterodoxâ, conjugum, de Mitcham. Matrina fuit Maria Bryant, avia infantis. Ita præsentes testantur. D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Richardus Bryant.
Maria Bryant.
Elizabetha Burnham.

A.D. 1778.

Die Januarii 18°, baptizatus, die verò hujusce mensis natus duodecimo, est Gulielmus Dunn, ob defectum sponsorum sine cæremonijs baptismi, filius Gulielmi Dunn catholici, et Elizabethæ anacatholicæ, conjugum; qui degunt in parochiâ de Mitcham. Ita præsentes testantur. D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Gulielmus Dunn.
Elizabetha Dunn.

Die Augusti 23°, natus, die autem 26°, baptizatus est Richardus Dearlove, filius Johannis, heterodoxi, et Elizabethæ Dearlove, conjugum, in Cheam Superiori seu Occidentali degentium: Patrino, Nathan Silcock; Matrinâ verò Sarâ Maloy, ut præsentes testantur.

D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Nathan Silcock.
Sara Maloy.

Die Octobris 18°, nata, die verò Octobris 20°, baptizata est Maria Dearlove, filia Gulielmi et Mariæ Dearlove, conjugum, in Sutton degentium, patre heterdoxo: deficiente Patrino, Matrina fuit Susanna Smith. Ita præsentes testantur.

D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Willie^us Dearlove.
Susanna Smith.
Sara Maloy.

Die Novembris septimo, nata, decimo sexto, autem baptizata est Sara Bryant, filia Georgii et Saræ Bryant, conjugum, in parochiâ Mitcham degentium, Infantis matre heterodoxâ. Deficiente Patrino, Matrina fuit Maria Bryant. Ita præsentes testantur.

D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Georgius Bryant.
Maria Bryant.

A.D. 1779.

Apud Ryegate oppidum, die Maii 27°, nata, die verò quarto Junii, baptizata est Anna Scott, filia Adami et Mariæ Scott, conjugum catholicorum: nullo occurrente viro catholico, Infantem una Matrina suscepit, Catherina Henesy, quæ ibidem conjugata degit, sed viro heterodoxo. Patrini officium spoponderat suscipere D^ns Edwardus Menzies, qui servit Nobilissimæ Familiæ Ducis Norfolkiensis, apud Dorking. Licet absens, eodem die, edoctus, quod præfata Infans baptizata fuerat, liberrimè promisit sacerdoti, qui ministraverat, quod verè fungeretur officio Patrini idem D^ns Edwardus Menzies. Ita præsentes testantur.

D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Maria Scott.
Cath. Henesy.

NB. Absens fuit Pater Infantis.

Die Augusti mensis 4^to, natus, die verò nono, in parochiâ de Ewell, baptizatus est Jacobus Smith, filius Roberti et Annæ Smith, conjugum catholicorum, ob defectum Patrinorum et mortis periculum, sine cæremoniis baptismi: ita præsentes hâc horâ testantur.

D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Anna Smith.
Sara Maloy.

A.D. 1780.

Die Mensis Martii octavo, apud Mitcham, baptizata est Elizabetha Dunn, quæ nata fuerat vigesimo die præteriti statim Februarii. Filia autem est Gulielmi catholici et Elizabethæ anacatholicæ Dunn, conjugum; sed absque baptismi cæremoniis, ob defectum Patrinorum spondentium aliaque pericula. Ita præsentes testantur.

D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Elizabetha Dunn, mater

A.D. 1781.

Die mensis Januarii 13°, natus est, die verò decimo quinto baptizatus, apud parochiam Dibden* propè Dorking, est Johannes Bowmen, filius Francisci et Mariæ Bowmen, conjugum catholicorum: Patrinus fuit Jacobus Ratcliffe, sed vices absentiæ ejus supplevit Gulielmus Carter; Matrina verò fuit Rachael Bownem, infantis aviæ, ut pater præsens et alii similiter testantur, sicut et

D. Joh. Jos. Pl. Naylor.
Franciscus Bowmen.
Rachel Bowmen.
Gulielmus Carter.

Die Maii 20°, in Cheam, baptizata, die autem octavo hujus mensis nata in Mitcham, est Maria Bryant, filia Georgii et Sarai Bryant, conjugum, degentium in parochiâ de Mitcham. Defectu Patrini hanc Infantem unica Matrina suscepit in fonte, quæ fuit Maria Bryant junior, quatuordecim circiter annorum. Ita testantur præsentes.

D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Georgius Bryant, pater Infantis.
Maria Bryant sen^r, avia.
Maria Bryant jun^r, Matrina.

Die Octobris 14° In parochiâ de Cheam, comitatûs Surreiensis, baptizatus est, sine baptismi cœremoniis ob mortis periculum et defectum sponsorum, Joannes Mahony, qui, die secundo hujus mensis, natus fuerat in parochiâ de Ewell. Hic Infans filius est Johannis Mahony ex Hyberniâ nuper adventantis de parochiâ Castlelyons, diœcesis Cloyensis, in comitatu Corcagiæ: Mariæ verò Bryen matris, natæ in parochiâ Rathcormick, diœcesis Cloyensis, et Corcagiæ comitatûs. Parentes Infantis seriò contestantur se ritè et catholicè matrimonio conjunctos. Baptismum testantur hi præsentes,

D. Johannes Josephus Pl. Naylor.
Johannes Mahony.
Maria Mahony.

A.D. 1782.

De vigesimo sexto Martii, natus est, die autem trigesimo baptizatus est, Josephus Gulielmus Dearlove, filius Gulielmi et Mariæ Dearlove, conjugum catholicorum, degentium in Cheam Occidentali. Patrinus est Gulielmus Carter de Dibden propè Dorking, in Palatio Ducis Norfolkiensis; Matrina autem generosa Domina Brigitta Southcote de Wooburn Farm. Hujus baptismi testes præsentes sunt,

D. Joannes Josephus Pl. Naylor.
Gulielmus Dearlove, Infantis pater.
Guilelmus Carter.
Brigitta Southcote.
Elizabetha Dearlove.

Die Junii tertio, nata, die verò hujus mensis septimo, baptizata est, in parochiâ de Mitcham, Elizabetha Bryant, filiâ Georgii catholici, et Sarai heterodoxæ Bryant, conjugum. Matrina sola

* Deepdene.

fuit Maria Bryant, avia Infantis. Hujus baptismi testes præsentes sunt.
D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Sarai Bryant.
Maria Bryant.

Die Octobris quarto, natus, die verò ejusdem mensis septimo, in Parochiâ de Ewell, baptizatus est Johannes Mahoni, filius conjugum, catholicorum in Hybernia natorum; et ob defectum sponsorum, sine cæremoniis. Hujus verò testes præsentes sunt.
D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
, Infantis mater.

A.D. 1783.

Die Januarii primo in Cheam, baptizatus est; die autem vigesimo quarto ultimi Octobris, in parochiâ de Mitcham, natus est Emmanuel Dunn, filius Gulielmi et Elizabethæ Dunn, conjugum, patre orthodoxo. Hujus baptismi, deficientibus sponsoribus, præsentes sunt.
D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Elizabetha Dunn, Infantis mater.
Robertus Dun, Infantis frater.

Die vigesimo secundo mensis Februarii, apud Cheam Occidentalem, baptizatus est Jacobus Dearlove, filius Johannis (heterodoxi) et Elizabethæ Dearlove, conjugum. Natus et hic Infans, mediâ nocte postremâ, et ob pericula, sine cæremoniis aut Patrinis [baptizatus], ut testes præsentes confirmant hi,
D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Elizabetha Dearlove.
Sara Maloy.

Die Martii nono anni 1783. Cæremoniæ baptismi complentur super Jacobum Dearlove: Patrinus fuit Alfridus Poulton de Merton; Matrinà verò Francisca Pickering de Sutton.

Die Maii undecimo, baptismi cæremoniæ suppletæ sunt super Emmanuelem Dunn, filium Gulielmi et Elizabethæ Dunn heterodoxæ, quæ detulerat Infantem, et nunc et prius ad baptismum de Mitcham. Patrinus fuit Jacobus Macdonald de Sutton: Matrina, Anna Fitzgerald, uxor Garat Fitzgerald.

Die Julii vigesimo septimo, baptizata, die verò Julii vigesimo quarto, nata est, in civitate Croydon, diœcesis Cantuariensis, in comitatu Surriæ, Anna Wildgoose, filia Georgii et Annæ Wildgoose, conjugum, inhabitantium in eâdem civitate. Patrinus fuit Franciscus Hunt: Matrina autem Maria Hunt, ejusdem Patrini uxor, ambo degentes Londini, in viâ quæ dicitur Southampton Buildings. Hunc baptismum attestantur præsentes, viz.
D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Georgius Wildgoose.
Franciscus Hunt.
Robertus Lincoln.
Maria Hunt.

ANNO DOMINI 1784.

Die mensis Novembris primo, nata est, die verò Novembris secundo, baptizata est Catherina Dearlove, filia Gulielmi et Mariæ Dearlove, conjugum, catholicorum, degentium in parochiâ Cheam

Occidentalis, diœcesis Cantuariensis, et in comitatu Surriæ. At die Decembris quinto subsequente, suppletæ sunt cæremoniæ baptismi super dictam Catherinam: existentibus tunc, Patrino Gulielmo Little de Sutton ; Matrina, verò Susannâ Smith de Cheam orientali, Infantis aviâ. Ita præsentes testantur.

D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.
Gulielmus Dearlove, pater.
Gulielmus Little.
Susanna Smith.
Elizabetha Dearlove.

A.D. 1785.

Die Martii trigesimo, baptizatus, vigesimo quinto hujusce natus, est Laurentius Dunn, filius Gulielmi et Elizabethæ Dunn, conjugum, degentium in Mitcham, sed ob defectum sponsorum, sine cæremoniis baptismi. Ita testatur. D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.

Die Aprilis undecimo, baptizatus, diè autem octavo natus, est in Mitcham, Andreas Bryant, filius Georgii et Sarai Bryant, conjugum. Matrina sola, ob defectum sponsorum, fuit Maria Bryant de Cheam Orientali, avia Infantis per patrem. [D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.]

ANNO DOMINI 1788.

Die 4ta Febii, baptizatus est Robertus, filius Georgii et Saræ Bryant, conjugum, natus in Mitcham, diè 20ma Januarii hujus anni. Susceptrix fuit Maria Bryant. Ita testor. F. Benedtus Short.

Die secundo Martii, an. D'ni. 1788. Baptizatus est Thomas Dearlove, filius Joannis et Eliz. Dearlove, conjugum. Susceptores fuêre Gul. Dearlove et Eliz. Jacobs: testes, Gul. Little et Eliz. Dearlove. Ita testor. Joas Greenway.

LIBER AB HÆRESI CONVERSORUM.

ANNO D'NI 1755.

1. Die 5to Dec. Anna Tree, uxor Valentini Tree, parochiæ de Cheame, in Surrey, professionem fidei Catholicæ coram me Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame pastore, fecit, ætatis suæ quinquaginta circiter annorum.

2. Maria Morgan, Scota, annorum circiter octoginta, coram me, hujus districtus de Cheame, in Surrey, pastore, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit.

3. Eodem fermè tempore, Maria, Æthiops infidelis, gravi laborans infirmitate, petiit baptizari, sicque in quantum sinebant angustiæ morbi Catholicè instructa ; susceptoque baptismi Sacramento, per me Gul. Heatley, post tres dies in gremio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, confessa et uncta piè in Domino obiit.

4. Guilielmus Bryant, parochiæ de Cheame in Surrey, ætalis annorum quinquaginta, coram me Guilo· Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit.

5. Maria Briant, prædicti Guilielmi Briant uxor, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

6. Maria Briant, annorum 18, filia Guilielmi et Mariæ Briant,

conjugum, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit, coram me, ejusdem districtûs pastore.

Ex quo tempore prædictorum parentum liberi,

7. Richardus Briant, puer quindecim annorum.

8. Georgius Briant, puer tredecim annorum.

9. Elizabetha Briant, filia decem annorum.

catholice educati sunt sub me, Guilielmus Heatley, ejusdem distûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

ANNO D'NI 1756

Liberi N. Besley et Mariæ Besley, ex parochiâ de Tooting in Surrey:

10. Maria Besley, annorum quatuordecim.

11. Josephus Besley, annorum duodecim.

12. Rebecca Besley, annorum undecim.

13. Et Anna Besley, annorum novem.

catholicé educari cœperunt sub me Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

ANNO D'NI 1756

14. Maria Owen, Londinensis, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

15. Samuel Sadler, ex comitatu de Berks, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit, annorum circitèr 33, coram me hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore, Guilielmo Heatley.

ANNO D'NI 1757

16. Die 28va. Aug. Thomas Feldwick, ex comitatu de Sussex, annorum 34, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me, Guilielmo Heatley, hujus loci et districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

17. Matthæus Early, ex comitatu de Somerset, annorum novemdecim, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me, Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

18. Maria Early, annorum circiter quindecim, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

19. Samuel Turner, ex parochiâ de Ewell in Surrey, annorum 22, Catholicæ fidei professionem fecit coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus loci et districtûs pastore.

20, 21. Georgius Hartley, sculptor, et Elizabetha, conjuges, apud Cheame commorantes, fidei Catholicæ professionem emiserunt, coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

ANNO D'NI 1758

22. Susanna Smith, ex oppido de Ewell in Surrey, vidua Joannis Smith, viri Catholici, anno præcedenti defuncti, fidem Catholicam amplexa est, et ejusdem fidei professionem fecit coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

Ex quo tempore, prædictorum parentum Joannis et Susanniæ Smith fœliciter catholicè educati sunt liberi, viz,

23. Joannes Smith, puer undecim annorum.

24. Henricus Smith, puer novem annorum.

25. Catharina Smith, filia octo annorum.

26. Elizabetha Smith, filia septem annorum.
27. Maria Smith, filia quinque annorum.
sub me Guil. Heatley. hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.
28. Thomas White, ex parochiâ de Corrinton* propè Cheame in Surrey, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.
29. Item, eodem anno, Hester White, prædicti Thomæ White uxor, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.
Ex quo [tempore] horum parentum liberi, viz.
30. Maria White, filia sedecim annorum.
31. Guil. White, puer quatuordecim annorum.
32. Thomas White, puer duodecim annorum.
33. Johannes White, puer undecim annorum.
34. Josephus White, puer novem annorum.
35. Joanna White, filia sex annorum.
36. Benjamin White, puer trium annorum.
37. Georgius White, infans.
catholicè educari cœperunt sub me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

ANNO D'NI 1759.

38. Maria Harrison, parochiæ de Mestham† in Surrey, uxor Nicholai Harrison, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.
39. Maria Rome, puella octodecim annorum, neptis prædictæ Mariæ Harrison, parochiæ de Mestham† in Surrey, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me Guil. Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

ANNO D'NI 1760.

40. Maria Brayley, parochiæ de Mordon§ propè Cheame, in Surrey, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit [coram] me Guil. Heatley, apud Cheame in Surrey pastore.
41. Sarah Crockford, filia Thomæ Crockford, parochiæ de Cheame, ætatis viginti octo circiter annorum, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit coram me Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtus de Cheame in Surrey pastore.
42. Thos. Crockford, parochiæ de Cheame in Surrey, vir sexaginta circiter annorum, defunctâ conjuge, fidei professionem fecit coram me, Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs pastore. Horum curâ et pio zelo ad fidem Catholicam adducti sunt:—
43. Catharina Crockford, sedecim annorum.
44. Elizabetha Crockford, quatuordecim annorum.
45. Johanna Crockford, duodecim annorum.
46. Guilielmus Crockford, octo annorum.
prædicti Thomæ Crockford liberi, sub me Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey, pastore.
47 Sarah Wells, parochiæ de Cheame in Surrey, vidua, sexaginta et amplius annorum, fidei Catholicæ professionem fecit coram me, Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

* Query Carshalton? † Merstham. § Morden.

48. Guilielmus Turner ex Ewell, in Surrey, 26 annorum, professionem fidei Catholicæ fecit [coram] me Guilielmo Heatley de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

Hoc anno, mota est persecutio per Jacobum King, ministrum Protestantem de Cheame aliosque adversus pastorem gregemque Catholicam hujus districtûs, qui vexati sunt per tres menses continuo per litteras citatorias vulgó *summons;* non tamen ante tribunal comparentes, tandem sedata est persecutio.

ANNO D'NI 1761.

49. Daniel Peard, de Tiverton, in comitatu de Devonshire, 40 annorum vir, fidei Catholicæ professionem fecit, coram me Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

50. Guilielmus Wood, ex Walliâ, puer 15 annorum, Catholicé educari cœpit sub me, Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame pastore.

51. Die 6to Sept. Anna Feldwick, uxor Thomæ Feldwick, 40ta circiter annorum, de Turner's Hill, comitatûs de Sussex, fidei Catholicæ professionem, coram me, Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheam pastore, fecit.

52. Die 9no Oct. Anna Heath, 36 circiter annorum, uxor Joannis Heath, ex comitatu de Stafford, fidei Catholicæ professionem fecit coram me, Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame pastore, ex quo ejus liberi Catholicè educari cœperunt.

53. Die 26to Nov. Elizabetha Newman, 15 circitèr annorum, fidei Catholicæ professionem fecit, coram me, Guilielmo Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame in Surrey pastore.

1762.

Jan. 31^{o} Maria Beshford renunciavit hæresim, et professionem fecit Catholicæ fidei, apud Cheame, in quâ vixit parochiâ, cum esset annorum viginti sex.

Feb. 6to Gulielmus Wooddus professionem fecit Catholicæ fidei, cum esset sedecim circiter annorum.

A.D. 1780.

Die Aprilis nono, abjurans hæresim Sponsæ Christi immaculatæ sociatus est in Cheam, Joannes Lee, faber lignarius, viginti sex aut septem circitèr annorum, qui operam sequitur in Palatio Nobilissimi Ducis Norfolciæ apud Dibden in Surræi comitatu.

A.D. 1781.

Die Februarii nono, abdicavit omnem hæresim, et Christo junctus est, professâ prius fide, Guilielmus Dearlove, apud Cheam degens, et conjugatus. Ætatis est viginti septem annorum.

Die Aprilis 18^{o}. Fidem Christi amplexus, et Sponsæ ejus sociatus est, Jacobus Macdonald, incola nunc in Sutton, et cœlebs, ætate circiter triginta septem annorum. Ita testor D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.

ANNO DOMINI 1783.

Die Aprilis 14^{o}, hæresim abrenunciavit, fidemque amplexa est Anna Fitzgerald, uxor Garret Fitzgerald, annorum, circiter quadraginta. Ita testor D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.

[*A leaf is here torn away, which contained the entry of one conversion in the year* 1785.]

LIBER CONFIRMATORUM.

ANNO D'NI 1759.

Die 28vo Octobris, qui fuit Dominicus, Guilielmus et Maria Briant, conjuges, necnon Maria et Elizabetha Briant, prædictorum parentum filiæ, Sacramentum Confirmationis acceperunt à Reverendissimo D. Richardo,* Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico, in hoc capello de Cheame, in Surrey, me Guilielmo Heatley pastore præsente.

Die 28vo Octobris, Matthæus Early Sacramentum Confirmationis accepit à Reverendissimo D'no Richardo, Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico, me pastore in Cheame Guilielmo Heatley præsente.

Thomas et Hester White, conjuges, simulque eorum liberi, Maria, Guilielmus, Thomas, Joannes, et Josephus White, die 28vo Octobris, Sacramentum Confirmationis acceperunt a Reverendissimo D. Richardo, Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico, me Guilielmo Heatley pastore in Cheame præsente.

Rebecca Besley, filia N. et Mariæ Besley, conjugum, Sacramentum Confirmationis à Reverendissimo D. Richardo, Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico, die 28vo Octobris, accepit, me Guilielmo Heatley pastore in Cheame præsente.

Die 28vo Octobris, Thomas et Margarita Bahon, conjuges, simulque horum liberi, Maria, Margarita et Joannes, Sacramentum Confirmationis à Reverendissimo D. Richardo, Episcopo, hujus districtus Vicario Apostolico, susceperunt, me Gulielmo Heatley pastore in Cheame præsente.

Die 28vo Octobris, Sarah Moloy, uxor Davidis Moloy, Sacramentum Confirmationis suscepit, à Reverendissimo D. Richardo Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico, me Guilielmo Heatley pastore in Cheame præsente.

Die 28vo Octobris, Elizabetha Richardson, filia Guilielmi et et Mariæ Richardson, conjugum, Sacramentum Confirmationis à Reverendissimo D. Richardo, Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico suscepit, me Guilielmo Heatley pastore in Cheame præsente.

Die 28vo Octobris, Henricus Smith, filius Joannis et Susannæ Smith, conjugum, Sacramentum Confirmationis à Reverendissimo D. Richardo, Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico, suscepit, me Guilielmo Heatley, pastore in Cheame præsente.

Die 28vo Octobris, Robertus Tree, filius Valentini et Annæ Tree, conjugum, Sacramentum Confirmationis à Reverendissimo D. Richardo, Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico, per me Gulielmum Heatley, pastorem in Cheame præsentatus.

ANNO D'NI 1761.

Die 10mo Maii, qui fuit Dominica Pentecostes, Thomas Feldwick Sacramentum Confirmationis à Reverendissimo D. Richardo, Episcopo, hujus districtûs Vicario Apostolico, suscepit, præsentatus per me Guilielmum Heatley, pastorem in Cheame, Comitatûs de Su

* Rt Rev. Richard Challoner, Bishop of Debra.

ANNO DOMINI 1774.

Die 3° Julii, Catharina Smith, Elizabetha Smith, et Maria Smith Sacramentum Confirmationis, apud Woburn Farm, in hoc comitatu susceperunt.

LIBER MATRIMONIORUM.

ANNO D'NI 1761.

Die 31mo mensis Maii, denunciationibus prætermissis, nullo legitimo impedimento detecto, Ego Guilielmus Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame, in Surrey, pastor, Thomas Andrews et Saram Crockford, hujus parochiæ de Cheame, interrogavi, eorumque mutuo consensu habito, per verba de præsenti, matrimonio conjunxi, præsentibus Thomâ Crockford patre prædictæ Saræ Crockford, et Joannâ sorore. Postea matrimonio secundum ritus Sancta Ecclesiæ Catholicæ juncti, legalem consensum in ecclesiâ parochiali de Cheame, coram ministro Protestante renovârunt.

ANNO D'NI 1762.

Decimo nono Septembris. Gulielmus Stacy et Elizabetha Richardson matrimonio conjuncti sun', apud Epsum, in Comitatu Surrey.

ANNO D'NI 1763.

14to Januarii, die Veneris, Thomas Burnham acatholicus et Maria Bryant catholica matrimonio juncti sunt, Londini, à Rev. D'no Gryswold; et apud Cheam in ecclesiâ parochiali coram ministro contractus renovatus est, sequenti die dominicâ, nempe 16 hujus, etc.

Octobris 20° Londini, conjuncti sunt in matrimonio D'nus Strafford Greenway et D'na Lucia Plunket, licentiâ (ut vocant) ad hoc prius obtentâ; præsentibus D'no Jacobo Greenway, et D'nâ Elizabethâ Plunket, sorore sponsæ: et eodem die, consensum suum renoverunt in parochiali Ecclesiâ Sti. Martini in Campis, coram ministro ejusdem ecclesiæ. per me B. B.

Novembr. 26to Gulielmus White et Catharina Verry, publicationibus priùs factis, in matrimonio conjuncti sunt apud Cheam Inferiorem; præsentibus, Thomâ et Ester White: et eodem die suum renovavêre consensum in parochiali ecclesiâ de Mordon, coram ministro ejusdem ecclesiæ.

ANNO D'NI 1766.

Februarii 5to apud villam Cheam Inferiorem, circa horam octavam pomeridianam, Stephanus Cummings acatholicus et Maria Hughs catholica, licentiâ priùs obtentâ et mihi ostensâ, in matrimonio conjuncti sunt: testibus, Bryant et Maria Wilson.

per me B. B.

N.B. Hic matrimonialis contractus, ut mihi dixerunt et ferè promiserunt, repetendus erat, hoc ipso die, circa horam undecimam, coram ministro parochiæ de Rigate, qui pridie illos jusserat hâc horâ adesse.

N.B. Quod ego, rogatus per epistolam Domini Mollineux sacerdotis, feci.

1767.

21° die Augusti. Petrus Reed et Maria Little vidua in matrimonio conjuncti sunt per Dominum Duffee, unum ex capellanis in

sacello Regis Hispaniæ, Londini; et paucos post dies, renovatus est contractus coram ministro parochialis ecclesiæ de Sutton, in comitatu Surrey: testibus mihi ignotis.

Augusti 30° anni D'ni 1767. In matrimonio conjuncti sunt apud villam Cheam Inferiorem, Georgius Bryant catholicus, ex parochiâ de Geyton, in comitatu Surrey, et Sarah Plowman, acatholica, de parochiâ Woodmonstone, in eodem comitatu, bannis priùs publicatis in utrâque parochiâ: testibus Gulielmo et Mariâ Bryant parentibus sponsi, et Richardo Bryant fratre ejusdem. per me B. B.

Eodemque die, renovatus est contractus in parochiali ecclesiâ de Woodmonstone, coram parocho ejusdem ecclesiæ.

N.B. Antè promisit sponsa, quam in matrimonio sit conjuncta, coram præfatis testibus, proles omnes sive filios sive filias ex hoc connubio procreatas, in fide Catholicâ fore educandas. Teste me B. Bradshaw.

A.D. 1781.

Die Aprilis 24° Apud Cheam Orientalem, Sacramentum Matrimonii susceperunt Gulielmus et Maria Dearlove, cujus nomen priùs fuerat Smith, qui aliquandiù contractu erant colligati, nunc degentes in parochiâ Cheam Occidentalis. Ita testor D. J. J. Pl. Naylor.

STATUS ANIMARUM.

Chr., chrismati: P., pœnitentes: C., communicantes.

Chr. Chr.	1. 2. Anno D'ni 1755, in parochiâ de Ewell habitant Guilielmus et Maria Richardson, conjuges, sexaginta circitèr annorum, simulque horum liberi.	P. P.	C. C.
Chr.	3. Josephus Richardson, 12 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	4. Elizabetha Richardson, 16 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	5. Anna Richardson, 13 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	6. Maria Richardson, 1759, 13 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	7. Joannes Richardson, 1760, 11 annorum.	P.	
Chr.	8. Winefrida Richardson, 1759, 9 annorum.	P.	
Chr. Chr.	9. 10. Anno D'ni 1755. In parochiâ de Ewell habitant David et Sarah Moloy, conjuges, 40 annorum; simulque horum parentum liberi, viz.	P. P.	C. C.
	11. Maria Moloy, 1760, 19 annorum.	P.	C.
	12. Thomas Moloy, 1760, 16 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	13. Jacobus Moloy, 1760, 12 annorum.	P.	C.
	14. Catherina Moloy, 1760, 5 annorum.		
	15. Joannes Moloy, 1761, 4 annorum.		
Chr.	16. Anno D'ni 1755, in parochiâ de Ewell habitat Joannes Smith, 30ta annorum vir; cujus uxor Susanna Smith est acatholica.	P.	C.

Chr.	17. Anno D'ni 1755, in parochiâ de Cheame habitat Maria Duxon, 70ta circiter annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	18. Anno D'ni 1755, in parochiâ de Cheame habitat Maria Wilson, 50ta circiter annorum.	P.	C.
Chr. Chr.	19. 20. Anno D'ni 1756, in parochiâ de Sutton habitant Thomas et Maria Little, conjuges si-	P. P.	C. C.
	21. mulque filius Guilielmus Little, puer duorum annorum.		
Chr.	22. Anno D'ni 1755, in parochiâ de Ewell habitat Josiah Wood, vir 34r annorum.	P.	C.
Chr. Chr.	23, 24. Anno D'ni 1755, in parochiâ de Cheame Guilielmus et Maria Briant, conjuges, 48 annorum, habitant, simulque horum parentum liberi.	P. P.	C. C.
Chr.	25. Maria Briant, 18 annorum,	P.	C.
	26. Richardus Briant, 16 annorum.	P.	C.
	27. Georgius Briant, 13 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	28. Elizabetha Briant, 11 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr. Chr.	29, 30. Anno D'ni 1756, in parochiâ de Ewell habitant Thomas et Maria Bahon et horum liberi,	P. P.	C. C.
Chr.	31. Maria Bahon, 14 annorum.	P.	
Chr.	32. Margarita Bahon, 1759, 13 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	33. Joannes Bahon, 1761, 12 annorum.	P.	
Chr.	34. Anno D'ni 1756, in parochiâ de Bansted in Surrey propè Cheame habitat Elizabetha Berry, 30 annorum, uxor viri acatholici.	P.	C.
Chr. Chr.	35, 36. Anno D'ni 1756, in parochiâ de Bansted habitant Guilielmus et Catherina Brewer, conjuges, 48 annorum, cum duobus filiis,	P. P.	C. C.
Chr.	37. Guilielmo Brewer, 17 annorum, et	P.	C.
Chr.	38. Joanne Brewer, 16 annorum.	P.	C.
	Anno D'ni 1757, in parochiâ de Mordon habitat		
Chr.	39. Jacobus Mangen, 40 annorum vir.	P.	C.
	Anno D'ni 1757, in parochiâ de Tooting habitat		
Chr.	40. Maria Besley, uxor viri acatholici cum liberis:	P.	C.
Chr.	41. Maria Besley, 16 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	42. Josephus Besley 14 annorum.	P.	
Chr.	43. Rebecca Besley, 13 annorum.	P.	C.
	44. Anna Besley, 6 annorum.		
	Anno D'ni . . . in parochiâ . . .		
Chr.	45. Maria Norman, 72 annorum.	P.	C.

	Anno D'ni 1758, in parochiâ de Mitcham.		
Chr.	46. Maria Primmer, 30 annorum, habitat.	P.	C.
	Anno D'ni 1759, in parochiâ de Cheame habitat		
	47. Susanna Smith, vidua Joannis Smith ex Ewell, annorum 34, cum liberis, viz.	P.	C.
Chr.	48. Joanne Smith, 12 annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	49. Henrico Smith, 10 annorum.	P.	
	50. Catherinâ Smith, 8 annorum.		
	51. Elizabethâ Smith, 6 annorum.		
	52. Mariâ Smith, 5 annorum.		
	Anno D'ni 1758, in parochiâ de Cheame,		
Chr.	53. Matthæus Early, 22 annorum habitat.	P.	C.
	Ibidem etiam habitat ejus soror,		
	54. Maria Ear'y, 18 annorum.	P.	C.
	Anno D'ni 1758, in parochiâ de Cheame,		
Chr.	55. Thomas Baker, 70 annorum, vir habitat.	P.	C.
	Anno D'ni 1758, in parochiâ de Cheame,		
Chr.	56. D. Ferdinandus Watkins, Doctor Medecinæ, habitat.	P.	C.
	Anno D'ni 1758, in parochiâ de Cheame habitat		
Chr.	57. Thomas Feldwick, 34 annorum vir. Habitat apud Turner's Hill, in Sussex, 1761.	P.	C.
	58. 59. Anno D'ni 1757, Samuel et Guilielmus Turner, fratres, parochiæ de Ewell, 20 annorum.	P. P.	
	Anno D'ni 1760, parochiæ de Cheame habitant		
Chr.	60. Elizabeth Hayes, 27 circiter annorum.	P.	C.
Chr.	61. Maria Hayes, 23 annorum, sorores.	P.	C.
	Anno D'ni 1760, parochiæ de Mestham in Surrey.		
	62. Maria Harrison, 50 annorum, uxor Nicolai Harrison. Item ejus neptis, ancilla.	P.	C.
	63. Maria Rome, annorum 19.	P.	
	Anno D'ni 1760, in parochiâ de Cheame		
	64. Thomas Crockford, 66 annorum, uxore in hæresi defunctâ, habitat cum liberis viz.	P.	
	65. Sarâ Crockford, 28 annorum.	P.	C.
	66. Catherinâ Crockford, 17 annorum.		
	67. Elizabethâ Crockford, 14 annorum.		
	68. Guilielmo Crockford, 10 annorum.		
	Anno D'ni 1760, in parochiâ de Cheame habitat,		
	69. Sarah Wells vidua Thomæ Wells, 63 annorum.	P.	C.

	Anno D'ni 1760, in parochiâ de Cheame		
Cr.	70. Sarah Jenkins, 44 circiter annorum, habitat.	P.	C.
	Anno D'ni 1760, in parochiâ de Mordon.		
Chr. Chr.	71. 72. Thomas et Hester White, conjuges, 40 annorum, habitant, simul horum parentum liberi:	P. P.	C. C.
Chr.	73. Maria White, 18 annorum.	P.	
Chr.	74. Guilielmus White, 17 annorum.	P.	
Chr.	75. Thomas White, 15 annorum.	P.	
Chr.	76. Joannes White, 12 annorum.	P.	
Chr.	77. Josephus White, 10 annorum.	P.	
	78. Joanna White, 7 annorum.		
	79. Benjamin White, 5 annorum.		
	80. Georgius White, infans.		
	Anno D'ni 1760, in parochiâ Mordon.		
	81. Maria Brayley, 60 annorum, habitat.	P.	
	Anno D'ni 1761, in parochiâ de Cheame,		
	82. Guilielmus Wood, 15 annorum, puer. Ex Walliâ.		
	Anno D'ni 1761, apud Turner's Hill, in Sussex,		
	83. Anna Feldwick, 40 circiter annorum, uxor Thomæ Feldwick.		
	Anno D'ni 1761, apud Cheame,		
	84. Elizabetha Newman, 14 annorum, habitat.	P.	C.

N.B. Auctoritate Superiorum, Londino missus ex Sacello Regis Portugalliæ (ubi unus ex capellanis eram) veni ad villam Cheam Inferiorem, vigesimo die Decembris, anni D'ni 1761, et die Dominicâ.

N.B. Tametsi numerus fidelium ad hanc Congregationem spectantium videatur magnus, quia nomina *in Libro Statûs Animarum* multa sunt, ad Paschale tamen Sacramentum recipendum, anno D'ni 1762, non plures inveniuntur appropinquare quam infra describuntur; et ex his quatuor, hoc tempore, ad primum communionem, et quinque ad Confessionem tantum admissi sunt. Cæteri huc spectantes vel parvuli sunt, vel si adulti ad Confessionem tantum fuere admissi.

Ad Paschale Sacramentum
admissorum Nomina, 1762.

1. Domina Catharina Brewer
2. —— Berry. } ex Bamstead.
3. Domina Rebecca Beesley. ex Tuton Infer.
4. Dom. —— Hase.
5. ipsuis soror.
6. et D'na Prescot. } ex Cheam Sûper.
7. Gulielmus Richardson.
8. Elizabetha Richardson.
9. Maria Richardson. } ex Ewell.

. . . . ad 1am communionem

10. Maria (Behon) seu Machoboy. ex Ewell. Ad 1am communionem.
11. —— Crockford, ovium pastor. ex Cheam. Ad 1am communionem.
12. David Meloy. ex Ewell.
13. Jacobus Mangum. Mercator vagus.
14. Elizabetha Richardson. ex Ewell.
15. D'na Sarah Beasley. ex Tuton Infer.
16. Maria Bryant. ex Cheam Infer.
17. Gulielmus Brewer. ex Bamstead.
18. Josephus Beesley. ex Tooley Street propè Pontem Londinensem.
19. Jacobus Smith. ex Cheam Infer.
20. Maria Primer. ex Micham.
21. Thomas Behon. ex Ewell.
22. John Behon. ex Ewell. Ad Conf. tantum.
23. D'na —— Smith. ex Cheam Infer.
24. Jacobus Meloy. ex Ewell. Conf. tantum.
25. Sarah Wells. ex Cheam Infer.
26. Sarah Meloy. ex Ewell.
27. Margarita Bayhen. ex Ewell. Conf. tantum.
28. Josephus White. ex Sutton.
29. Maria Little. ex Cheam Infer. Ad 1am Com.
30. D'na Catherina Smith. ex Cheam Inf. Conf. tantum.
31. Henricus Smith. ex Cheam Inf.
32. Elizabetha Bryant. ex Cheam Inf.
33. Sarah Andrews. ex Cheam Inf.
34. D'ns Briant. ex Bamfield. Ad 1am Com.
35. Maria Bechford. ex Cheam Inf.
36. Richardus Bryant.
37. Peter White. ex Cheam Super.
38. Matthæus Earley. ex Wallington propè Cashangton.*
39. Maria Normand.
40. . . . White.
41. Maria —— dispensatrix hujus domûs.

Ex his 4 ad Primam Communionem, et 5 ad Confessionem tantum, ut suprà notatur, admissi fuêre.

Sequuntur nomina eorum, qui ex 20a die Decembris anni supradicti, 1761 ad primam Confessionem vel ad Confessionem et primam Communionem, vel ad fidei Catholicæ Professionem faciendam, admissi fuerint; vel ad hanc Congregationem antehâc non spectabant, vel baptizati fuerint in hoc Sacello.

1762.

Dominus Oliverus Cogham, ex Betchworth, Hybernus. Noviter admissus.
Petrus Freel, ex Mordon. Noviter admissus.
Maria Andrews, ex Cheam. Infans baptizatus, ut videre est in Catal. Baptizatorum.
Maria Bechford, conversa ad fid. Cath. nunc ex Bamstead.

* Carshalton used commonly to be called Case-orton.

Gulielmus Woods, Wallus convers. nunc Londini habitans.
Maria Richardson. Ad Conf. et 1am Communionem.
Maria Behon. Ad Conf. et 1am Communionem.
Elizabetha Crockford. Ad Conf. et 1am Communionem.
Joannes Behon Ad Conf. tantùm: nunc ad Com.
Jacobus Melloy. Ad Conf. tantùm: nunc ad Com.
Josephus White. Ad Conf. tantùm: nunc Com.
Henricus Smith. Ad Conf. tantùm: nunc Com.
Catharina Smith. Ad 1am Confessionem: n. Com.
Richardson. Ad primam Communionem.
Patritius Patrick.
Elizabetha Crockford. Ad 1am Conf. nunc Com.

Die Nativitatis Christi, anno 1762.

Maria White.
Gulielmus White.
Thomas White.
Joannes White.
Josephus White.
Catharina Smith.
Henricus Smith.
Elizabeth Smith.
Hannah Crockford.

Admissi ad primam Communionem ad primam Conf. et Communionem

ad 1am Conf.

Ad primam Conf. tantum. Nunc Com.

1763.

Novembris 25to Catharina Verry, in anno vigesimo primo ætatis, abrenunciavit hæresim, et professionem fecit Catholicæ fidei

Maria Smith.
—— Richardson.
—— Houghton.
—— Reed, de Sutton.

Hæresim renunciaverunt coram me B. B.

N.B. Sarah Bryant, adhuc Catechumena,
et —— Reed nondum admissus ad Sacram Communionem.
De Baptizatis, vide Librum Baptizatorum.

1769.

Jan. 10. In ædibus paternis, mortua est Maria Bernham, et jacet sepulta in Cæmeterio Superioris Cheam.

Easter, 1772.

Maundy Thursday. 1. William Little. 2. —— Molly.
Easter Sunday. 3. Eliz. Smith. 4. Mary Smith. 5. Mary Bryant. 6. Katherine Brewer.
Easter Monday. 7. Eliz. Smith. 8. Wm Bryant.
Easter Tuesday. 9. Mrs Reid. 10. Mrs. Pickering. 11. Mr Brewer.
Thursday. 12. Mrs. Lowder. 13. Irish Jemmy.
Low Sunday. 14. Mr. Hathershall. 15. John Keegan. 16. An Irishman. 17. A Shoemaker, Thomas Lewis.
2 Sunday. 18. The old Irishwoman at the door. 19. A sick Lancastrian.

Easter, 1773.

Maundy Thursday. 1. Mrs. Read.
Easter Sunday. 2. Mr. Brewer. 3. Kat. Brewer. 4. Eliz. Smith. 5. Mary Smith. 6. Mrs. Molloy. 7. The old Irishwoman.

Easter Monday. 8. W^m^ Bryant. 9. Mrs. Bryant.
Easter Tuesday. 10. Mrs. Hathersoll. 11. Irish Jemmy.
Easter Thursday. 12. Mrs. Smith. 13. Richard . . .
Low Sunday. 14. John Keegan, confess. 15. W^m^ Little. 16. Mrs. Lowther. 17. Young Ward. 18. A man from Cashalton. 19. A woman from the workhouse at Epsom. 20. Molloy not being able to come at Easter, she anticipated the time.

Oct. 3^d^ 1773. Geraldus Fitzgerald, mercator vagus, quindecim annos natus, ad primam Communionem admissus.

EASTER, 1774.

Palm Sunday. 1. Mr. Brewer. 2. Mrs. Brewer. 3. Mrs. Pickering
Maundy Thursday. 4. Mrs. Reed.
Easter Sunday. 5. Eliz. Smith. 6. Irish woman. 7. Mr. Molloy. 8. Mary Smith. 9. Mrs. Dawney. 10. Mrs. Lowder. 11. Mr. Kempson's man. 12. Mrs. Smith. 13. Man from Cashalton. 14. Mrs. Bryant. 15. Mary Mullins, works at Mitcham.

EASTER, 1775.

Palm Sunday. 1. M. Molloy.
Maundy Thursday. 2. Mrs. Pickering. 3. Mrs. Reed. 4. Molly at Mrs. Patrick's.
Easter Sunday. 5. Mary Smith. 6. Irish Jenny. 7. An Irishman. 8. Mrs. Behon. 9. Mrs. Brewer. 10. Mr. Brewer. 11. Catherine Smith.
Easter Monday. 12. Mrs. Dawney.
Easter Tuesday. 13. Elizabeth Smith.
Low Sunday. 14. An Irishwoman. 15. A little girl from Epsom. 16. Mrs. Bryant's ——.
St. Mark, Tuesday after Low Sunday. 17. Mrs. Lowther, prevented from coming sooner.
2 Sunday. 18. Goodman Behon.
3^d^ Sunday. 19. A young man from Ewel.
Whitsunday. 20. A young woman from Mrs. Patrick's, sister to the above. 21. Mrs. Smith.

STATUS ANIMARUM.

Chr., chrismati: P., pœnitentes: C., communicantes.

A.D. 1777. In Paschate.

	P.	C.
1. Apud Epsom, Catherina Dawney.	P.	C
2. Jacobus Roberts.	P.	C.
3. Marguerita Butler.	P.	C.
4. Apud Tooten, Robertus Smith.	P.	C.
5. Cum Uxore ejus, Annâ Smith. Hæc Infantem habet Saram fere trimestrem.	P.	C.
6. Mater autem Annæ Smith est Sarai Besley.	P.	C.
7. Apud Ewell, Sarai Moloy, vidua et grandæva.	P.	C.
8. Thomas Beyhen, senex et pauper.	P.	C.
9. Hujus uxor, Marguarita Beyhen.	P.	C.
10. Horum Filia innupta Marguerita Beyhen. Hæc duas habet filias infantes.	P.	

EASTER SUNDAY. 1788.

1. Ursula Brantchamp, Mitcham.
2. Mrs. Pickering, Sutton.
3. Mr. Clarkson, Lord Derby's.
4. William Dearlove, Cheam.
5. Eliz. Dearlove, Cheam.
6. Old Jenny Buttler, Cheam.
7. Dame Behon, Ewel.
8. George Jinkings.

EASTER MONDAY.

9. Mrs. Landell, Cheam.
11 [*sic.*] Mrs. Molloy, Ewel.
12. Mary Dearlove, Cheam.
13. Eliz. Jacobs, Sutton.

TUESDAY.

14. Mrs. Grey.
15. Mrs. Bryant.
16. Mrs. Wildgoose.
17. The Housekeeper of Mr Bray.
18. The Maid.
19 The Maid's son: Confes.
20. Gul. Little.
21. Betty, Mr. Kemp's Maid.
22. George Magnum.

LIBER MORTUORUM.

ANNO D'NI 1755.

Die 26to Julii, Maria Duxon, ætatis circiter 74 annorum, in communione Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, animam Deo reddidit, confessa, uncta, et Sanctissimo Viatico refecta, per me Guilielmum Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame pastorem in Domino: cujus corpus sepultum est in ecclesiâ parochiali de Cheame in Surrey.

ANNO D'NI 1756.

In mense Maii, Josias Wood, ætatis 34 anno, in communione Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, animam Deo redditit, confessus, unctus, et Sanctissimo Viatico refectus, per me Guilielmum Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame pastorem in Domino: cujus corpus [sepultum est] in cæmeterio ecclesiæ parochialis de Ewell.

Die 18vo mensis Augusti, Thomas Little, ætatis . . . in communione Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, animam Deo reddidit, confessus unctus, et Sanctissimo Viatico refectus: cujus corpus sepultum est in cæmeterio ecclesiæ parochialis de Sutton propè Cheame in Surrey.

ANNO D'NI 1757.

Die 19^{o} Martii, Joannes Smith, ex Ewell, in Surrey, ætatis [anno] 34, in communione Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, animam Deo reddidit, confessus, unctus, et Sanctissimo Viatico refectus, per me Guilielmum Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame pastorem: cujus corpus sepultum est in ecclesiæ parochialis de Ewell cæmeterio.

Anno D'ni 1757, Guilielmus Smith, infans, filius prædicti Joannis Smith, mortuus et sepultus est ibidem.

ANNO D'NI 1758.

Die 10^{o} Maii, Anna Richardson, 14 annorum, filia Guilielmi et Mariæ Richardson, in communione Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ, animam Deo reddidit, confessa, uncta, et Sanctissimo Viatico munita, per me Guilielmum Heatley, hujus districtûs de Cheame pastorem: cujus corpus sepultum est in ecclesiæ parochialis de Ewell cæmeterio.

ANNO D'NI 1762.

Primo die Aprilis, mortuus est Joannes Baker, in villâ Cheam Superiori: et sepultus est in cæmeterio parochialis ecclesiæ de Epsom: paucis diebus ante obitum munitis Sacramentis Ecclesiæ.

N.B. Joannes Baker non sepultus est apud Epsum, ut suprà dicitur (cujus loci tamen parochialis erat) sed apud Cheam, ubi mortuus est, ad majores, ut puto, expensus evitandos, et propter jurgia inter parochias; nec campana funebris post ipsius mortem, more solito, in utrovis loco pulsabatur.

Junii 5°. Apud Epsum, mortuus est Patritius Plunket, ritibus Ecclesiæ munitus. Ibidem sepultus.

Junii 13$^{\text{tio}}$. Mortuus est Gulielmus Richardson, apud Ewell, ritibus Ecclesiæ, die ante obitum, munitus. Ibidem sepultus.

1763.

Feb. 11°. Mortuus est Thomas Andrews, infans, heri baptizatus, cui sepultura secundum ritus protestantis ecclesiæ denegata est, quia à quo baptisma receperit ministro parochiali de Cheam non innotescebat. Jacet tamen sepultus in cæmeterio prædicto.

Martii 3°. Mortua est Elizabetha Richardson, in domo filiæ suæ Elizabethæ Stacey, propè Epsum, ritibus Ecclesiæ et ultimâ absolutione præmunita. Sepulta autem apud Ewell.

Septembris 5$^{\text{to}}$. Mortuus est Timotheus Clifford, Hibernus, in horreo D'ni Martyr apud Golworth Court. Sepultus est in cæmeterio ecclesiæ parochialis de Long Ditton, in comitatu Surrey.

Sept. 9°. Mortua est Alicia Clifford, uxor prædicti Timothæi Clifford, in eodem horreo. Sepulta est in eodem cæmeterio, ritibus Ecclesiæ munita.

1764.

Octobris 11°. Mortua est d'na Elizabetha Berry, in domo suâ propè Banstead, Sacramentis Ecclesiæ munita.

1765.

Martii 15$^{\text{to}}$. Mortuus est Georgius White, filius Thomæ et Ester White, inter quartum et quintum ætatis suæ annum.

Junii 3$^{\text{tia}}$. Mortua est Sarah Wells. Sepulta est apud Cheam.

Junii 4$^{\text{ta}}$. Mortua est, apud Ewell, Maria Machaboy, et ibi sepulta.

Novembris 6$^{\text{to}}$. Mortua est Maria Andrews, infans, 2$^{\text{da}}$ hujus baptizata. Hanc sepelire recusavit Dr. King, hujus parochiæ minister, eò quod ignotum fuit illi nomen baptizantis. Scripsit ad matrem, Mortem esse pœnam Romani sacerdotis quemcumque baptizantis vel convertentis. Sepulta tamen jacet in cæmeterio Cheam.

1766.

Quartâ die Maii, mortua est, multò mane, apud Moden, in comitatu Surrey, Maria Braley, Sacramentis Ecclesiæ et ultimâ benedictione munita. Sepulta est ibi, in cæmeterio parochialis ecclesiæ.

1767.

Junii 21°. Apud villam Cheam Superiorem, circa horam quartam matutinam, omnibus Ecclesiæ Sacramentis et ultimâ benedictione munitus, D'nus Timotheus Levisier mortuus est, et 23$^{\text{tio}}$ hujus in cæmeterio parochialis ecclesiæ ejusdem villæ sepultus.

[*On a loose piece of paper.*] Anno D'ni 1767, 22° die Octobris, Thomas Crockford senior inventus est mortuus, fune suspensus de arbore: et à Quæstore (homicidii) cum suis inquisitoribus Lunaticus judicatus: sepultus est, 26° hujus, in cæmeterio ecclesiæ parochialis de Cheam.

Die 20° Decembris, apud Cheam Infer. Sara Andrews, confessa, et Sanctissimo Viatico munita, mortua est. Corpus sepultum est in cæmeterio parochialis ecclesiæ de Cheam.

1768.

David Meloy, omnibus Ecclesiæ ritibus, et ultimâ benedictione munitus, mortuus est, apud Ewell, 24^to^ die Maii. Corpus sepultum est in cæmeterio parochialis ecclesiæ.

1769.

Jun. 10. Mortua est Maria Bernhan. *Vide,* Stat. Animarum. Mortua est Maria Norman, Ecclesiæ Sacramentis munita, die 30° Julii.

1773.

Elizabetha Bryant, omnibus Ecclesiæ ritibus, et ultimâ benedictione munita, mortua est apud Cheam Inferiorem, die mensis Novembris 14°, et sepulta est in cæmeterio parochiali.

1775.

Januarii 23°. Joannes Behon, Sacramento pœnitentiæ sanctissimoque Viatico munitus, apud Ewell in comitatu Surriensi, piè in Domino ultimum obiit diem, ibique in cæmeterio parochiali est sepultus.

1776.

Die 28^vo^ mensis Maii, omnibus S. Ecclesiæ sacramentis anteà munitus, apud Cheam Inferiorem, vitâ functus est Geraldus Fitzgerald, annos natus circitèr 18, et in cæmeterio parochiali sepultus.

A.D. 1777.

Die Januarii tertio, piè interiit, ritè munita, apud Dunum Barnstead, Catherina Brewer, uxor Gulielmi Brewer, sepultaque est in cæmeterio de Barnstead.

Die 24° Augusti obiit infans Jacobus Dearlove, filius Joannis, non-catholici, et Elizabethæ Dearlove, conjugum, degentium in Cheam Superiori. Sepultus est infans in cæmeterio de Sutton.

A.D. 1778.

Apud Croydon civitatem, die Octobris 27°, mortuus, die autem 29° sepultus est Gulielmus Wildgoose, filius Georgii (heterodoxi) et Annæ Wildgoose, conjugum. Infans fuit quatuor circiter annorum.

A.D. 1779.

Die mensis Martii 30° ritè munita, obiit Maria Dawney, in domo pauperum operariâ apud Epsom. Puella fuit decem circiter annorum.

Apud Sutton, munitus, efflavit animam Petrus Read, die Augusti 31°, die autem Septembris 2°, corpus ejus humatum est in cæmeterio ecclesiæ Suttonianæ.

ANNO DOMINI 1780.

Die Aprilis 2. Obiit munitus, in quantum inopinatus morbi crisis permisit, Gulielmus Bryant, sexaginta circiter annorum, apud

Cheam Inferiorem seu verius Orientalem; ejusdemque exuviæ sepultæ sunt in cæmeterio, circumambiente synagogâ tartareâ, quæ nunc est in Cheam Occidentali, et die Aprilis sexto.

Septembris die 23°. In Ewell, vitâ functus est Thomas Behon, plusquam sexagenarius, pauper, et ritè munitus; sepultusque est in cæmeterio parochiæ, die 26° ejusdem mensis.

[*The last page of the register is torn, and part lost.*]

ANNO [1787]

prim
mun
Ma
Ann
ejusd
Anno

Sacramen
vidua æt.
de Cheam

ANNO DOMINI [1788]

Sacramentis ritè
Smith filius a
æt. anno 38, et sepul

R. I. P.

Die 28
junctus est D's Joannes K[ing?]
ultimus erat; die supradict
in currum ascenderat, cum
teretur senserat in se debilitatum
En, exclamat, spiritus me deficit. En
tur, et ad focum sedens per spatium decem
his dictis, Morior, dilecta conjux: orate pro me, qui adestis, effl
inclinato capite in humerum sinistrum. Ann
ginta sex compleverat; die 6° Novembris sepul
magnâ cum solemnitate et pompâ in cæmeterio parochiali
à R. Dr. Peach. Nocte verò præcedenti, sepulturâ privatâ
donatus est, juxta ritus omnes Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, per me
Joa. Greenway

R. I. P

END.

No. IX

THE CATHOLIC REGISTERS OF WOOTTON WAWEN WARWICKSHIRE

A CHAPLAINCY must have existed long prior to the commencement of these Registers, due to the residence of the Catholic family of Smythe and its predecessors; and it must be borne in mind that the allied family of Throckmorton of Coughton, who have done so much for the preservation of the faith, owned property and had a burial place in the chapelry of Ullenhall in this parish. We find also the Franciscan friars doing service to people in places in the neighbourhood in the middle of the seventeenth century. (*Phillimore's Birmingham Registers.*) Mr Gillow kindly supplies the following notes of resident priests at Wootton-Wawen.

Fr. Henry Kemp, S.J., here many years, being met with in 1717 and 1724 seq., probably remaining here till his retirement to Watten some years before his death in 1737;—Dom Wm. Jos. Howard, O.S.B., died here Sept. 16, 1733;—Fr. James Peter Frost, O.S.F., lived many years with Peter Holford, Esq., at Wootton Hall, "beloved and respected, and died suddenly whilst saying night-prayers for the family," Oct. 3, 1785. aged 54;—Fr. James Anthony Caley, O.S.F., came 1785, till death March 14, 1798;—Fr. Edward Andrew Weetman, O.S.F., came in April, 1798, and subsequently removed to Britwell;—Fr. Henry Bishop, O.S.F., who before he became a Franciscan at Douai had served as an officer in the Irish Brigade at the battle of Fontenoy, is said to have acted for a considerable time in his old age as chaplain to Sir Edward Smythe, Bart, at Wootton Hall. He had formerly been at Baddesley, and there his remains were interred June 19, 1811, aged 86;—Fr. Jno. Augustine Harrison, O.S.B., 1803-7;—Fr. Jas. Benedict Deday, O.S.B., 1806 till death, Nov. 7, 1845;—Fr. Richard Peter Kendal, O.S.B., died here March 26, 1814;—Father Joseph Bernard Short, O.S.B., 1840-51; Fr. Peter Jos. Hewitt, O.S.B., 1851 till death March 11, 1869;—Fr. Hen. Gregory Lane, O.S.B., 1857-59 and 1867-9. The present new church, which replaced the chapel erected in 1814, was opened Nov. 29, 1904, and like its predecessor is dedicated to Our Lady and St Benedict.

The mission has lately undergone some adverse vicissitudes, from which, we may hope, it may well emerge with fresh life and vigour. The Society is indepted to Mr Crisp, F.S.A., for the copy of this register.—J. S. H.

MARRIAGES AT WOOTTON.

1786

February y^e^ 20 John Perry of Birmingham to Anne Dupont.
February y^e^ 27 John Spooner of Henley to Anne Lawrence.
April y^e^ 24 Thomas Crow of Wootton to Martha Kambel.
June y^e^ 8 John Southall of Worcester to Eliza Richards.
October y^e^ 17^th^ Rich^d^ Bradford of Henley to Cath: Stanbridge.
November y^e^ 5^th^ Joseph May of Wootton to Susanna [*no surname entd.*]

1787

February y^e^ 13^th^ John Jakeman of Wootton to Eliza Bradford.
August y^e^ 23 Moses Bragg of Longford to Sara Sabin.

1788

June y^e^ 24 Elias Darley of Birmingham to Mary Chapman.

1789

May y^e^ 21^st^ W^m^ Anderson of Wootton to Mary Woodbine.
June y^e^ 22 Jo^s^ Williams of Wootton to Ann Hobhead.

1791

March y^e^ 12^th^ W^m^ Chambers of Wootton to Ann Anderson.
May y^e^ 3^rd^ W^m^ Howard of to Eliza Walsingham

May y^e^ 3^rd^ John Geferies of Birmingham to W. Stratford.
October y^e^ 15^th^ 1781 Edward Smythe Esq^r^ to Maria Catharina Holford of Wootton Warwickshire.

1791

Aug^st^ 15 J^o^ Nock of Birmingham to Miss Mary Baker of Gouldicut.
Sept^br^ y^e^ 13^th^ Tho^s^ Collins of Beoley to Miss Bridget Sumner, Wootton.
Sep^br^ y^e^ 13 W^m^ Taker to Ann Smith both of Cladon [Claverdon].

1794

May y^e^ 19^th^ Char^s^ Weetman to Ann Sumner of Wootton.

1795

June 24^th^ Richard Durning to Ann Slater of Wootton.

A.D. 1805

November 23 George Bullivante of Solihull to Ann Cox of Lanley [Langley].

1806

John Harris of Aston to Elizabeth Dupont of Wootton Wawen Feb. 17^th^.

1807

James Harris of Wootton Wawen to Winifrid Hemming of the same place, Jan^ry^ 26^th^ 1807.

1808

John Harrison of Wootton Wawen to Lucy Langdon (olim of Lambeth, London) of Wootton Wawen 3^rd^ of May.
James Webb to Mary Harris.
John Wittington to Mary Burrell.
N. Lucas to Wittington.
James Martin to Anne Pendrell.
Lucas to Wittington,

BAPTISMS at WOOTTON, 1765.

August y^e^ 11 John y^e^ son of John and Anne Bartlame of Wawensmoor.
Sponsors: Jo^s^. Sumner, Ann Weetman.
Sep^t^ y^e^ 1^st^ Mary Anne y^e^ daughter of Rich^d^ and Ann Barton of Henley *Sponsors:* Rich^d^ Bradford, M. Walford.
October y^e^ 24^th^ Ann y^e^ daughter of John and Mary Maids of Winderton. *Sponsors:* Edw^d^ Harcourt, Dor: Wheeler.

1766

January y^e^ 12 Briget y^e^ Daughter of W^m^ & Ann Sumner of Wootton.
Sponsors: Richard Morgan, Ann Wilks.
April y^e^ 27 Martha y^e^ Daughter of Edw^d^ & Martha Howard of Henley
Sponsors: W^m^ Terry, Ann Chamberlain.
April y^e^ 27 William the Son of Joseph and Sara Sumner of Whitley
Sponsors: Phil Bartlame, Dor: Weetman.
June y^e^ 23 James the Son of W^m^ and Ann Warrilow of Stratford.
Sponsors: Thomas Shepherd, M. Hemings.
July y^e^ 7 Elizabeth y^e^ Daughter of Albert and Ann Duponts of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Peter and Eliza Holdford.
Sep^t^ y^e^ 28 Elizabeth y^e^ Daughter of W^m^ & Mary Price of Langley.
Sponsors: Geo. Allen, Eliza Nason.

October y^e 28 Susanna y^e Daughter of W^m and Sarah Hemings of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* John Toovy, Mary Smith.

Nov^ber y^e 2 Sophia y^e Daughter of Joseph and Jane Lucket of Henley. *Sponsors:* Ja^s. Wedcoat, Eliza Wheeler.

1767

February y^e 11 Edward the Son of Jo^s and Frances Weetman of Aston. *Sponsors:* W^m Sumner, Ann Weetman.

March y^e 10 Mary the Daughter of Owen and Cat: O'Neal of Stratford. *Sponsors*: Jo. M'Caan, Mary O'Harrah.

May y^e 10 John y^e Son of William and Ann Sumner of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Jo^s Sumner, Win: Townsend.

June y^e 7 Mary the Daughter of Tho^s and Ann Hemings of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* W^m Hemings, Ann Kemp.

December y^e 11 Benedict the Son of Edw^d and Mary Blink of *Sponsors:* James Baron, Frances Baker.

December y^e 14 Sarah the Daughter of Jo^s and Sara Sumner of Whitley. *Sponsors:* Jo^s Townsend, Eliza Kemp.

1768

August y^e 14 Sara the Daughter of John and Elizabeth Kemp of Henley. *Sponsors*: William and Sara Sumner.

September y^e 18 John the Son of Jo^s and Jane Luckett of Henley. *Sponsors*: J^o Goosberry, Mary Pretty.

November y^e Jane y^e Daughter of Richard and Mary Philips of *Sponsors:* Fran: Baker, Mary Clarkson.

November y^e 14 William the Son of Owen and Catherine O'Neal of Stratford. *Sponsors:* Fran: O'Harrah, Jane Ward.

1769

March y^e 9 Thomas the Son of Roger and Sara Hasterley of Great Alne. *Sponsors:* John Allen, Eliza Fairfax.

1773

June y^e 6 Teresia y^e Daughter of J^o and Mary Mascal of Sheldfield. *Sponsors:* W^m Sumner, Alice Evans.

June y^e 6 Richard the Son of W^m and Ann Sumner of Wootton. *Sponsors:* N. Morgan, Sara Sumner.

March y^e 14 Mary y^e Daughter of Joseph & Jane Luckett of Henley. *Sponsors:* J^o Walford, M: Chamberlain.

August y^e 29 Mary y^e Daughter of George and Mary Allen of Sheldfield. *Sponsors:* Jo. Allen, M. Mascal.

1774

February y^e 27 W^m the Son of W^m and Mary Martin of Henley. *Sponsors:* Tho^s Stycke, M. Chamberlain.

March y^e 20 William y^e Son of J^o and Mary Nichols of Henley. *Sponsors:* Albert Duponts, Eliza Hemings.

May y^e 8 Frances the Daughter of George and Eliza Sabel of Sheldfield. *Sponsors:* Geo. Allen, M. Woodbine.

May y^e 15 Anne y^e Daughter of Tho^s and Ann Hemings of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* W^m Martin, Sara Hemings.

July y^e 4 Joseph y^e Son of Joseph and Mary Weetman of Aston Cantloe. *Sponsors:* Richard Bradford, Lucy Smith.

July y^e 17 Sarah the Daughter of W^m and Mary Price of Langley. *Sponsors:* W^m Martin, Sara Hemings.

July y^e 21 Alice y^e Daughter of W^m and Sara Hemings of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* Albert Duponts, Marg. Crow.
September y^e 25 Ann y^e Daughter of Jo^s and Sara Sumner of Whitley. *Sponsors:* W^m Sumner, N. Bartlam.
October y^e 29 William the Son of J^o & Mary Mascal of great Aulne. *Sponsors:* W^m Mascal, Win. Townsend.

1775

February y^e 28 James y^e Son of W^m and Ann Sumner of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Rich^d Bradford, Eliza Morgan.
July y^e 4 Mary the Daughter of Jo^s and Mary Weetman of Aston. *Sponsors:* John and Francis Weetman.
August y^e 30 Catherine y^e Daughter of George and Mary Allen of Sheldfield. *Sponsors:* Fran: Baker, Mary Mascal.
November y^e 27 Ann the Daughter of Fran: and Anne Baker of Wootton. *Sponsors:* J^o Baker, Mary Wilcox.
December y^e 18 John the Son of Joseph and Jane Lucket of Henley. *Sponsors:* W^m Martin, Mary Pretty.

1776

February y^e 26 William the Son of Robert and Mary Blewer of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Geo. Smith, Eliza Bumpas.
May y^e 9 Mary y^e Daughter of John and Mary Mascal of great Aulne. *Sponsors:* Step. Morgan, N. Mascal.
December y^e 8 John the Son of W^m and Mary Martin of Henley. *Sponsors:* W^m Mascal, Mary Martin.

1777

January y^e 6 John y^e Son of W^m and Mary Price of Langley. *Sponsors:* Albert Duponts, Sara Haynes.
January y^e 26 William the Son of Joseph and Jane Lucket of Henley. *Sponsors:* Tho^s Stratford, Mary Chapman.
January y^e 26 Elizabeth ye Daughter of Charles and Ann Brooks of Henley. *Sponsors:* Fran. Baker Sen, Ann Duponts.
April y^e 8 Mary y^e Daughter of John and Hannah Harris of Aston. *Sponsors:* W^m Mascal, W^m Turner.
April y^e 27 Mary y^e Daughter of David and Eliza Bolt of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Rob^t Blewer, Eliza Bumpas.
May y^e 24 Thomas the Son of Joseph and Mary Weetman of Aston. *Sponsors:* Cesar and Mrs Johnson.
June y^e 1 George y^e Son of George and Mary Allen of great Aulne. *Sponsors:* J^o Williams, Mary Gardner.
June y^e 25 Ann y^e Daughter of John and Mary Mascal of great Aulne. *Sponsors:* Geo. Bates, Mary Barron.
December y^e 21 Winefrid the daughter of Thomas and Ann Hemings of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* J^o Crow, Mary Martin.

1778

February y^e 1^st Winefrid y^e daughter of Robert & Winefrid Turner of Wootton. *Sponsors*: W^m Sumner, Hannah Harris.
February y^e 15 Mary y^e Daughter of Robert Blewer and Mary B. of Wootton. *Sponsors:* J^o Thompson, Eliza Hadon.
May y^e 10 Sara the Daughter of Joseph and Mary Milward of Ullenhal. *Sponsors:* J^o Mathews, Marg. Crow.

September ye 13 Elizabeth ye Daughter of John and Elizabeth Mathews of Wootton. *Sponsors:* N. Baker, Eliza Sabel.

November ye 29 Elizabeth ye Daughter of David and Eliza Bolt of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Jo Mascal, Eliza Eden.

1779

May ye 2nd James the Son of John and Mary Mascal of great Aulne. *Sponsors:* Geo: Mascal, Lucy Coger.

July ye 2nd Mary ye Daughter of Joseph and Sara Sumner of Henley. *Sponsors:* Jo Spooner, Mary Bartlam.

October ye 23 Elizabeth ye Daughter of Joseph and Jane Lucket of Henley. *Sponsors:* Thos Terry, Mary Taylor.

December ye 12 Edward the Son of William and Mary Martin of Henley. *Sponsors:* Edwd Harcort, Winefrid Stratford.

1780

January ye 30 James the Son of John and Hannah Harris of Aston. *Sponsors:* Wm Leyton, Win. Turner.

February ye 4 Mary the Daughter of Charles and Ann Brooks of Stratford. *Sponsors:* Albert Duponts, A. Baker.

February 15 Appolonia ye daughter of N. and Frances Bird of Birmingham. *Sponsors:* Edmd Mathews, Mary Crow.

April ye 16 Samuel the Son of Wm and Mary Price of Langley. *Sponsors:* Robt Turner, Eliza Nason.

October ye 23 John the Son of David & Elizabeth Bolt Wootton. *Sponsors:* Jo Docker, Eliza Gibbs.

December ye 3 James the Son of John and Mary Walford of Henley. *Sponsors:* John and Ann Clarkson.

1781

January ye 2d Elizabeth the Daughter of John and Mary Mascal of great Aulne. *Sponsors:* Richard and Sarah Harris.

January ye 14 Robert the Son of Wm and Ann Sumner of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Jo Walford, Mary Sumner.

January ye 16 Margaret ye Daughter of Joseph and Mary Milward of Ullenal. *Sponsors:* Jo Crow, Elizabeth Wilcox.

March ye 19 John the Son of John and Sarah Wells of Wootton. *Sponsors:* R. Turner, Fanny Weetman.

October ye 16 Anne the Daughter of John and Mary Harpur of Aston. *Sponsors:* Jas Barron, Hannah Harris.

November ye 2 Ann the Daughter of William and Mary Pain of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* Geo: Bates, Helen Wright.

November ye 11 Sarah the Daughter of Robert and Mary Blewer of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Fran: Baker, Sara Sabin.

December ye 8 Robert the Son of John and Hannah Williams of Sheldfield. *Sponsors:* Jos Williams, Eliza Sabel.

1782

January ye 28 William the Son of David and Elizabeth Bolt of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Jo Harris, Ann Atkins.

March ye 17 Ann the Daughter of William and Mary Martin of Henley. *Sponsors:* Jas Martin, Eliza Wilcox.

June ye 15 Mary ye Daughter of John and Mary Walford of Henley. *Sponsors:* John and Ann Clarkson.

November y^e 17 John the Son of John and Mary Atkins of Aston.
Sponsors: Jo^s Williams, Eliza Richards.
December y^e 23 Catharine the daughter of N. and Winefred Crow.
Sponsors: John Crow, Ann Hobhead.

1783

February y^e 20 Ann y^e Daughter of John and Eliza Probets of Wootton. *Sponsors.* R. Turner, Ann Duponts.
May y^e 25 Elizabeth y^e Daughter of John and N. Williams of great Aulne. *Sponsors:* R. Williams, Mary Sabel.
September ye 21 Sara y^e Daughter of William and Mary Pain of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* Robert and Teresia Franklin.
November 9 William the Son of John and Sara Wells of Wootton.
Sponsors: Jo. Probet, Ann Hobhead.

1784

January y^e 11 Susannah y^e daughter of John and Mary Spooner of Henley. *Sponsors:* J^o and Mary Spooner.
March y^e 14 William the Son of John and Ann Atkins of Aston.
Sponsors: J^o Southall, Ann Hobhead.
June y^e 10 Ann the Daughter of Tho^s and Susanna Brisby of Henley.
Sponsors: Geo: Mascal, Mary Martin.
July y^e 11 John the Son of John and Mary Walford of Henley.
Sponsors: William and Biddy Sumner.
August y^e 12 Charlotte y^e Daughter of Tho^s and Ann Mantel of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Ja^s Peard, Cat. Stanbridge.
October y^e 29 Ann the Daughter of John and Elizabeth Mathews of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Fran: Baker, Ann Hemings.
December y^e 1 Charlotte y^e Daughter of John & Elizabeth Probert of Wootton. *Sponsors:* R. Turner, Ann Hobhead.
December y^e 20 Richard the Son of William & Mary Martin of Henley. *Sponsors:* W^m Martin Sen., Martha Howard.

1785

May y^e 24 Mary the Daughter of Robert and Mary Blewer of Wootton. *Sponsors:* J^o Southall, Cat. Stanbridge.
June y^e 13 Thomas ye Son of David and Elizabeth Bolt of Wootton.
Sponsors: R. Turner, Ann Coles.
June ye 14 Charlotte ye Daughter of John and Hannah Wittington of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Thomas Mantel, Cat. Stanbridge.
October y^e 21 Teresia y^e Daughter of William & Mary Pain of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* Tho^s Brisby, Cat. Stanbridge.

1786

March y^e 6 Ann the Daughter of William and Ann Maschal of Wootton. *Sponsors:* J^o Walford, M^rs Bradford y^e W.
May ye 1 Charles the Son of John and Elizabeth Ferow of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Mark Ferow, Eliza Southall.
[*A side-note says "This name was also spelt Feraud* (*Swiss*). *Charles became a priest*].
May y^e 15 Thomas the Son of Thomas and Elizabeth Brisby of Henley. *Sponsors:* John and Mary Walford.
September y^e 22 John y^e Son of N. and N. Shakspere of Henley.
Sponsors: N. Mails, Mary Posts.

1787

January y^e 26 Charlotte y^e Daughter of W^m and Mary Pain of Wawensmoor. *Sponsors:* Thomas and Marg. Allen.

February y^e 23 Thomas the Son of William and Mary Martin of Henley. *Sponsors:* Tho^s Martin, Mary Walford.

May y^e 1 Ann the Daughter of John and Elizabeth Harris of Wootton. *Sponsors*: Herry Smythe, M^rs Holford.

May y^e 6 Elizabeth the Daughter of William and Sera Webb of Bearley. *Sponsors:* N. N. and Hannah Harris.

May y^e 27 Richard the Son of John and Susanna May of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Mark Ferow, M. Woodbine.

June y^e 13 Richard the Son of Tho^s and Martha Crow of Wootton. *Sponsors:* W^m Guy, Eliza Walsingham.

July y^e 3 John the Son of John and Hannah Wittington of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Rich^d Bradford, M^rs Jakeman.

August y^e 3^rd Edward Joseph* the Son of S^r Edw^d & Lady Smythe of Wootton Hall. *Sponsors:* M^r Holford & Dow^r Lady Smythe.

August y^e 6 John the Son of Robert and N. Fletcher of Sheldfield. *Sponsors:* J^o Mathews, M. Hasterley.

September y^e 23^rd Thomas the Son of John and Ann Atkin of little Aulne. *Sponsors:* Mark Ferow, Eliza Duponts.

13 N. ✠ December 14^th John y^e Son of Rich^d & and Cat: Bradford of Henley. *Sponsors:* J^o Collins, Eliza Jakeman.

26 N. December 27 B. Mary y^e Daughter of N. and Elizabeth Probet of Wootton. *Sponsors:* R. Blewer, M. Woodbine.

1788

24 N. January 26 B. John the Son of Tho^s and Eliza Brisby of Henley Arden. *Sponsors:* R. Bradford, W^m Stratford.

19 N. March 20 B. W^m the son of William and Ann Maschal of Wootton. *Sponsors:* George and Eliza Bates.

14 N. April 14 B Ann the Daughter of David and Eliza Bolt of Wootton. *Sponsors:* J^o Ferow, Eliza Dupont.

30 June N. 1 of July B. Ann y^e Daughter of John and Mary Walford of Henley. *Sponsors:* Tho^s Brisby, Eliza Brisby.

5 of 9^ber N. 6 B. Ann y^e Daughter of Martha and Tho^s Crow of Wootton. *Sponsors:* J^o Kamble and Ann Anderson.

10 of Oct: 1785 N. 8 of Nov^br 1788 B. Ann y^e Daughter of John and Mary Williams. *Sponsors:* Joe Williams, Eliza Dupont.

13 Sep^br N. 8 of Nov^br B. Mary y^e Daughter of John and Mary Williams. *Sponsors:* Joe Williams, Eliza Dupont.

25 of 9^ber N. 26 B. John the Son of John and Elizabeth Mathews of Wootton. *Sponsors:* W^m Layton, M. Martin.

29 of Dec. N. 1^st Jan 1789 B. George y^e Son of John and Eliza Harris Wootton. *Sponsors:* W^m and Widow Heming.

1789

Jan y^e 1 N. y^e 9 B. Bridgit y^e daughter of John and Bridgit Quin born in a Barn near Salford. *Sponsors:* Eliza Dupond, Ferrow.

* Succeeded as 5^th Baronet in 1811. His mother was Catherine Maria d. and h. of Peter Holford of Wootton Hall, who was doubtless the godfather.

✠ At this point the writer begins to give initials above the dates (here transposed) N[atus] and B[aptizatus].

8 of Jan N. y^e^ 9 B. John y^e^ Son of Robert and Mary Blewer Wootton. *Sponsors:* Ann Smith, Joe Williams.

1 of Jan^ry^ N. 1 of Feb^ry^ B. William y^e^ Son of William and Sara Webb of little Ullenhal. *Sponsors:* Widow Barron, N. N.

26 Jan^ry^ N. 31 B. William the Son of N. and N. Shakespere of Henley. *Sponsors:* Joe and Susanna May.

28 of April N. 3 of May B. Joseph y^e^ Son of Joseph and Susanna May of Henley. *Sponsors:* W^m^ and N. May.

1 of Sept^r^ N. 2 B. Henry y^e^ Son of Joseph and Ann Williams of Wootton. *Sponsors:* Eliza Walsingham, W. Guy.

3 N.–6 of December B. Winefrid the Daughter of M: J: Fletcher of Sheldfield. *Spon^s^:* John and Sara Shakspere.

9 N.–10 of December B. Mary y^e^ Daughter of W^m^ & Mary Martin of Henley in Arden. *Spon^s^*: R^d^ Martin and Sara Kemp.

10^ber^ y^e^ 29 N.–30 B. Thomas the Son of John and Han: Wittington of Wootton. *Spon^s^:* John and Margaret Crow.

1790

Jan^ry^ 4 N.–6 B. William the Son of John and Mary Walford Henley. *Spon^rs^:* William and M. Clarkson.

19 N.–21 of Jan^ry^ B. Sara y^e^ Daughter of David and Eliza Bolt of Wootton. *Spon^s^:* Ann Phillips & ———

16 N.–17 of June B. Susanna Daughter of Tho^s^ & Eliza Brisby Henley. *Spon^s^:* F. and Ann Baker.

18 N.–18 of July B. Diana Daughter of N. and Eliza Harrison Wootton. *Sponsors:* Sarah Heming & N. N.

26 N.–26 July B. William the Son of W^m^ & Mary Anderson Sheldfield. *Spon^rs^:* G. Maschal & Ann Anderson.

26 N.–26 of July B. Geor the Son of W^m^ and Mary Anderson Sheldfield. *Spon^rs^;* G. Maschal & Ann Anderson.

5 N.–12 of October B. Hannah y^e^ Daughter of William and M. Pain Wamsmore. *Spons^rs^:* James and Mary Martin.

8 N.–9 of 10^ber^ B. John the Son of Eliza: and John Wootton. *Spon^rs^:* A. Williams, John Mathews.

8 N.–10 of December B. Mary y^e^ Daughter of N and Eliza Shackspere Henley. *Sponsor:* Elizabeth

19 N.–21 of Nov^br^ B. Mary y^e^ Daughter of Thomas & Patty Crow Wootton. *Sponsor:* George Smythe Esq^r^.

1791

2 of March N. B. Eliza: y^e^ Daughter of John & Eliza Probet Wootton. *Spon^rs^:* Joe and Mary Williams.

8 N.–11 of May B. Martha y^e^ Daughter of W^m^ and Ann Chambers Wootton. *Spon^rs^:* W^m^ Anderson Eliza Dupont.

15 N.–16 of October B. Joseph y^e^ Son of Jos^h^ and Ann Williams of Wootton. *Spon^rs^:* Tho^s^ Morris and Mary Massey.

9^ber^ 7 N.–30 B. Henry the Son of Henry and N. Baker of Henley. *Spon^rs^:* Fran: Baker, S. Brisby.

9 N.–18 of December B. Mary y^e^ Daughter of Mary and W^m^ Taker Cladon. *Spon^rs^:* R. Blewer, Ann Smith.

23 N.–26 of Dec^br^ B. Ann y^e^ Daughter of M: & N. Webb of Bearley. *Spon^r^:* Mary Ingram.

1792

22 Feb^ry N. 1 March B. Edward y^e Son of John and N. Carter, Stratford. *Spon^rs:* Jos McKenery & Mary Wisle.

1 N.–5 March B. John the Son of John & Eliza Harrison of Wootton. *Spon^rs:* J^o Mathews & Wid: Heming.

19 N.–20 of March B. Thomas y^e Son of David and Eliza: Bolt of Wootton. *Spon^rs:* Tho^s Morris & Ann Low.

31 March N. 15 April B. Hanna y^e Daughter of W^m & M. Pain Wavensmore. *Spon^rs:* M^r Wittington, M^rs Jakeman.

2 N.–10 of May B. Ann y^e Daughter of W^m & Ann Smith Wootton. *Spon^rs:* Joe & Ann Williams.

15 N.–22 of Sep^tbr B. William y^e Son of N. & N. Ingram at Wootton. *Spon^rs:* M^r Ferow & Wid: Baron.

24 N.–25 of Sep^tbr B. Eliza y^e Daughter of Mary & John Wittington at Wootton. *Spon^rs:* M^rs Slarter, R. Durning.

16 N.–16 [*no month ent^d*] B. Sara the Daughter of John and Mary Houghton Wootton. *Spon^rs:* Joe Williams, Ann Low.

1793

26 N.–28[*no month ent^d*] B. Mary y^e Daughter of Mary & W^m Anderson Sheldfield. *Spon^rs:* M^r Ferrow, & M^rs Woodbine.

14 N.–16 May B. Eliza: y^e Daughter of Eliza & N. Harrison of Wootton. *Spon^rs:* M^r Ferrow, Eliz: Bolt.

18 N.–19 May B. W^m y^e Son of J^o & N. Heming of Henley. *Spon^rs:* George and Mary Heming.

27 8^ber N. 10 9^ber B. Hanna y^e daughter of John & N. Bagg of Ly Green. *Spon^rs:* J^s Kamble & Mary Tacker.

1794

17 N.–19 of Jan^ry B. Eliza y^e Daughter of W^m & N. Martin of Henley. *Spon^rs:* M^rs Slater & Edw^d Martin.

14 N.–26 of Jan^ry B. Frances y^e Daughter of N. N. Taker Claverdon. *Spon^rs:* Job Smith & Mary Blewer.

Jan^ry 26 N.–Feb^ry y^e 3 B. Chal: y^e Daughter of N. & N. Webb of Bearley. *Spon^rs:* G. Heming & Mary Harris.

March 22 N.–23 B. Ann y^e Daughter of Eliza: and D. Bolt of Wootton. *Spon^rs:* Ann Philips &

20 N.–21 of April B. John y^e Son of Tho^s & Pat: Richards of Aston. *Spon^rs:* J. Probet and Sara Haughton.

9 N.–11 of May B. Mary y^e Daughter of W^m & Ann Smith Wootton. *Spon:* Wid: Harris.

16 N.–14 of August B. Mary y^e Daughter of Joe and Ann Williams of Wootton. *Spon^rs:* M^r Ferrow and Ann Low.

28 N.–31 August B. Eliza y^e Daughter of N & Sara Borrel of Wootton. *Spon^rs:* J. Ferrow & M^rs Kemp.

9 N.–11 of Nov^br B. Henrietta the Daughter of John & N. Heming Henley. *Spon^rs:* M^rs Quigley, Fran: Baker.

20 N.–23 [*no month ent^d*] B. Ann y^e Daughter of Joseph & Mary Ingram of Wootton. *Spon^rs:* M^r Ferrow & M^rs Price.

1795

28 Feb^ry N.–2 March B. John y^e Son of Mary & W^m Anderson, Sheldfield. *Spon^rs:* Geo. Bate & N. Blundel.

20 July N.–10 Augst B. Ann y^{e} Daughter of John & N Bragg Lygreen. *Spon^{r}*: Eliza Dupont.

7 N.–9 8^{ber} B. Mary y^{e} Daughter of John & Mary Wittington Wootton. *Spon^{rs}*: M^{rs} Hawkin & J. Durning.

9–Sep^{br} N. 1 Nov^{br} B. W^{m} y^{e} Son of W^{m} & Carter Stratford. *Spon^{rs}*: M^{r} M^{c}henry & Alce Wilks.

28 N.–28 November B. Phœbey daughter of Eliza & N Harris Wootton. *Spon^{rs}:* W^{m} Heming & Eliza Boult.

22 N.–29 November B. Henrietta daughter of John & Sara Bourel Wootton. *Spon^{rs}*: M^{r} J^{s} Martin & M^{rs} Quigley.

6 N.–6 Nov^{br} B. William y^{e} Son of John & Eliza Hanton Wootton. *Spon^{rs}*: William & Mary Blewer.

1796

21 N.–27 March B. Ricardus Filius N et Margarittæ Richards Henley. *Sp^{res}*: Jacobus Kamble et Anna Smith

1797

2 N.–5 Jan^{rii} B. fuit Josephus Filius Jos^{i} et Mariæ Ingram Wotton. *Spon^{res}*: Joan: Ferow & An: Price

9 N.–12 Feb^{rii} B. fuit Maria filia Thoæ et Annæ Smith Wootton. *Matrinor:* Eliza Cox

20 N.–24 Aprilis B. fuit filia Joannis et Saræ Burrel Wootton *Spon^{res}*:

3 N.–4 Mai B. fuit Fransisca Helena filia Ricardi et Annæ Durning Wootton. *Spon^{res}*: Joan: Durning, Maria Crib

25N.–29 7^{bris} B. fuit Hanna filia Jos: et Annæ Williams Wotton. *Spon^{res}*: Joan: Ferow Eliza Dupont

1N.–3 Junii B. Thomæ filius Gulielmi et Mariæ Anderson Sheldfield. *Spon^{res}*: Car^{lus} Philips et Sara Sabel

—N.——9^{bris} B. Maria Anna filia Edwardi et Mr̃æ Sumner Wootton. *Spon^{res}*: Robertus et Mariæ Sumner.

1798

16 Febrii N. et B. fuit Lucia Filia N. et Elizæ Harrison Wootten. *Spon^{s}*: Mary Heming Sen:

15 Maii N. et 6 Junii B. fuit Zacharias filius Thomæ et Mathæ Richards. *Spon^{res}*: Carolus Kambell et Annæ Brisby

B[aptizati]

17ma Julii Joannes filius Jacobi et Elizabethæ Cole. *Sponsores:* Carolus Cole et Anna Heming

30ma Julii Cornelius filius Gulielmus et N. Carter Stratford. *Sponsores:* Henricus Douffin et Elizabetha Mathews

12^{a} Augusti Anna filia Joannis et Hannah Wittington. *Sponsores:* Johannes Feraud et Anna Durning

16ta Septembris Sarah filia Joannis et Saræ Burrell. *Sponsores:* Annæ et Roberti Sumner

14^{a} Octobris Samuel Filius Davidis et Elizabethæ Bolt. *Sponsores:* Job Cox et Hanna Harris

1799

28 Feb: Gulielmus & Thoma Filii Henrici et Annæ Baker. *Sponsores* prioris Joannes et Maria Walford Sen. posterioris Franciscus Baker et Maria Walford jun:

1798 29ª [*no month*]. N. & B. Anna filia Elizabethæ Bolt. *Sponsores:* David et Maria Bolt

1799 26ta Sept: N. & B. Georgius Filius Josephi & Annæ Williams. *Sponsores:* Franciscus Baker et Lucia Harrison

1799 6ta N.–7 Novbris B.–Joannes Josephus Durning Filius Richardi et Annæ Durning. *Sponsores:* Richardus Martin et Hannah Wittington

1800 4ti N. & 5ta Jan: B.–Joannes Filius Josephi et Mariæ Ingram. *Sponsores:* Josephus Williams et Maria Price

1800 Jan: 29 N.–1 Feb: B. fuit Anna filia Gulielmi et Mariæ Anderson. *Sponsores:* Josephus et Anna Blundell

9na Martii N. & B. fuit Robertus Filius Joannis & Saræ Burrell. *Sponsores:* Anna Durning &

1800 1 N.–3 Aprilis B. fuit Edwardus Richardus Sumner Filius Edwardi & Mariæ Sumner. *Sponsores:* Joannes Feraud & Mariæ Quigley

1800 19ª Junii N. & Baptus eadem die ab Elisabetha Dupont Joannes filius Gulielmi & Aliciæ Blewer

1800 13ª Julii N. & B. Susanna filia Thomæ et Mathæ Richards. Matrina Anna Brisby

1800 18ª N. & 20ª Novembris B. Carolus Robertus Durning filius Richardi & Annæ Durning. *Sponsores:* Cæsarius Johnson et Elisabetha Durning

1800 18ª N. & 19ª Decembris B. fuit Thomæ Houghton filius Joannis & Mariæ Houghton Wootton. *Sponsores:* Jacobus Harris & Sara Blewer

1801 22 N.–24 Maii B. fuit Sara filia Joannis et Elisabetha Wittington. *Sponsores:* Edwardus et Mariæ Martin

1802 — N.–12 Januarii B. fuit Catharina filia Joannis et Hannæ Williams. *Sponsores:* Josephus & Anna Williams

1802 — N.–19 Januarii B. fuit Maria Anna filia Petri et Susannæ Manton. *Sponsores:* Jacobus et Anna Hemming

1802 10ª N.–11ª Feb. B. fuit Gulielmus filius Georgii et Elisabethæ Muckley. *Sponsores:* Josephus Williams et Elisabetha Bolt.

1802 19ª N.–17ª Feb. B. fuit Petrus filius Henrici et Annæ Baker. *Sponsores:* Joannes Spooner et Maria Baker

1802 28ª N. & 28ª B. [*no month*] fuit Jacobus filius Joannis & Annæ Gardener. *Sponsores:* David et Elisabetha Bolt

1802 15 N. & 16 Julii B. fuit Thoma filius Josephi & Mariæ Ingram. *Sponsor:* Elizabetha Matthews

1802 8ª N. & 10ª die Augusti B. fuit Henricus filius Joannis & Saræ Burrell. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus & Anna Kendal

1802 16ª N. etiam 16ª die Augusti B. fuit Elisabetha filia Josephi et Annæ Williams. *Sponsores:* Jacobus et Maria Harris

1802 — N.–16ª die Septembris B. fuit Josephus filius et Weetman. *Sponsores:* Josephus Weetman Jun: et Anna Weetman

1802 27ª Nov. N.–12ª Decembris B. fuit Sara filia Gulielmi & Mariæ Anderson. *Sponsores:* Jacobus & Maria Harris

1802 13ª N.–15ª Decembris B. fuit Lucia filia Eduardi et Mariæ Sumner. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus Sumner et Elisabeth Ferraud

1803 11ª N.–13ª Aprilis B. fuit Thoma filius Gulielmi et Annæ Chambers. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus et Mariæ Anderson

1803 21ª N.–22ª Aprilis B. fuit Maria filia Gulielmi et Aliciæ Blewer. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus Weetman et Whinefrida Hemming

1803 15ª N.–16ª Maii B. fuit Elisabetha filia Joannis et Mariæ Houghton. *Sponsores:* Job Cox et Sara Blewer

1803 24ª N.–25 Augusti B. fuit Thoma filius Jonnis & Saræ Burrell. *Sponsores:* Joannes et Elisabetha Feraud

1803 30 Septembris N.–1ª Octobris B. fuit Anna filia Thomæ et Mariæ Bartlam. *Sponsores:* Jacobus Harris et Sara Harrison

1803 12ª N.–15ª die Octobris B. fuit Maria filia Edwardi & Mariæ Holton. *Matrina:* Anna Brisby

1803 21ª N.–22 die Decembris B. fuit Charlotte filia Georgii et Elisabethæ Muckley. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus Blewer et Anna Williams

1804 28ª N.–30ª die Julii B. fuit Richardus filius Samuelis et Mariæ Edwards. *Sponsor:* Jacobus Archer

1804 4ta N.–5ta die Octobris B. fuit Agnes filia et Elisabetha Heritage. *Sponsor:* Gulielmus Carter

1805 27ª N.–30 die Januarii B. fuit Joannes filius Thomæ et Hannæ Mander. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus Anderson et Anna Chambers

1805 23ª N.–24 die Februarii B. fuit Elisabetha filia Gulielmi et Aliciæ Bluer. *Sponsores:* Thomæ Guterie and Sarah Bluer

1805 Nati 28ª Aprilis et eadem die Baptisati fuerunt Henricus et Matilda Catharina Burrell liberi Joannis et Saræ Burrell. *Sponsores:* Primi Joannes Feraud et Elisabetha George, secundæ Joannes Feraud et Biliana

1805 3ª N.–4ta die Aprilis B. fuit Gulielmus filius Thomæ et Mariæ Bartlam. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus et Elisabetha Bolt

1805 28ª N.–30ª die Maii B. fuit Thoma filius Josephi et Elisabethæ Heath. *Sponsores:* Josephus Williams et Elisabetha Heath

1805 19ª N.–20ª die Julii B. fuit Maria filia Eduardi et Maria Sumner. *Sponsores:* N et Elisabeth Matthews

1805 13ª N.–15ª die Augusti B. fuit Thoma Filius Thomæ et Winefride Findal. *Sponsores:* Thoma et Maria Louch

1805 inter 22am et 23am N.–23ª Augusti B. fuit Anna filia Joannis et Mariæ Houghton. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus et Alicia Bluer

1805 Natus Die 20ª Decembs Josephus Whittington filius Joannis & Elisabethæ Whittington conjugum olim Jakeman De Wootton Wawen eodem die Baptizatus fuit. *Sponsores*: Thoma Chambers & Elizabetha Dupont. A me J. Deday Missº Apco

1805 [?1806] Nata die 7ª Maii Maria Muckley filia Georgii & Elisabeth Muckley (olim Bolt) conjugum De Wootton Wawen & die sequatî Baptisata. *Sponsores*: Gulielmus Anderson & Elisabeth Harrison a me J. Deday, Miss. Aposti

1806 Nata die 15 Julii Lucia Bluer filia Roberti & Mariæ Bluer conjugum (olim Knight) & sequente Die Baptisata fuit. *Sponsores:* Sara Bluer & Joannes Ferrow a me J. Deday Miss. Apost.

Nata Die 7 Augusti A.D. 1806. Anna Martin filia Edwardi & Anna Martin (olim Palmer) War. & Die 10ª Augusti Baptisata fuit. *Sponsores*: Richdus Durning & Annæ Durning a me J. Deday Miss. Apost.

Die 22 Novbris A.D. 1806 Nata & Die 23tia Baptizata fuit Theresia Boulevante filia Georgii & Annæ Boulevante (olim Anna Cox) conjugum. Patrinus fuit Gulielˢ Kendal Matrina Elisabethæ Kendal a me J Deday Miss. Apostco

Natus Die 20ma Jan A.D. 1807 & Die 21ma Baptisatus Job Sebastianus Jelfs Filius Francis & Abeh Jelfs (olim Ingram). Matrina Maria Price J. Deday Miss Apost.

Die 29 Aprilis A.D. 1807 Nata & eodem die Baptizata fuit Elisabetha Ingram filia Josephi & Mariæ Ingram (olim Price) conjugum. Patrinus Joannis Frew & Matrina Maria Ingram a me J. Deday Miss Apostº

Die 16 Maii A.D. 1807 Nata & eodem die Baptisata fuit Maria Catherina Williams filia Josephi & Annæ Williams (olim Hobhead) conjugum. Patrinus Edwardus Smythe Armiger & Matrina Dna Catherina Smythe a me J. Deday Miss Apostˢ

Die 30 Junii A.D. 1807 Nata & eodem Die Baptisata fuit Martha filia Tho. & Annæ Manders. *Sponsores:*

Die 26 Aug A.D. 1807 Nata & Die 1 Sept. Baptisata fuit Winefrida Findall filia Josephi & Winefridɛ Findall (olim Hastelow) conjugum. Patrinus Matrina Hastelow J. Deday Miss Apost:

Die 26 Octobris A.D. 1807 Nata & sequenti die Baptisata fuit Maria Shakespear filia Joannis & Martha Shakespear (olim Petifer) conjugum. Patrinus Matrina Susanna Shakespear a me J. Deday Miss Apost:

Die 1 Januarii A.D. 1808 Nata & Die 3 Janri Bapt. fu: Francis Horton filia Gulielmi & Frances Horton (olim Goode) conjugum) de Wootton Wawen (Henley). Matrina, Anna Matthews J. Deday Miss Apost.

Die Feb. 29na Anno Dni 1808 Anna Bissext Nata & Die 1mo Martii Baptisata fuit Maria Harris filia Jacobi & Winefridæ Harris (olim Hemming de Wootton Wawen (conjugum). *Sponsores:* Tho. Chambers & Maria Harris a me J Deday Miss Apost.

A.D. 1808 Die 3 April Natus & eodem Die Baptisatus fuit David Muckley Filius Georgii & Elisabetha Muckley de Wootton Wawen (olim Bolt) conjugum). *Sponsores:* Thoma & Sarah Bartlam a me J Deday Miss. Apost.

A.D. 1808 Natus die 8 Maii & sequenti die Baptisatus fuit Gulielmus Sumner Filius Edwardi & Mariæ Sumner (olim Wheeler) conjugum). *Sponsores:* Josephi Sumner & Sophia Wheeler J. Deday Miss. Apost.

A.D. 1808 Die 22 Maii Nat: & eodem die Baptisat Anna Gee filia Farmeri & Elisabethæ Gee (olim Barnbrook) de Wootten Waven) conjugum). *Sponsores:* Joannes Grey & Elizabethæ George a me J. Deday Miss. Apost:

Anno Domini 1808 die 26 Maii Natus & die seq: Baptisatus fuit Martin filius Edwardi & Annæ Martin (olim Palmer) conjugum. *Sponsores:* Edwardi Sumner & Sara Burrell J. Deday Miss. Apost.

A.D. 1808 Die Sep 16. Nata & eodem die Baptis: fuit Maria filia Mariæ & Thomæ Bartlam olim Bolt conjugum de Aston Cantlow. *Sponsores:* Josephus Williams & Anna Chambers a me J. Deday Miss. Ap.

A.D. 1808 Die 28 Sep Natus & eodem Die Baptisatus fuit Josephus Houghton filius Joannis & Mariæ Houghton (olim Taylor) conjugum de Wootton Waven. *Sponsores:* Henricus Williams & Anna Matthews a me J. Deday Miss Apos:

A.D. 1808 Die 1 Oct Natus & eodem Die Baptisatus fuit Michaelis Bluer filius Gulielmi & Alice Bluer (olim Knight) conjugum de Wootton Waven. *Sponsores:* Joannis Brisby & Alicia Bluer a me J. Deday Miss Ap.

A.D. 1808 Die 19 Oct N. & Eodem die Baptisat fuit Anna Jelfs filia Francis & Abel Jelfs. *Sponsores*: Joannis Fhew (?) & Elisa Matthews

A.D. 1808 Decembris 17ma N. & 18va Baptisatus Carolus Boulevante filius Georgii & Annæ Boulevante (conjugum (olim Cox) de Wootton. *Sponsores:*

1809 Die 8va Feb. Nata & Baptisata fuit Charoletta Harrison filia Joannis & Luciæ Harrison (olim Langdon) de Wootton Waven. *Sponsores:* Gulielmus Weetman & Elisabetha Harrison

1809 Die 14 Sep^{bris} nata 15to Bap Maria Anna filia Joannis & Charl^{a} Lucas. *Sponsores:* Joannis Wittington & Wittington

1810 Die 2nd Jan. natus & eodem die Baptisatus Andrea filius Gulielmi & Aliciæ Bluer. *Sponsores:*

1810 Die 30 Aprilis Nata & Die 1 Junii Baptisata fuit Elisabetha Riece filia Joannis et Constantiæ Riece (conjugum) de Morton Ullenhall. Matrina Elisa Matthews

1810 Die 4 Aug Nata & eodem Die Baptisata fuit Catherina filia Joannis & Luciæ Harrison de Wootton Waven (conjugum). *Sponsores:* Josephus Williams & Caroletta Probet

1810 Die 10 Oct^{ris} Natus & 11ma Bap. fuit Carolus Horton filius Gulielmi & Frances Horton (olim Good). *Sponsores:* Fran^{i}. & Maria Baker

1810 Die Oct. 10ma Natus & Die 12ma Baptisatus fuit Carolus Filius Georgii & Elisabethæ Muckley de Wootton. *Sponsores:* & Maria Baker

1810 Die 2da Novemb Natus & Die 4.^{a} Baptisatus fuit Gulielmus filius Edwardi & Annæ Martin de Wavensmere. *Sponsores:* Joannis Wittington & Elisabetha Burrell

1810 Natus Die 14 Decembris & seq. die Baptisatus fuit Carolus Shakespeare filius Joannis & Matha Shakespeare Patrinus Joannis Walford

1810 die 22 Decembris Nata & 23tia Baptisata fuit Elisabetha filia Georgii & Annæ Boulevant

1811 Die 3tia Janrii Nata & seq die Baptisata fuit Lucia filia Francis & Abel Jelfs. Matrina Maria Ingram

1811 Die 31 Janrii Nata & 2da Feb Baptisata fuit Maria filia Joannis & Charolettæ Lucas. *Sponsores:* Joannes & Anna Wittington

1811 Die 1 Martii Natus & eodem die Baptisatus fuit Joannes filius Thoae & Mariæ Bartlam. *Sponsores:* Josephus Williams & Elisa Probet

1811 Die 31 Martii Nata & sequenti die Baptisata fuit Maria Anna filia Jacobi & Mariæ Webb (olim Harris). *Sponsores:* Jacobus & Winefridæ Harris

1811 Feria quinta in (?) Dni Nati & Baptisat: sunt Dno filius Elisabethæ & Joannis Houghton, qui & mortu: sunt infra tres dies

1811 Die 22 Aprilis Nata & 23 Baptisata fuit Anna filia Thomæ & Isabellæ Hemming. *Sponsores:*

1811 Die 5ta Junii Natus & 11ma Die Baptisatus fuit Jacobus filius Thomæ & Annæ Manders de Henley. *Sponsores:* Joannes & Susanna Shakespare

21 Decembris Sara Muckley

1812*

James Harrison

1812 Die 25 Mar. Joseph Bluer

1812 Sep 7. Elizabeth Bolt

Bap 10 Sep Betty Bolt & Wm Bolt *Sponsores.*

1812

die 10 Oct Natus et die 12 Baptizatus fuit Georgius Shakespare filius Joannis et Marthæ Shakespare—Patrinus G. Walford Matriæ Elizabetha Parker a me J. Deday O.S.B.

1812

George Boulevante

10 N Novbr 11 B (*Sponsores*: John Harrison, Lucy Harrison

1813. May 9 Frances Jelfs dr of Francis & Abel Jelfs conjugum Morton. *S.* Elisb Harrison

1813 July 17 B 18th Bap Guliel Filius Tim and Elisabeth Lucas (olim Wittington). *Sponsores:* Jacobus Martin & M. Martin

1813 Joseph Harris

Oct 11 Born, 12 Bap } *Sponsores* { Wm Chambers, Anne Law

Muckley Sara 21 December

1814

Maria Boulevante 21st Decer B 22nd

Mary & Anne Boulevante 17 B & B

Dec 1815 Que & Mortuæ sunt

* From this point till 1815 the entries (? post-entries) are confused. Not having the original to consult it has seemed best to adhere to the copy.

Die 29 Maii 1829 natus, et die 20 Junii 1829 Baptizatus fuit Joannes Flynn, filius Edwardi et Catherinæ Flynn (Conjugum) Patrinus fuit Joannes Woods, Matrina Lucia Harrison
a me J. Deday

1815 (13 B *interlined*) April 10th B Mrs Lucas daug Elisa. *Spon.* Mrs John Wittington, Wm Martin

1815 May 10 Born Bap 11th Elisabeth Muckley d of George & E Muckley. *Sponsor:* Elisabeth Bolt & William Bolt

1815 June 20th B Mary Anne daughter of Elizabeth Hawker & John Hawker Wootten Waven. *Sponsores:* Anne George Jos George Bap 21st June

June 27 Born Bapt 30th Samel son of Thos & Hannah Mander of Henley in Arden. *Sponsores:* J Vollat Mary Canning

N.B. Edwards of Stratford

N Novbr 27 Bap die seq Thos Jelfs son of
Sponsores: Jas Vollat &

N Decr 3rd B 4th Mary daughter of Alum; ignoto Patre

1816. Feb 9 Bap Born 8th Sara Bartlem. *Sponsores:* Geo. Boulevante & Sara Bolt

April 2nd B & B Elisabeth daughr of Anne Palmer (olim Gale) Wm Chambers & Susanna Law

July 20th 1816 Morral Stratford

July 27 B 28 B Mary Anne Blewer daugh of William & Blewer

November Born 24 Bap 30th Harriett daugh of Thos Hemming & Elizabeth Hemming conjug of Henley. *Sponsores:* Wm Hemming & Anna Williams

1817. 12 April Lucy Harrison

16 April B 17th Bap Mary Anne Boulevante. *Sponsores:* Ed. Minton & Anne Minton
A. Gale

May 19th Born & Bap. Jane dr of Probet. *Sponsores:* Anne Williams & James Gee

June 3 N 4 Bap Willm Weetman Son of William & Mary Weetman (olim Laurence of Preston Baggot conjugum). *Sponsores:* James Webbe & Mary Webbe

1819
Minton's daughter Anne
Mary Walford dr of young Walford Bridge George Mary } (*sic*)

1817 Mrs Lucas of Henley dr Anne 11 Decr

Decbr 25 Thos Muckley

1817 Born Martin Joiner Dec 28 Bap Jan 2nd 1818 Ed & Francies Morral Patrinis

1818. Feb 4 Born Mary Anderson daughter of John & Prisilla An-

derson of Shelfield (olim Banbrook) Bapt. 6 Feb. Thos & Anne Anderson Sponsores:

Feb 9. Tho. Filius Jas Harris & Winef olim Heming eodem die Bapt. *Sponsores:* Jas Webbe & Anne Hayward?

9 John filius John & S. Wittington & Bap 10th. *Sponsors:* Jas & Mary Wittington

Anne dr of Ed & Ann Minton 9 Oct B Bap. same day. W Layton & Theresia Robinson

N 5th Oct Bap 19 George son of Thomas & Harriet Cooper (olim Brown) Claverdon. *Sponsores:* Wm Hickin Patrinus & Frances Brown Sponsores:

1818 Decem 28 B & Bap 22nd William the son of Job & Elizabeth Cox (olim Woodward). *Sponsores:* Elizabeth Matthews & Ed Minton

die 3 Martii 1821 natus et eodem die Baptizatus fuit Joannes Cox filius Job et Elizabethæ Cox olim Woodward a me J. Deday

Sponsores: George & Ann Bullivant

April 1819

John B 12 Bap 14 the son of Wm & Mary Walford (olim Hemming). *Sponsores:* John Shakespare & Fanny Horton

April 21 B Bap 23 Alice dr of Ed & Mary Gale (of Alne). *Sponsors:* Thos & Mary Gale

April 23rd B Bap 2nd of May Lucy dr of Brisby & (*sic*) Ja. Aston G. F. & — Smyth G. M.

May 2nd B 3rd Bap Ed son of Wm Wakeman of Preston Bagot. *Sponsors:* Jas Harris & Winefd Harris

1819

Thomas Boulevante Born 2nd April

Hannah Gibbs born May 26th 1843.

No. X

THE REGISTERS OF THE CATHOLIC MISSION OF S. OSWALD, BELLINGHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND (*formerly called* HESLEYSIDE), 1794-1837

BELLINGHAM has, with a short interval, been a centre of Catholicity since the Reformation, due in great measure to the Charltons of Hesleyside, in which manor house there was a *"Priests' hiding-hole,"* available whenever a priest was in residence, which would be irregularly during the dark days of persecution.

From information supplied by Mr Oswin J. Charlton, it would seem that for a time the headquarters of the mission was moved to Tone Hall. Tone, in Chollerton parish, five miles from Bellingham, a farm or grange of the Cistercian monastery of Newminster, near Morpeth, came into possession of the Catholic families of Widdrington, Swinburne and Hodgson, and a mission was probably existing there from the time of the Reformation in the persons of the priests who acted as chaplains to those families. By the will of Margaret Hodgson, the last of her family, the property passed to William Sanderson, who assumed the patronymic of his benefactress. Eventually he parted with the property, which on alienation went into Protestant hands. The mission was transferred to and amalgamated with that existing from 1794, as these Registers show.

The chapel was constructed in the roof of some dwelling-houses, until the services were in 1808 again transferred to the domestic chapel at Hesleyside, where the priest had generally resided. The new church, with presbytery attached, erected mainly through the munificence of William John Charlton, Esq., was opened on June 26, 1839. Joseph Bonomi, A.R.A., was the architect. The names of the earlier chaplains have not been discovered, but in 1741 the Rev. John Donohough was residing at Hesleyside. He left in 1747, and was succeeded by Fr William Bede Hutton, O.S.B., in 1847 till his death at Hesleyside, May 29, 1756; Fr Robert Austin Turner, O.S.B., 1856, who died at Hesleyside, July 30, 1757, when the mission seems to have been supplied by Fr Edward Gregory Selby, O.S.B., of Beaufront, who died at Hesleyside, February 6, 1759. After an interval, during which the chapel was temporarily supplied from elsewhere, Fr Thomas Anselm Bolas, O.S.B., came to reside at Hesleyside in 1761 till 1777; Fr Richard Edward Fisher, O.S.B, 1777-80; Fr Thomas Adrian Gurnal, O.S.B., 1780-1, who came from Beaufront. There was then no resident priest till 1793, the interval synchronizing with the period during which local Catholics had to rely on ministrations at Tone; but in the last year Fr John Dunstan Sharrock, O.S.B., took charge for a few months, and was succeeded by Fr James Alexius Pope, O.S.B., 1793-7. the first who signs the following registers. A Carmelite friar, Fr William Peter Clarkson (his name does not appear in Fr Zimmerman's *Carmel in England*) intervenes between 1798 and 1803, when the Benedictines resumed charge of the mission in the person of Fr George Turner, O.S.B. It must be noted however that, according to Abbot Snow's Benedictine Necrology, he came to reside at Hesleyside in 1800, and remained until 1830, the latter year being confirmed by his signature in the registers. Fr Peter Athanasius Allanson, O.S.B., is said to have supplied from Swinburn in 1829-30, perhaps in relief of Fr Turner. Fr Edward Vincent Dinmore succeeded, 1830-2, Fr James Higginson, O.S.B., of Birtley, having officiated at one baptism in 1832. About this time the mission was tranferred by the Benedictines to the Vicar Apostolic, who appointed the Rev. James McEvoy to the charge. He was succeeded by the Rev. Andrew Macartney, 1833-5; and the Rev. Nicholas Brown, 1835-51. He it was who sent the registers to Somerset House in 1840.

When Fr Brown despatched the Registers, he took the precaution of making a tabulated list of the names, which still exists at Bellingham. Under the impression that it was a copy of the original, Mrs Seymour Speucer kindly made a copy of it; but when I went to collate her copy with the original at

Somerset House, its true character disclosed itself, and it seemed best that I should make a copy of the original, as it appears below. Mrs Spencer's copy was, however, very useful in helping to decipher names.

The Registers are "No. 9" in the Northumberland series. In 1888 Mr Orlebar Payne wrote (*Old English Catholic Missions*) that they were *"much faded and discoloured,"* and this remains as much so, at least, to-day. Certain parts are nearly illegible, making it high time that the contents should be preserved by transcription and printing. They are written on five sheets of letter-paper, 8 by 6½ inches, forming twenty pages, and eight smaller sheets, 7¾ by 4¾ inches, forming thirty-two pages, sewn in after page 18 of the larger paper, or a total of fifty-two pages, the certificate or statement of Fr Brown being inserted, in which he describes the chapel as founded about the year 1794, and adds, "A new chapel was opened in 1839, for public worship, instead of the old one." They are endorsed, "Baptismal Register of the Roman Catholic Chapel, Bellingham, Nr Hexham, Northumberland. From 1794 to 1837" (some earlier deaths are recorded on p. 367 [51]), with some interlined words in faint ink, mostly illegible, ". . . . . his book." Inside the cover is, "6 Northumberland."

I have to thank Mrs Seymour Spencer, Mr Oswin Charlton and Mr Joseph Gillow for information. The Society is indebted to the Registrar General for permission to allow these Registers to be copied.—J.S.H.

(*Page* 1) Isabella scott was Born on the 11 March 1794 and was Baptised on the 19 March 1794 Robert scott and Mary scott Father and Mother to the above Isabella scott By the Rev:d Mr pope Bellingham John Charton * & Isabella Fairlam

Mathew scott Was Born on April the 8 1794 and was Baptised on the 12 April 1794 Thomas scott and Elisabeth scott is Father & Mother to the above Mathew scott By the Rev:d Mr pope Bellingham.

James Charton * & Martha [*blank; in copy* James & Martha]

(2) Dorthey Brown Was Born april 22 1794 and was Baptised the 27 april 1794 Thomas Brown and Catherine Brown is Father and Mother to the above Dorthey Brown By the Rev:d Mr pope Bellingham John Charton * Elizabeth Joicy

(3) Isabella Scott Filia Roberti & Mariæ Scott nata est 11 Martii anno 1794 & 19 ejusdem Mensis Baptisata. Sponsores erant Johannes Charlton & Isabella Fairlam. a me Jabo Pope O.S.B.

Mattheus Scott Filius Thomæ & Elizabethæ Natus est Die octavo Aprilis Anno 1794 & duodecimo Aprilis eodem Anno baptisatus. Sponsores erant Jacobus & Martha Charlton

a me Jabo Pope OSB

Catherine Pierson Filia Johannis & Catherinæ Pierson Nata est die decimo septimo Aprilis & secundo die Maii baptisata, anno 1795. Sponsores erant Johannes Pierson & Johanna Pierson.

a me Jabo Pope. O.S.B.

(4) Gulielmus Scott Filius Roberti et Mariæ Scott natus est die octavo Januarii & baptisatus die decimo ejusdem mensis anno Dmi 1796. Sponsores erant Guelmus & Isabella Fairlam.

a me Jabo Pope. O.S.B.

Johannes Wilthew Filius Filius Johannis & Elizabethæ Wilthew natus est trigessima die Januarii & baptisatus est trigessimo

* From the Latin entries later it is clear this ought to be Charlton.

primo anno Do^mi^ 1796. Sponsores erant Thomas Scott et Elizabetha Joicy. a me Ja^bo^ Pope. OSB

Johannes Hodgson Filius Thomæ & Annæ Hodgson natus est vigessimo secundo Julii anno D^mi^ 1796 Baptizatus vigessimo octavo Augusti eodem anno. Sponsores erant Jacobus Charlton & Martha Charlton. a me Ja^bo^ Pope. O.S.B.

(5) Elizabetha Pierson Filia Johannis & Catherinæ Pierson nata est Decimo septimo Januarii anno D^mi^ 1797 & Baptisata vigessimo nono ejusdem mensis & anni. Sponsoneres Gulielmus Pierson & Elizabetha Pierson. a me Ja^bo^ Pope. O.S.B.

Margareta Charlton Filia Johannis & Elizabethæ Charlton nata est decimo die Maii anno D^mi^ 1797 & Baptisata viges'mo octavo ejusdem mensis & anno. Sponsores erant Jacobus Charlton & Martha Charlton (? Jn^r^) a me Ja^bo^ Pope. O.S.B.

Helena Scott filia Roberti Scott et Mariæ Scott nata est 20 Februarii 1798 et Baptizata 9 Aprilis ejusdem Anni. Sponsores erant Willelmus joycey et Martha Charlton jun.

Bellingham a me Willelmo Clarkson O.C.D.

(6) Johanna Stokoe filia Rudolpi et Mariæ Stokoe nata nonâ Aprilis (anno *interlined*) Milesimo septingentesimo Nonagesimo Octavo et baptizata duodecimo ejusdem mensis et anni. Sponsores fuere Adam portnes et Maria bourton. a me W^m^ Clarkson. O.C.D. Sandhoe in Comitatu Northumbriæ

Robert Hodgson filius Thomæ et Annæ Hodgson natus nona Maii Anno Milesimo septingentesimo Nonagesimo Octavo et baptizatus decima Junii ejusdem Anni. Sponsores fuêre Jacobus Scott et Elizabeth Joycey. a me W^m^ Clarkson, O.C.D. Bellingham in Comitatu Northumbriæ.

(7) W Guillelmus Johannes filius Johannis et Catherinæ pearson natus octava die Januarii Anno Milesimo septingentesimo* nono et Baptizatus undecima die ejusdem mensis et anni. Sponsores fuêre Willelmus Johannes Charlton et Margaretta Charlton. A me W^m^ Clarkson. O.C.D. Bellingham in Comitatu Northumbriæ.

Jacobus filius Johannis et Elizabethæ Charlton natus quinta Die Augusti anno milesimo septingentesimo* nono, et Baptizatus decimo octavo ejusdem mensis et anni. Sponsores fuère Jacobus Joycey et Elizabetha Joycey. A me W^m^ Clarkson. O.C.D. Bellingham in Com. Northumbriæ

(8) Maria Clarke filia Whillelmi et Isabellæ Clarke conjugum die 2^da^ Octobris 1799 nata et die 14 ejusdem mensis et anni baptiza fuit patrinus fuit Whillelmus Saunderson et Matrina Elizabeth Saunderson. A me W^mo^ Clarkson, O.C.D. Miss^o^ Ap^co^ Bellingham in Com. North.

Johannis Scott filius Roberti et Mariæ Scott Conjugum die

* "Nonagesimo" would seem to have been omitted here; but in the following entries a less cumbersome system of giving the year is adopted.

14ta Januarii 1800 natus et die 2da Martii ejusdem anno, Baptizatus fuit. Patrinus fuit Johannis Wilthieu et Matrina Elizabeth Wilthieu.
A me Wmo Clarkson, O.C.D.
Misso Apco Bellingam in Com. Northm.

Thomas Pierson filius Johannis et Catharinæ Pierson conjugum die 15ma Martii 1801 natus et die 5ta Aprilis ejusdem anni Baptizatus fuit. Patrinus fuit Thomas Pierson et Matrina Anna Pierson.
A me Wmo Clarkson, O.C.D.
Misso Apco Bellingam in Com. Northum.

(9) Nicholaus Allen filius Jacobi et Annæ Allen (Olim Platford) Conjugum die 27ma April 1803 natus et die 28va ejusdem Mensis et Anni baptizatus fuit patrinus fuit Johannis Bell et Matrina Anna Dodd. A me Wmo Clarkson, O.C.D.
Misso Apo Bellingham in Com. North.

Thomas Clarke filius Willelmi et Isabellæ Clarke Conjugum die 23tia Martii 1803 natus et die 3tia Maii ejusdem Anni baptizatus fuit. Sponsores fuêre Johannis Saunderson et Maria Priestman.
A me Wm Clarkson, O.C.D. Misso Apo
Shuttle heugh in Com. Northumbriæ.

Johannis Pierson filius Johannis et Catharinæ Pierson Conjugum die 23tia Aprilis 1803 natus et die 8va Maii ejusdem Anni Baptizatus fuit. Sponsores fuêre Jacobus Scott et Anna Scott. A me
Wm Clarkson, O.C.D. Misso Apo
Wark in Com. Northumbriæ.

(10) Anna Charlton filia Joannis & Elizabethe Charlton (conjugum *interlined*) nata die 23 Februarii. Baptizata est die 22 Maii 1804 a me George Turner, O.S.B.
Sp. Jacobus Charlton—Anna Graham.

Johanna Wilthew Filius Johannis et Elizabethæ Wilthew nata die 1o Septembris 1804 die 10 e'dem mensis & Anni Baptisata est a me Georgio Turner
[S]pon. Antonius Wright & Elizabetha Joycey.

Maria Scott filia Roberti & Mariæ Scott nata 26 Januarii 1805 Die 8 Februarii ej'dem anni Baptisata est a me Georgio Turner
Spon. Isabella Fairlamb.

(11) Joannes Stephenson filius Joannis et Annæ Stephenson (conjugum *interlined*) natus 29 Januarii 1806 die 30 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptisatus est a me Geor. Turner
Sp. Gulielmus Joannes & Margt Charlton

Josephus Pearson filius Joannis & Catharinæ Pearson conjugum natus die 14 Martii 1806 die 30 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptisatus est Geor. Turner
Sp. Anthonius Wright & Maria Wilthew

Gulielmus Pearson filius Gulielmi & Margaritæ Pearson con-

jugum natus die 9ª Februarii a ministro Acatholico Baptisatus est. Cerem. postea supple. a me Georgio Turner

Sp. Thomas & Eliz. Pearson

Thomas Charlton filius Joannis et Elizabethæ Charlton Conjugum natus die 30 Novembris 1806 Baptisatus est die 6ª Decembris ejusdam anni a me George Turner.

Spr. Jacobus and Martha Charlton.

(12) Thomas Wilthew filius Joannis & Elizabethæ Wilthew natus die 13 Martii 1808, die 27 ej'dem mensis & anni baptisatus est a me Georgio Turner.

Spon. Joannes Charlton senr.

Jacobus Mudd filius Petri & Elizabethæ Mudd conjugum novem [jen?] mensis natus die 27 Aprilis 1808 baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner.

Sp. Gulielmus Thompson & Elizabeth Pearson.

Joannes Reddington filius Jacobi & Mariæ Reddington conjugum & [Vagorum] natus die 19 Septembris 1808 baptisatus est a me die 2 Octobris ejusdem mensis et anni Geo. Turner.

Spr. Anna Graham.

(13) Elizabeth Clark filia Guilielmi et Isabellæ Clark conjugum nata die 2 Octobris 1809 die 31 ejusdem mensis et anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner.

Apud Shuttle heugh.

Sp. Elizabeth Marie Moore.

Hannah Stephenson filia Joannis et Annæ Stephenson (conjugum *interlined*) nata die 2 Septembris 1809 1809 Baptisata et die 3° ejusdem mensis et anni a me Geo. Turner.

Sp. Maria Moore.

Gulielmus Henricus Charlton filius Gulielmi Joannis & Catharinæ Henriettæ Charlton conjugum natus die 22 Octobris 1810 baptisatus a me est Geo. Turner.

Sp. Franc' Cholmeley (*written over* [Thom. ?] Inglefield *crossed out*) & Margereta Charlton. Apud Hesleyside.

(14) Edwardus Pearson filius Gulielmi & Margarite Pearson conjugum natus die 11 Novembris 1810 die 28 ejusdem mensis et anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner.

Sp. Joannes et Joanna Pearson.

Joannes Leadbitter filius Nicolai et Joannæ Leedbitter conjugum natus die 10 maii 1811 die 1° Junii ejusdem anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner.

Sp. Antonius Wright & M: Leadbitter, Apud Moat Hill Park.

Maria Mudd filia Petri & Elizabethæ Mudd conjugum nata die 17 Septembris (1811 *interlined*) die 5 Octobris Baptisata est a me. Geo. Turner.

Sp. Elisa Pearson.

Sarah Stephenson—vide Bap. Anni 1815.

(15) Marguerita Pearson filia Gulielmi & Margueritæ Pearson conjugum Nata die 11 Maii 1814 Baptisata est die 20 ejusdem mensis & anni a me. Geo. Turner.
Sp. Joan Pearson.

Joannes Bell filius Roberti & Helenæ Bell conjugum natus die 16 Maii 1815 die 19 ejusdem mensis et anni Baptisatus a me est
Sp. Joannes Bell Sen^r Geo. Turner

Edwardus Charlton filius Joan. Gulielmi (2 & 1 *written in pencil over these Christian names*) & Cath: Hen: Charlton conjugum natus die 23 Julii 1814 die 24 Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner
Sp. Maria Cath. Cholmeley & Henry Englefield.

(16) Nicholaus Leadbitter Filius Nich: & Joannæ Leadbitter Conjugum natus die 20 Martii 1815. Baptisatus est a me die 7 Aprilis ejusdem anni. Geo. Turner
Sp^r Jacobus Charlton

Elizabeth Mudd filia Petri et Elizabethæ Mudd Conjugum nata die 5 Octobris 1815 Baptisata est die 23 ejusdem mensis et anni a me Geo. Turner

Jacobus Stephenson filius Joannis et Annæ Stephenson natus die 2 Octobris 1815 die 4^a ejusdem mensis & Anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner

Sara Stephenson filia Joan:—qui supra—nata die 19 Januarii 1811 Baptisata est a me 13 ejusdem mensis & anni. Geo. Turner

(17) Antonius Wright filius Antonii & Dorotheæ Wright conjugum natus die 3 Martii 1816 Baptisatus est die 9^a ejusdem mensis & anni a me Geo. Turner.
Sp. Antonius Wright Sen^r & Alicia Armstrong

Jacobus Bell filius Roberti & Helenæ Bell conjugum natus die 12 Augusti 1816 Baptisatus est a Dno Jacobo Higginson 15 ejusdem mensis et anni
Spr Joannes Bell Sen^r

Anna Gibson filia Jacobi & Marg^trae Gibson conjugum nata die 17^a Junii 1817 die 18 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptisata est a me Geo. Turner
Spr. Anna Allen

[*The following written vertically across the last three entries.*]
Franciscus Charlton filius Gulielmi & Catharinæ Charlton natus die 27 Januarii 1816. Baptisatus est 28 ejusdem mensis & anni a me Geo. Turner

[*The three following must be post-entries.*]

(18) Dalglish
Elizabeth Dalglish filia Gulielmi & Annæ Dalglish Conjugum nata die 29 Octobris 1807 die 21 Novembris ejusdem anni baptisata est a me Geo. Turner
Spr. Elizabeth Peerson

Joanna Dalglish Filia Gulielmi & Annæ Dalglish nata die 12 Novembris 1809 die 3 Decembris ejusdem anni Baptisata est a me
Sp. Gulielmus & Helena Pearson Geo. Turner

Joannes Dalglish Filius Gulielmi et Annæ Dalglish natus die Martii 1812 die 29 ejusdem mensis et anni Baptisatus est a me
Sp. Joanna Pearson Geo. Turner

(19) [*The smaller paper begins here.*]
Jacobus Douglas Wright filius Antonii & Dorotheæ Wright conjugum natus die 6 Decembris 1817 baptisatus est die 15 ejusdem mensis & anni a me Geo. Turner
Spon. Jacobus Gibson, Alicia Johnson

Isabella Bell filia Roberti & Helenæ Bell Conjugum nata die 21 Februarii 1818, 23 ejusdem mensis & anni baptizata est a me
Spon. Joannes Bell Ju[r] & Anna Bell Geo. Turner

[*The following entry is on a piece of paper, pasted over another entry, which, together with the entry on the obverse and general discolouration of the paper, makes it confused.*]
(20) Isabella Rablay filia Gulielmi et Mariæ Rabl[æ?] Conjugum nata die 25 Decembris 1818 27 ejusdem mensis et anni Baptisata est a me Geo. Turner
Sp. Anna Stephenson Sen[r]

Thomas Pearson filius Wilhelmi & Margaritæ Pearson conjugum, natus die 29 Martii 1818 die 20 Aprilis Baptisatus est a me
Spon. Alicia Armstrong. Geo. Turner

Maria Charlton filia Joannis (W[m] F. *interlined in pencil*) & Catharinæ Charlton conjugum nata die 10 Julii 1818 eodē die (21) baptizata est a me Geo Turner
Spon. Catharina Fenwick

Gulielmus Joannes Stephenson Filius Joannis et Annæ Stephenson conjugum, natus die 23 decembris 1818 die 24 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptizatus est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Jacobus Charlton & Cath. Hen. Charlton

Dorothea Bell Filia Joannis & Elizabethæ Bell Conjugum nata die 1° Septembris 1819 die 8 ejusdem mensis et anni baptizatus [*sic*] a me Geo. Turner
Spon. Joannes Bell Sen[r] & Anna Graham

(22) Anna Wright Filia Antonii & Dorotheæ Wright conjugum nata die 6 decembris 1819 die 13 ejusdem Mensis et anni Baptizata a me Geo. Turner
Spon. Anna Graham
Apud Anton Hill

Hocce Anno Roberto & Helenæ Bell Conjugibus nati sunt Robertus & Helena Gemini qui salutari lavacro purificati eodem die nati sunt mundo & cœlo

(23) Marguerita Scott Filia Jacobi & Annæ Scott conjugum nata

die 20 Januarii 1820 die 23 ejusdem mensis & anni baptizata est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Simon Scott & Alicia Armstrong

Marguarita Gibson filia Jacobi & Marg^{t} Gibson Conjugum nata die 12 Martii 1820, 19 ejusdem mensis & anni baptizata est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. An^{t} Wright & Alicia Armstrong.

Catharina Charlton filia (W^{m} *interlined in pencil*) Joannes & Catharinæ Charlton Conjugum nata die 26 Septembris 1820 eodem die Baptizata est a me Geo. Turner

Testes Jacobus Hunt & Barbara Scott

(24) Maria Pearson filia Wilhelmi & Margaritæ Pearson conjugum nata die 16 Martii 1820, 26 ejusdē mensis & anni Baptizata est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Anna Dalglish

Mathæus Bell filius Roberti & Helenæ Bell conjugum natus die [? 1° *an erasure here*] Aprilis 1820, 3 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptizatus est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Joannes Bell Sen^{r}, Anna Allan

Catharina Rabley filia Gulielmi & Catharinæ Rabley conjugum nata 13 Julii 1820, die 16 ej'dem mensis & anni baptisatus [*sic*] est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Jacobus Charlton, Hannah Anderson

(25) Isabella Bell filia Joannis & Elizabethæ Bell Conjugum nata die 20 Decembris 1821 die 23 ejusdem mensis & anni baptizata est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Gulielmus Turner & Alicia Armstrong

Joanna Riddal filia Roberti & Mariæ Riddal conjugum nata 15 Maii 1822, 23 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptizata est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Wilhelmus Turner & Anna Phipps

Bridgitta McCharn [McChom *in copy*] filia Joannis & Margaritæ McChurn (?, *in copy Parents sirname McC. unfinished*) Conjugum nata in Hawick die 26

(26) Aprilis 1822, baptizata est die 31 Maii a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Anna Graham

Guilielmus Nevison Rabley filius guilielmi et Mariæ Rablay conjugum natus die 6 Junii 1822, die 9^{a} ejusdem Mensis & Anni baptizatus est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Joannes Stephenson & Anna Stephenson

Joannes Pearson filius Wilhelmi & Margaritæ Pearson Conjugum, natus die 21 Junii 1822 die 30 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptizatus a me est Geo. Turner

Spon. Joanna Pearson

(27) Suo *omittitur* Loco

Gulielmus Thompson filius Gulielmi & Hannæ Thompson conjugum, natus die 16 Maii 1821 die Junii 3° baptizatus est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Gulielmus Thompsǫn S^{r} & Marguerita Thompson

Hannah Bell filia Roberti & Helenæ Bell Conjugum nata die 24 Junii 1822, die 22 Julii ejusdem Anni Baptizata est a me
Geo. Turner

Spon: Robertus Riddall & Anna Graham

(28) Jacobus Fenwick Scott filius Jacobi & Annæ Scott conjugum die 8 Augusti 1822, 11 ejusdem mensis & anni baptizatus a me est
Geo. Turner

Spon. Simon Scott & Barbara Scott.

Thomas Charlton filius Gulielmi Joan. & Catharinæ Hen: Charlton, conjugum, natus die 24 novembris 1822, 25 ejusdem mensis & anni baptizatus a me est
Geo. Turner

Marguerita Riddle filia Roberti & Mariæ Riddle conjugum nata die 8 Septembris 1823—die 10 ejusdē mensis & anni Baptisata est a me
Geo. Turner

Spon. Joan Bell & Margarita Gibson

(29) Anna Thompson filia Wilhelmi & Hannæ Thompson conjugum nata die 4ª Aprilis 1823 die 8 ejusdem Mensis & Anni Baptisata est a me
Geo. Turner

Spon. Isabella Thompson

Maria Clark filia Michael & Mariæ Clark—olim Brian—conjugum—In Matriō: conjunct: in ædi Catholicæ Granby Row Manchester—a Rev D. Rigby—nata 21 Julii 1824 die 29ª ej'dem Mensis & Anni Baptisata est a me
Geo. Turner

Spon. A. Armstrong

(30) Maria Inglis filia Wilhelmi & Mariæ Inglis nata die 2 Augusti 1824 Baptisata est die 15 Septembris ejusdem anni a me
Geo. Turner

Sponsatrix Marguerita Surtees

David Wright filius Anthonii & Saræ Wright conjugum natus die 20 Martii 1825—Die 28ª ejusdem Mensis & Anni baptisatus est a Me
Geo. Turner

Spon. Guilielmus Turner & Anna Stephenson Senr

(31) Henricus Charlton filius Guli, & Cath. Charlton Conjugum natus die 6° Aplis 1825—eodem die Baptizatus est a me
Geo. Turner. A B (?)

Sponsores Henry Englefield, Justina Bonomi

Michael Scott filius Jacobi & Annæ Scott Conjugum natus die 18 Septembris 1825—Die 2 Octobris ej'dem Anni Baptisatus est a me
Geo. Turner

Spon. Joannes Stephenson Jnr &

(32) Joannes Thompson filius Guilielmi & Annæ Thompson conjugum natus die 10 Octobris 1825 die 24 ejusdem mensis & Anni. Baptizatus est a me
Geo. Turner

Spon. Marguerita Thompson

Jacobus Riddall filius Roberti & Mariæ Riddall conjugū natus die 19 Novembris 1825 die 25 ejusdem mensis & Anni Baptizatus est a Me
Geo. Turner

Sponsores Alex: McPherson & Anna Allen

(33) Antonius Reddington filius Joannis & Margueritæ Reddington conjugum, natus die 28th Junii 1826, die 1° Julii ej'dem anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner

Apud Pinch-me-neer.

Thomas Wright filius Anthonii & Saræ Wright conjugu natus die 4ª Septembris 1826 die 10 ejdem Mensis & Anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Robertus Riddall & Marguerite Gibson

(34) Joanna Scott filia Simonis & Mariæ Scott conjugum nata die 1° Octobris 1826 die 2do ejusdem Mensis Baptisata est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Jacobus Scott & Anna Scott.

Joannes Rablay filus Gulielmi & Mariæ Rablay Conjugum, natus die 10 Decembris 1826 die 14 ejusdem mensis & Anni Baptisatus est a me Geo Turner

Spon. Hannah Anderson

(35) Maria Anna Riddall filia Roberti & Mariæ Riddall conjugum, nata die, 31ª Augusti 1827, die 11ª Septembris ej'dem Anni Baptisata est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Ant: Wright & Anna Allan

Joannes Allan, filius Nicholai & Annæ Allan Conjugum, natus die decima sexta Decembris 1827 22 ej'dem mensis & anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner A.B.

Spon. Joseph Allan & Anne Graham

(36) Elizabeth Dalglish filia Eliz Dalglish & . . . nata die 13 Novembris 1827, die 13ª Aprilis 1828 Baptisata est a me Geo.Turner

Spon. Guil. Pearson & Joanna Pearson

Anna Thompson filia Joannis & Marqueritæ Thompson Conjugū nata die 26 Aprilis 1828 die 11 Maii Baptisata est a me Geo. Turner

Apud Close-well House

Spon. Gulielm' Thompson Senr & Marguerite Thompson

Joanna Scott filia Jacobi & Annæ Scott Conjugū nata die 24 Aprilis 1828 die 15 Maii Baptisata est a me Geo Turner

Spon. Isabella Clarke

(37) Gulielmus Bell filius Roberti & Helenæ Bell Conjugū natus die 15 Aprilis 1828 die Maii 20 Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner

Spon: Joseph & Anna Allen

Michael Wright filius Anthonii & Saræ Wright Conjugu natus die 22 Maii 1828 die 26 ejusdem Mensis & Anni baptisat' est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Joannes Bell & Dorothea Todd

(38) Joanna Scott filia Simonis & Mariæ Scott conjugum nata die 29 Octobris, baptisata est a me 14ª Novembris 1828 Geo. Turner

Spon. Jacobus Scott & Anna Graham

Marguerita Thompson filia Gulielmi & Annæ Thompson conjugū, nata die 4ª Januarii 1829 eodem die Baptisata est a me

Spo: Ann: Graham Geo. Turner

Marguerita Thompson filia Joannis & Margaritæ Thompson conjugū die 28 Februarii 1829 nata, Baptisata est die 21 Martii ejusdem anni a me Geo. Turner

(Spon) Isabella Clark

(39) Jacobus Riddell, filius Roberti & Mariæ Riddell conjugum natus die 18 Junii 1829 die 29 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner

Sp. Josephus Allan & Marg^{t} Brown

Anna Telford filia Simonis et Mariæ Telford conjugum nata die 14 Januarii 1829 Baptisata est a me—omissis, sic voluit perfidus Pater—Cœremonias Geo. Turner

Georgius Beck Mudd filius Mariæ Mudd & . . . natus die 3 Novembris 1829 24 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner

(40) Jacobus Nichol filius Josephi & Mariæ Nichol conjugum natus die 6 Augusti 1830 die 15 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptisatus est a me Geo Turner

Spr. Robertus Riddell & Hannah Stephenson

Elizabeth McConnum filia Jacobi & Joannæ Mc Connum conjugū (Hawker) natus (sic) die 5te Septembris 1830 die 12 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptisatus est a me Geo. Turner.

Sp. Jacobus & Rosa Brown.

Isabella Thompson filia Gulielmi & Hannæ Thompson conjugum nata die 22 Septembris 1830 ab Alicia Armstrong. Cogente necessitatis, vite Baptisa est, cœremoniis postea suppletis a me Geo Turner

Spon. Isabella Thompson

(41) Elizabetha Scott filia Jacobi & Annæ Scott conjugum nata die 2^{a} Julii 1830 die 11 ejusdem mensis & anni Baptisata est a me Geo. Turner

Spon. Simon Scott & Anna Graham

Maria Anna Armstrong filia Joannis æ Elizabethæ Armstrong conjugum nata die 22 Octobris 1830 Baptisata est 27 ejusdem mensis & anni a me Geo. Turner

Sp. Martinus & Maria Atchinson. Apud Ramshaws Mill.

[*The handwriting changes here as the signatures and change of language show*]

(42) Baptized the 6th of Decb^{r} 1830 Sarah daughter of Anthony and Sarah Wright born on the 30th Nov^{br}—Sponsors James Allan and Nancy Allan by Peter Allanson, M. Ap: faithfully copied by me E. V. Dinmore. M. Ap:

Baptized the 7th of Jan^{ry} 1831 Robert son of Robert and Mary Riddell, born 28th of Dec^{br} 1830—Sponsors Joseph Nicholl & Margaret Brown by me Peter Allanson, M. Ap: falthfully copied by me E. V. Dinmore. M. Ap:

Baptized the 7th of Jan^{ry} 1831 Hanna daughter of Anthony and Francis Hutchinson born 11th of Dec^{br} 1830—Sponsors John and Mary Atkinson—by me Peter Allanson, M. Ap: faithfully copied by me E. V. Dinmore. M. Ap:

Baptized 14th Feb^{ry} 1831 Richard son of George & Margaret

Lewins born 28th Janry 1831—Sponsors Joseph and Mary Shepherd —by me Peter Allanson M. Ap:—faithfully copied by me E. V. Dinmore. M. Ap:

(43) Anna Scott filia Simonis et Mariæ Scott conjugum nata die 1a Januarii 1832 die 7 ejusdem mensis baptisata est a me Ed Dinmore M. Ap:

Spon. Jos Nichol, Anna Allan.

Gulielmus Thompson filius Joannis & Margaritæ Thompson conjugum natus die 28 Decembris 1831—die 13 Februarii 1832 baptisatus est a me Ed Dinmore M. Ap:

Spon. Gulielmus Thompson Senr & Anna Graham

Thomas Fenwick Lewins filius Georgii & Magaritæ Lewins conjugum natus die 4 Aprilis 1832 die 8 ejusdem mensis et anni Baptisatus est a me apud Hesleyside Ed Dinmore

Sp: Hanna Stephenson & Jacobus Stephenson

Anna Nichol filia Josephi & Mariæ Nichol conjugum nata die 21 Aprilis 1832 die 25 ejusdem mensis Baptisata est a me Ed Dinmore

Spo. Jacobus Allan et Anna Thompson

(44) Helena Bell filia Roberti et Helenæ Bell conjugum nata die 27 Julii 1832 die 21 Augusti ejusdem anni Baptizata est a me Ed Dinmore.

Spon: Anna Graham & Joannes Bell

Joannes Wright filius Anthonii & Saræ Wright conjugum natus die 7 Septembris 1832 die 29 ejusdem mensis et anni Baptizatus est. A me Ed Dinmore—Spon: Anna Thompson et Robertus Riddell

Joannes Riddell filius Roberti et Mariæ Riddell conjugum natus die 19 Augusti 1832 die 11 Septembris ejusdem anni Baptizatus est a me Jo Higginson

Spon. Joannes Bell et Isabella Mewes

Mathœus Armstrong filius Joannis et Elizabethæ Armstrong conjugum, natus die 20 Octobris 1832 die 12 Novembris ejusdem anni Baptizatus est a me Ed Dinmore

Spon: Joannes Atkinsons et Anna Atkinson

(45) Born July 26. 1833. Baptised August 5th 1833, Mary Mews—William—Isabella Clarke (conj) Godmother Catharine Henrietta Charlton A. Macartney

Mary Mews was born on the 26 July 1833, was baptized on the 5 of August same year, Father William Mews. Mother, Isabella Clarke (conj). Godmother, Catharine Henrietta Charlton.

A. Macartney

Isabella Lewins was born on the 22nd Septr 1833 & baptised on the first of October. Father George Lewins. Mother Margaret Surtes (conj). Godfather Edward Charlton. Godmother Mrs Catharine Henrietta Charlton. A. Macartney

Elizabeth Nichloe was born on the 9th & baptised on 12 of Febry 1834. Father Joseph Nichloe. Mother Mary Robson (conj). Godfather James Allan & Godmother Hannah Thomson. A. Macartney

Elisabeth Riddell was born on the 13th June & baptised on the 20th of the same month 1834. Father, Robert Riddell. Mother, Mary Rutledge (conj). Godfather, John Bell & Godmother, Margaret Brown.
A. Macartney

(46) Names of those who received Confirmation from Dr Penswick at Hesleyside. Oct 29th 1831

James Allan
Fcis John Stephenson
Antony Thos Wright
Duglas Jo Wright
Hanna Mary Thompson
Isabel Mary Philipson
Mary Brown
Elizabeth Clark
Isabel Mary Clark
Winifred Ann Atkinson
Ann Agnes Gibson
Elizabeth Mudd
Margaret Agnes Brown

1835 Catherina Wright filia Antonii Wright & Saræ (olim Turnbul.) conjugum, nata est die 18 Septembris 1835, et die 29 ejusdem mensis & anni baptisata est, a me N. Brown. Mis: Ap:
Sponsores Jos: Allan, Hellena Atkinson

Jane Telfar was born on the 14th Aug: & baptised on the 20th Septr 1834. Father Simon Telfar. Mother, Mary Ann Elliot (conj.) Godmother Ellen Atkinson
A. Macartney

1835
George Riddell, son of Robert & Mary Riddell (olim Rutledge) conjugum, was born July 14th 1835 & baptized August 18 of the same year. By me Nicolas Brown. Sponsor Han: Stevenson

(47) 1835
Catharine Wright daughter of Anthony & Sarah Wright, (Turnbull) born September 18th 1835 was baptized on 27th Sep. 1835 by me N. Brown. M.A. Sponsors Jos. Nichol, Hellen Atkinson

1837
Margaret daughter of George & Margaret Lewens (Surtees) born Jany 16th 1837, was baptized Feb. 5th 1837 by me N. Brown. M. Aposo
Sponsors Wm Hen. Charlton, Julia Crawley

Edward, son of Joseph & Mary Nichol (Robson) born Feby 12th 1837 was baptized Feby 14th 1837 by me N. Brown. M.A.
Sponsors, James Allen, Ann Stevenson

[*Pages* 48, 49 *and* 50 *blanks*]

[*Resuming on the larger paper.*]

(51) Stephen Hodgson Departed his Life May 23. 1775
Ann Hodgson Departed Her Life October 14. 1776
Ann Charlton Departed her Life December 25. 1779
Mary Hodgson Departed her Life May 13. 1780.
Ann Charlton Crage Departed her Life June 25. 1786
John Charlton Departed his Life April 13. 1781
Martha Charlton Departed her Life Feby 10. 1786
Mary Nevel Departed her Life Feby 23. 1790
T. R.

[*The following two entries are in pencil, the first finely written and almost illegible, and were overlooked in the copy at Bellingham.*]

(52) William Mews & Isabel Clark were married at Hesleyside Chapel on Sunday the 20th day of July 1[8]32 by me

E. V. Dinmore. M. Ap.

George Riddel[l] son of Robert & Mary Riddell (olim Rutledge) conj. was born July 14th 1835 & baptized [Aug. 18th *interlined*] by me

N. Brown Miss Apost.

Sponsor Han. St[ephen]son

[*Stamped*] We hereby certify that this is one of the Registers or Records deposited in the General Register Office pursuant to the Act of the 4th Victoria, Cap. 92

[*Signed*] John Bowring, Thos Rees, John Shoveller } Comonrs

Addendum to the Index of Vol. II

During its progress some names were accidentally omitted from the Index.

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The translations of some Latin names must be arbitrary, Jacobus being Jacob or James; Joanna, Joan or Jane, etc. The last forms, as the most common, have been adopted.

"Dominus," like Sir, being applicable to anyone from the Pope to a simple priest or choir monk, and sometimes improperly used of a friar; or from royalty to the merest position of respectability; "Domina" being the female equivalent, they are left as "Dnus" and "Dna," being obviously meant only for "Mr" or "Mrs."

Cross references are given where equivalent names are far apart, or dissimilar in character, as Audoenus, Owen; Bycleus, Bickley; Cervinus, Sherwin; Fipp, Phipp; Gorus, Gore or Gower; Hascuus, Haskew; Mutius, Mush, etc.

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